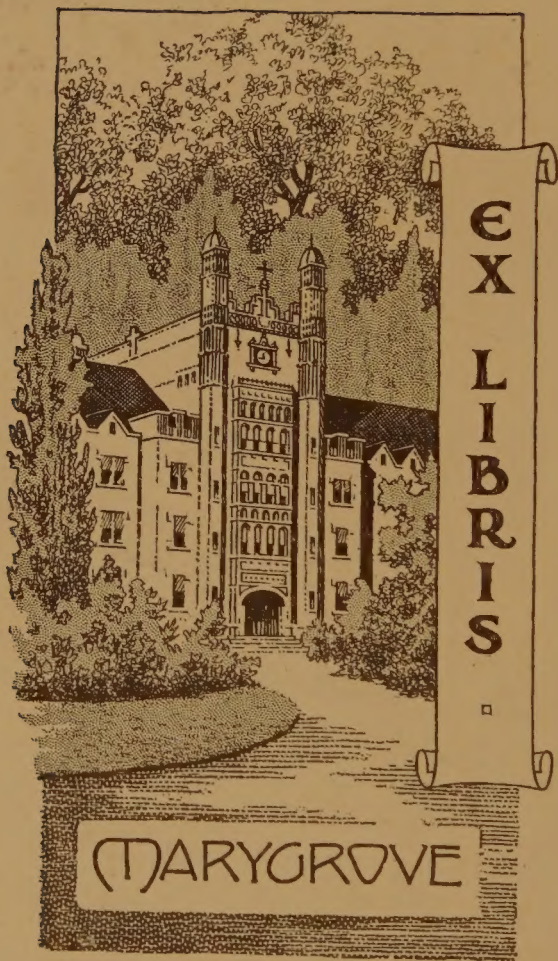


A HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

MODERN OXFORD





**A HISTORY OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD**

A HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN THREE VOLUMES

- VOL. I The Mediaeval University and the Colleges founded
in the Middle Ages
- VOL. II The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries
- VOL. III Modern Oxford



OXFORD FROM THE EAST
From the engraving by F. Mackenzie

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A HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

BY

CHARLES EDWARD MALLET

VOLUME III

MODERN OXFORD

WITH 20 ILLUSTRATIONS

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A HISTORY OF THE
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CHARLES EDWARD MALLORY

VOLUME III
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PREFACE

IN two earlier volumes I set myself to trace the history of the University of Oxford down to the Revolution of 1688. In the present volume I have carried on the story as far as 1887, and have added a supplementary chapter on some events of the last forty years. Much of this period is familiar ground. The Oxford of John Wesley and Samuel Johnson, of Gibbon and Bentham, of Southey and Shelley, has been described or referred to often. The Oxford of Keble and Newman, of Stanley and Jowett, is even more intimately known. But these great figures, and some perhaps greater, though rising apart, have their place in the common story. And it may be worth while to set them once more against their academic background, to remind ourselves of the part which they played in academic life. To do equal justice to them all and to the opinions gathered round them may not be so easy. The controversies of the eighteenth century have almost passed beyond the reach of conflict. The Oxford Movement of that century stirs no resentments now. But some of the controversies of the nineteenth century, and the movements of thought which they gave birth to, are as fresh as ever, and it is perhaps impossible to write of the actors in them in terms which would win universal assent. I will only say that I have tried to view both the Tractarian leaders, and those who differed from them, as many of their Oxford contemporaries must have viewed them at the time, as Oxford men first, scholars, tutors, theologians, as young men still for the most part, stirred by high and noble purposes, but not wholly immune from such errors as accompany the courage, the enthusiasm, the self-confidence of youth. I hope I have not failed to honour their characters and motives, even if I have ventured to criticise what seemed to me less worthy of respect.

But apart from the conflicts of theology and politics the life of the University is an unfailing theme. If there is no such drama and romance as in the earlier centuries, if Oxford in the eighteenth century in particular has little to add to the current of history, if the battle of reform is long delayed and the advance of science stubbornly resisted, the interest of a homelier nature never ceases, the charm, the humour, the variety never disappear. There is more than enough to chronicle in the tale of studies,

when study was in fashion, of amusements, which were never out of vogue, of College Heads and College Tutors, of Professors and Gentlemen Commoners and all the lively elements of the undergraduate world. The wealth of biographical material is great. Hearne with his diaries follows in Wood's footsteps, and many a later diarist follows him. The mass of printed papers, memoirs, histories, pamphlets, letters and reports, is very large. I hope my text and notes will do justice to it. I have drawn freely too on certain manuscript sources in the University Archives, in the Bodleian Library and elsewhere. The Registers of Convocation are important. The Hebdomadal Register, the Accounts of the Vice-Chancellors and Proctors, the records of the Vice-Chancellor's Court and other documents in the Archives yield some useful information. At the Bodleian the many volumes of Ballard manuscripts are a storehouse of correspondence by no means exhausted. There is a good deal of interest to be gleaned from them, from passages in the Rawlinson, Tanner, Smith and Gough collections, from the Shippen papers and even from the little volume of Dr. King's letters. I have had access also, by the courtesy of the late Sir Henry Acland's representatives, and in particular of Mr. H. D. Acland, to the great collection of Sir Henry's papers now stored at the Bodleian, but not yet fully catalogued. I have to thank the representatives of Mr. Gladstone, of Dean Liddell and of Mr. Ruskin, as well as Mr. Acland, for permission to make use of some of these. I have been allowed to consult Archbishop Wake's correspondence in the Christ Church Library and the Clarke papers at Worcester College. For leave to examine the Worcester College documents, and in particular Hawksmoor's plans and letters, I have to thank the College authorities and the kindness of Mr. Cyril Wilkinson. I have had access to the Peel papers, a vast collection, at the British Museum. I have been enabled by Mrs. Hampden's generosity to print a part of one of Mr. Gladstone's examination papers, and Viscount Gladstone has kindly verified from Mr. Gladstone's diaries a reference to that. I have been allowed again to make extracts from the Chapter Minute Books and the Admission Register at Christ Church, and to consult registers and records at Balliol and All Souls, at Merton, Pembroke, New College and elsewhere: detailed references will be found in my notes. To the present Vice-Chancellor and the Dean of Christ Church for help kindly given me I owe special thanks, and not less to the Warden of Keble, who liberally put at my disposal papers connected with the foundation of that College. The Rector of Exeter, the Warden, Librarian and Bursar of New College, the Librarian of Christ Church, the Bursars of Balliol, Merton, Magdalen, Pembroke, and Keble are among others to

whose courtesy I wish to acknowledge my debt. To the officials of the Bodleian once again I owe many more acknowledgments, and in particular to Mr. Strickland Gibson for his never-failing help. To the officials of the Ashmolean Museum, of the Clarendon Press, and of the British Museum in London I should like also to add a word of thanks.

In this volume I have not thought it necessary to follow in detail the separate history of each College. I have given some space to the foundation of new Colleges, as in earlier volumes I described the foundation and early history of Colleges of older date. But I have found it possible to weave into the general story all that it seemed necessary to say here about College history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many interesting details have, no doubt, been omitted. But I have dealt, I hope, not quite inadequately with the different Colleges' moments of expansion, with their buildings and with many of their leading men. The story of University reform and the reports of the University Commissions do not allow College history to fall out of sight. But it is not easy to be sure that in a study of University history as a whole one does justice to the many names of distinction which generation after generation the Colleges throw up. Some such names I have dwelt on at length. Others I have mentioned only, in the text or in foot-notes. Others again, too many others possibly, I may have failed to notice as I ought. The nearer one draws to one's own day, the more difficult seems the problem of selection. Oxford men of real note even in one's own recollection are so numerous that it would be easy to add many names to those briefly mentioned here. But I have tried to speak principally of those who in one way or another have played the largest part in Oxford life. And at the risk of treating yesterday's events as history—a risk which one kindly Oxford critic of my earlier volumes pointed out—I have thought it well to include in my last chapter some little notice of services rendered to Oxford in late years by men who were contemporaries of my own. I will name only two here, the late Lord Curzon and the late Lord Brassey, who unhappily are no longer with us to rejoice in the renewed prosperity of the University which they served so well.

For leave to use the illustrations in this volume I have to thank chiefly the authorities of the Bodleian Library, of the Ashmolean and of the Clarendon Press. The five reproductions of paintings and drawings in the University Galleries are made by permission of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum. Dr. Magrath has kindly given me leave to reproduce the illustration of the interior of Queen's College Library, which has already appeared in his history of the College. To his books, and in

particular to his study of the Flemings in Oxford, some of my pages show an obvious debt. The view of Duke Humphrey's Library is taken from a photograph supplied to me by the proprietors of *Country Life*. Mr. H. J. Minn has allowed me to reproduce, with the College's permission, an admirable photograph of the new buildings at Magdalen. Of the many well-known portraits in Oxford I have in this volume said very little, for the subject has now been treated once for all by Mrs. R. L. Poole. Of University and College buildings I have ventured to speak with some freedom, and it may be that my views will not be universally shared. In one case, the case of the old Ashmolean building, I have examined in an Appendix the theory which would attribute it to Sir Christopher Wren. In another Appendix I have dealt with a difficult point of University procedure, the origins of which go far back into early times. Mr. Gibson and Mr. Salter have already written upon this. To Mr. Salter as well as to Mr. Gibson, to Mr. F. Madan, Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Poole, Sir Henry Newbolt and many others I owe much more than formal acknowledgments for kindnesses received. Sir Charles Firth has helped me with valuable knowledge and advice. Mr. P. E. Matheson has guided me through some of the changes which have followed the latest Commission. Others like the Archbishop of York, Sir Richard Lodge, Sir Anthony Hope Hawkins, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, have allowed me to draw upon their recollections. The *Oxford Magazine*, which they helped to found, has become a valuable record of University history and University opinions during the last forty years. Others again like Mr. R. W. Jeffery of Brasenose, Mr. L. Rice-Oxley of Keble and Mr. H. V. F. Somerset of Worcester have supplied me with useful points of information, and Mr. Guy Boas of Christ Church, in a yet younger Oxford generation, has given me some interesting notes on the University after the War. But even with ungrudging help the task which I have undertaken is not easy. I am very conscious of the kindness with which my earlier volumes have been treated. And I shall hope that the same generosity will be extended to the last.

August, 1927

C. E. MALLET

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A HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

CHAPTER XX

JACOBITE OXFORD

THE two hundred years which separate the flight of James II from the moving and impressive ceremonial which marked the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession, cover a spacious period of English history. No two centuries perhaps have witnessed greater changes in the growth of a nation, changes none the less significant because they were often half-unconsciously achieved. In those changes the University of Oxford, with its time-honoured authority and its time-worn traditions, was called on inevitably to play its part. It is the aim of this volume to examine how far its teachers proved able to meet the occasion, and without surrendering their ancient prepossessions to offer to the new age the training it required.

The eighteenth century has had numerous critics. And it has found advocates as determined to uphold it as any critic to detract. But its many-sided interest stands in no need of defence. It is the century which, when all is said against it, built up the dominion of the English race. Few inheritances can compare with those which Chatham and Washington bequeathed to their countrymen. It saw the rule of Parliament established, the growing ascendancy of the House of Commons. Few themes of statesmanship are nobler than those which Burke rekindled with his rhetoric, which Pitt and Fox debated together. It had Marlborough and Nelson for captains in war, Clive and Wolfe for leaders in adventure. Charles Edward and his clansmen lent it a gleam of pure romance. Johnson uplifted it with his sense and courage. Swift and Fielding played upon its humours. Butler and Wesley touched its graver moods. Pope and Bolingbroke, Gray and Gibbon gave form and pomp and splendour to its style. The conventions which restricted it were not without their value in discipline. No artifice could weaken the colouring of Reynolds or the utterance of Burns. And against the back-

ground of material contentment, "brooding peace and prosperity on the happy land," there stood revealed a society dignified often by good taste and good manners, enriched with fine houses, libraries and gardens, stimulated pleasantly and not excessively by intellectual interests, alive to new issues in politics, philosophy and history, and proud of its tolerance, its enlightenment, its freedom.

But to this picture there is another side. It is possible to argue that all that is greatest in the eighteenth century was a reaction against the spirit and standards of the time. Chatham was a lonely figure among the politicians round him. Walpole and Lord North both enjoyed a far longer lease of power. The wonderful year 1759 was most wonderful in contrast with the years before and after it. In 1757 a cool judge like Lord Chesterfield declared that we were no longer a nation. In 1779 Burke could hardly describe the dejection caused him by the calamities which he saw descending on the country. The Court of Louis XV set for sixty years the tone and fashions of Europe, and the Court of George II reproduced its methods without its grace. The personal government of George III lost an Empire greater than Clive had conquered, and brought England and Ireland very near to revolution. The age of Queen Anne was followed by two generations to which enthusiasm seemed for the most part alien or absurd. Inspiration languished. With rare exceptions mediocrity reigned. The Church, for all its tolerance, proved unable to tolerate the greatest spiritual reformer of the day. In art Hogarth stood almost alone till Reynolds rose above the horizon. Architecture found characteristic expression in Blenheim Palace and Strawberry Hill. Newcastle was a representative statesman, Squire Western a representative country squire. The official representatives of English poetry were Eusden, Cibber, Whitehead, Warton, Pye. It was not till the eighteenth century was drawing to a close that literature escaped from the conventions which beset it, that romance recovered its ascendancy, that genius, which Gray had kept alive almost unaided, once more broke out into song. And nowhere were the depressing aspects of the time more visible than in the University so long identified with loyalties which it was idle to remember, and with traditions of privilege which it was better to forget. For a great part of the eighteenth century Oxford was a world of drab ideals, a small society where disillusioned Jacobites and half-hearted Hanoverians contended with each other, where scholars disinclined for study encountered teachers as indifferent as themselves, where dreamers found enthusiasm discouraged, education deadened, endowments ill-applied. The Gentleman Commoner with his resounding humours possessed the courts where Wycliffe

and the Schoolmen had debated, where More and Colet and Chillingworth had dwelt. Asceticism had long ago made way for comfort. Philosophy taught the pursuit of the good things of life. And many a habit had to change, and many a stubborn prejudice to be defeated, before this lethargy of spirit disappeared, and boys of open hearts and high ambitions could count on finding in Oxford, as in days gone by, the stimulus and understanding which they needed, the inspiration which the older generations had not sought in vain.

I

The only triumph recorded of King James II is that for one long moment he united his people. He united them in opposition to himself for the defence of the Church and the liberties of the country. But it was a unity very difficult to maintain. The Church had for long been preaching that the Sovereign ruled by right divine, that his prerogative was entitled to more reverence than the law, and that no circumstances could justify resistance to him. Forced by almost intolerable pressure to choose between obedience to the King and the safety of religion, the Church leaders joined in the national protest which made the Revolution possible and bloodless. But no sooner was the victory secured than their doubts awoke and their scruples returned. Archbishop Sancroft could not forget the oaths which he had taken or swear allegiance in James' lifetime to another Sovereign. The new Government would not or dared not yield the point. Six Bishops¹ paid the penalty of deprivation as Non-jurors, and their successors in loyalty or stubbornness laboured to maintain the schism. Some four hundred clergymen joined in the protest, and many of the laity followed in their steps. George Hickes and Jeremy Collier were prominent amongst the Non-juring clergy. Even the laymen included theologians as erudite as Henry Dodwell, and men of consciences as fiercely militant as Thomas Hearne's. Schemes of toleration for Protestant Dissenters, schemes, even more alarming to the old type of Cavalier and churchman, for admitting Nonconformists to a comprehensive Church, and for allowing them by the device of occasional conformity to avoid the penalties imposed on their opinions, stirred the deepest prejudices of the Tory party. Anxious and bewildered churchmen saw their privileged position disappearing, Presbyterians growing high and setting

¹ Five besides Sancroft. Two others, Thomas of Worcester and Lake of Chichester, refused the oath, but died before the day of deprivation. On the Non-jurors generally see Lathbury's *History* and Mr. Broxap's recent book on *The Later Non-Jurors*.

4 A HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

up "their preaching places,"¹ new modes of thought, new latitude of doctrine invading the realms of dogma and of faith. They saw only too readily the difficulties of the political situation, the increase of foreign influences, the time-serving of courtiers, the falling-off in trade, the rise in prices, the cost and strain of the European war. All these elements of opposition found a forcing-house in the old home and nursery of the Church of England. Oxford became, in sentiment at least, the capital of the Jacobite reaction as naturally as half a century before she had become the capital of the Cavaliers.

But this reaction took time to gather strength. In 1689 it was still possible to hail William as a hero and deliverer. University poems of that year addressed him as

"Successful Cyrus, Fortune's darling son,"

while the Warden of New College egregiously suggested that the childless Queen might be as much "above a cradle" as her husband was above a Crown.² Few Fellows of Oxford Colleges refused to take the oath of allegiance.³ Even in Oxford streets

¹ Wood's *Life* (ed. Clark, III, 299).

² See *Vota Oxoniensia Pro Guilhelmo Rege et Maria Regina*, 1689.

³ It is difficult to speak exactly. Wood names in August 1689 (*Life*, III, 307-8) 5 besides Dodwell, the Camden Professor, viz. T. Crosthwaite of Queen's, T. Smith of Magdalen, Dr. Traffles of New, E. Hopkins of Lincoln and W. Bishop of Balliol. Palin (*Hist. of Church*, Appendix) speaks of 13 Fellows besides Dodwell, 5 at Balliol, 2 each at Magdalen and Oriel, and 1 each at Queen's, All Souls, Lincoln and Brasenose. The Appendix to Kettlewell's *Life* (*Works*, 1719, vol. I), in a list of Clergy and Others at Oxford who "were thought not to Qualify themselves upon the Revolution," gives 12 Fellows of Colleges (3 from Balliol and 2 from All Souls), and 25 others, including Dodwell and President Turner of Corpus, of whom 8 are said to have refused degrees. All these lists are, I think, incorrect. Of Wood's 5, Dr. Traffles became Warden of New College, E. Hopkins of Lincoln did not give up his Fellowship till 1716, and the Balliol Register shows that W. Bishop was a Fellow at any rate till 1692. Nor can Palin's or Kettlewell's list be accepted. The College Registers and Foster's *Alumni* do not give much help as to the facts. I find nothing in the All Souls Register about expulsions, and the list of Fellows resigning there in Mr. Martin's careful catalogue of the College Archives contains no resignations between 1687 and 1698. I think there is little doubt that T. Crosthwaite of Queen's, T. Smith of Magdalen and W. Bishop of Balliol sooner or later refused the oath to King William: and to these should be added W. Pincocke of Brasenose, H. Gandy of Oriel, and possibly F. Lee of St. John's, Theophilus Downes of Balliol and two or three others. E. Hopkins of Lincoln and E. Holdsworth of Magdalen were among those who refused the oath to King George. And there is no doubt that some other members of Colleges, at Brasenose especially, refused the oath to one King or other, and forfeited places or degrees. Dr. Clark's analysis of the Balliol Buttery books in the College Library shows two other Balliol Fellows, S. Potter and T. Shewring, as vacating Fellowships in 1691 or 1692, who ought perhaps to be added to the list. T. Bayley, President of Magdalen in 1703, may have vacated his Fellowship during King William's lifetime and returned after the accession of Queen Anne.

the Battle of the Boyne was celebrated with "innumerable bonfires." The Pope, the King of France, a Cardinal and the Devil were still carried in procession on Guy Fawkes' Day.¹ Mary's death brought genuine sympathy to her husband, and Ormonde, the Chancellor, suggested the postponement of the Act to mark the nation's "unspeakable losse."² William's welcome by the University in 1695 lacked no sign of cordiality, though he stayed only a short time, declined the banquet prepared in the Sheldonian, and was at pains to explain that he had seen Oxford before and that this was a "Visitt of kindnesse not of curiosity."³ Christopher Codrington, who spoke for the Public Orator, was already a Captain of His Majesty's Guards. Convocation's Address in 1696 on the late "horrible and detestable Conspiracy" had, it is true, to be amended on Ormonde's advice before its expressions of loyal indignation were considered strong enough.⁴ But the Address on the Peace of Ryswick in the next year needed no amending to interpret the University's "Gratitude and Devotion" for the glorious enterprises of the King.⁵ And the polyglot verses on William's death betrayed no want of proper feeling, though some of the writers, and the Master of University among them, showed an inclination to turn towards the rising sun.⁶

In the Colleges the traditions of an earlier generation lingered, and some conspicuous survivors of King Charles' day. President Bathurst still enjoyed a great reputation and was busy with plans for rebuilding his Chapel. Finch at All Souls continued his easy and convivial habits. It may be counted to him for righteousness that in the last decade of the century he brought in young Thomas Tanner as Chaplain and Fellow of the College. Clayton, a representative of the Restoration, ruled over Merton till 1693, and bequeathed, the College Register notes,⁷ to a

¹ See W. Smith's letter to Charlett, Nov. 6, 1692 (*Bodley MS. Ballard XVI*, f. 17).

² See *Pietas Univ. Oxon. in obit. Reginae Mariae*, 1695, and *Convocation Register BC (Acta Convocat. Univ. Oxon. Arch: 1693-1703)*, p. 46.

³ *Convocation Register BC* (72-5), *Wood's Life* (III, 494-5), and A. De La Pryme's *Diary* (74 and 76). There was some talk of a scare about poisoned food at the banquet.

⁴ *Convocation Register BC* (79-80).

⁵ *Ib.* (150). In the Vice-Chancellor's Accounts in the University Archives under the year 1697-8 there are entries of £01.02.00 to Mr. Wanley for writing the Address and of £87.16.09 for the charges of taking it to London.

⁶ See *Pietas Univ. Oxon. in obitu Gulielmi III*, and Charlett's verses.

⁷ To the pious entry in the Register (vol. 1567-1731, p. 600), "tam chari Capititis desiderium reliquit," there is entered after "chari," in another hand, "nobis quidem ille, nos non illi, reliquit enim Collegio, cui tamdiu profuit, & a quo tam multa accepit, sum. tot. 00¹: 00^s: 00^d."

Society from which he had received so many benefits, "sum. tot. 00^l : 00^s : 00^d." Wood, an unsparing critic of Clayton, had little to say for his successor. Dr. Lydall was elderly, unserviceable, ignorant, "a packhorse in the practical and old Galenical way of physick." His first step was to destroy the fine windows in the Warden's Lodgings, his next to set up a coach. Had he not had "a nice wife with 6 or 7 daughters, this would not have been done."¹ Under such influences it is not surprising that Merton relapsed into Whiggery: it had been Puritan fifty years before. But Burnet, sending his younger sons there, could at least rejoice that they came home "without any of those taints" too often found in College life.² Gilbert Ironside, with his rough-tongued independence, held the Vice-Chancellorship till September 1689, when he handed it over to Dr. Edwards of Jesus with a characteristic speech. "You'll have none of those monstrous *Quo Warrantoes*, you'll have no Obadiah's to deal with."³ Dr. Meare of Brasenose, Vice-Chancellor eight years later, was willing enough to drink the health of King William when the Peace of Ryswick was at last secured.⁴ Ironside passed on to a Bishopric, and his successor, Warden Dunster, made Wadham a centre of opposition to the Jacobite party. At Pembroke Dr. Hall, who followed Ironside in the Bishopric of Bristol but retained his Mastership with it, was as well-known as Dunster for his Whig sympathies and was a leader of Low Church opinion. And at Exeter, where the Rector Bury, trained in other methods, had done his best to teach his colleagues the advantages of arbitrary rule, the College schism and the vigorous action of the Visitor Trelawney did not prevent a strong Whig spirit from growing up.

Oriel too had a Whig Head and a body of Whig adherents, whose activity was galling to the dominant party. But Provost Royse⁵ was a heavy drinker. Once a servitor at St. Edmund Hall, he was thought to be a little ashamed of his relations. And his character lent no distinction to the College. A finer example of a successful servitor was John Potter, the future Primate, who became a Fellow of Lincoln in 1694, Regius Professor of Divinity in 1707, and Bishop of Oxford in 1715. Potter had his critics: but there is no reason to suppose that Hearne's tales of his "sneaking" and his meanness, of the Bishop and

¹ Wood's *Life* (III, 436).

² *Supplement to Burnet's History of my own Time* (ed. Foxcroft, 512).

³ See Wood's *Life* (III, 311).

⁴ Some pages of Dr. Meare's Diary as Vice-Chancellor, an interesting but uneventful little record, were discovered at Brasenose in the present century, and printed in the *Oxford Magazine* of Feb. 2 and Feb. 9, 1911.

⁵ Elected in 1691.

his wife going "acoursing" at Cuddesdon, "on purpose to hinder the poor from catching any Hares,"¹ were founded on anything more than political malice. Of the older Heads, Dr. Halton still reigned at Queen's, pre-occupied perhaps with schemes of building, which his successor, William Lancaster, was to carry through. Dr. Turner and Dr. Levinz kept up Tory traditions at Corpus and St. John's. Turner's brother, one of the Seven Bishops, became one of the leading Non-jurors, and Wood comments sharply on the way in which time-servers shunned him when he came to stay at the President's Lodgings. Hough was back at Magdalen, now a popular figure in the country, doubling his duties, as Fell had done, by adding to them the Bishopric of Oxford, winning good opinions by his kindliness and tolerance, but doing nothing further to rouse the attention of the world.² But the most influential figure in the Oxford of King William's day was probably the Dean of Christ Church, Henry Aldrich. Even Hearne speaks of him as ingenious, learned, affable, "a severe student himself, yet always free, open and facetious": and critics more generous to the world at large were at least as ready to sing the Dean's praises. Aldrich had the gift of making friends. An excellent churchman, a versatile teacher—his manual of Logic, renovated by Dean Mansel, held the Schools for generations—he was also a courteous and admirable host. He had no small skill in architecture. He planned Peckwater Quadrangle, and is credited with the chief share in designing the Fellows' Buildings at Corpus, the Chapel at Trinity and All Saints' Church.³ He had even greater skill in music: his songs and catches delighted his age. He loved hospitality. He loved to amuse and encourage the young. And out of his custom, inherited from Dean Fell, of inviting one of the younger members of the College to edit a piece of classical work which he then presented to the rest, there arose in 1695 a controversy which engrossed for a time the literary world.

¹ Hearne (*Collections*, O.H.S. X, 78-9).

² Hough's Table-Talk and Papers, preserved by his Chaplain (*Colleetanea*, O.H.S., II), contain nothing remarkable. A few notes, praising his work and character as Bishop, will be found in *Bodley MS. Rawl. J. 1* (f. 60).

³ See Warton's *Life of R. Bathurst* (67-71), Dallaway's note on p. 690 of Wornum's edition of Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, his own *Anecdotes of the Arts* (104), and Blomfield's *History of Renaissance Architecture* (II, 208-10). Hawksmoor drew a design for All Saints' Church, and Aldrich may well have consulted him about it. Trinity Chapel has been attributed to Wren. But Wren, when appealed to for advice early in 1692, and writing to make some suggestions, approved the design as "in the main . . . very well," and added "I believe your worke is too far advanced to admit of any advice."

Sir William Temple, a veteran diplomatist, and William Wotton, a Cambridge scholar, had been drawn into the discussion, popular then both in England and in France, on the point whether the Ancients or the Moderns had made the greater contribution to learning. Temple had majestically but rashly suggested that an ancient literary forgery which went by the name of the *Letters of Phalaris* contained "more force of wit and genius" than any other letters in existence. And Charles Boyle, a young man of fashion at Christ Church, a boy of only seventeen when he began his task, was invited by the Dean to edit these letters.¹ For the purposes of his edition Boyle asked for the use of a manuscript in the King's Library at St. James', of which Bentley, the celebrated scholar, became Librarian in 1694. Bentley had been in Oxford a few years earlier. He had accompanied young Stillingfleet, the Bishop's son, to Wadham, and while in Oxford he had light-heartedly decided "to edit the fragments of all the Greek poets." He was ready enough to respond to Boyle's appeal, and he lent the manuscript needed to a collator for several days. But it was falsely represented to Boyle that he had grudged his assistance and had refused to lend the manuscript for a reasonable time. Boyle published his book in 1695. In his preface he complained of Bentley's rudeness. And when Bentley wrote to him explaining the facts, he unhappily failed to withdraw his charge. Two years later Bentley defended himself, in an essay contributed to a new edition of Wotton's book. He treated both Boyle's views and Temple's with scanty respect, and he enforced his criticisms with a certain rough humour, which was easily represented as wanting in polish. The Christ Church wits were stung by his contempt. Led by Atterbury and Smalridge, they came with delight to Boyle's assistance, and in 1698 they retorted with an examination of Bentley's essay, in which they vented their cleverness upon him with little regard for fairness or good manners. They could not forgive Bentley for handling them so roughly :

"Chew'd Bullets are not more against the Law of Arms, than such ways of speech are against the rules of good writing."²

¹ Temple's *Essay on Ancient and Modern Learning* appeared in 1692, Wotton's *Reflections* (1st ed.) in 1694, and the second edition, with Bentley's essay, in 1697. Boyle began working in 1693 and published his edition of *Phalaris* in January 1695.

² See *Dr. Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æsop, Examin'd*, By the Hon. Charles Boyle, Esq. 1698 (p. 12). One of the most important publications on this subject is the *Short Review* of the controversy, almost certainly by Atterbury, issued in 1701. See also on the whole episode R. C. Jebb's *Bentley* (1882).

Temple and his coterie naturally welcomed such allies. The critics of the day appreciated the light-hearted impertinences of Christ Church better than the questions of scholarship at stake. People of fashion disliked Bentley's plebeian humour, his positiveness, his indecency in contradicting great men. Pepys thought that "a few such stroakes" as Boyle's would do Bentley good.¹ Swift brought his genius to the encounter. Politics helped to confuse the issue. And though the world of scholars soon decided that Bentley's crushing answer, the great Dissertation published in 1699, disposed of his opponents' puerilities and took rank as a masterpiece of criticism, it was long before the world of letters awoke from the delusion that the Christ Church wits had won their case.

We have a vivid picture of College politics at Christ Church a few years later in the letters which Dr. Stratford, one of the Canons, wrote to Edward Harley, the Minister's son. Atterbury's appointment as successor to Aldrich in 1710 seems to have caused dismay to some who had known him as a College Tutor. "We expect nothing but war," writes Stratford ominously, and Atterbury quickly made enemies by his high-handed ways. Stratford was, no doubt, prejudiced, but it is evident that he had grounds for his opinions, and that they were shared to a large extent by Smalridge. We hear of the new Dean blustering and shuffling, quarrelling with everyone, suspecting everybody of combining against him, trying to bully the Chapter, losing his temper and bouncing out of his chair. "Our Governor" in Stratford's letters soon becomes "our tyrant" and "our villain," and finally the greatest villain "in or out of a gown in the three kingdoms." He made scenes, when rage and spite "flushed in his face." He suborned the students with afternoon tea. He had his picture painted by way of advertisement, as his name had failed to draw young men to the College. "If this man lives here a year longer I foresee a terrible confusion." When news comes that Atterbury has been by Lord Harcourt's influence appointed to a Bishopric, Stratford ventures on a spirited protest to the Minister's son. Nothing done by the Government has "struck such a damp upon the hearts" of honourable men.

"All of any weight here, it is truth that I tell you, wondered that such a one should be permitted so long to act as he did here, but they lift up their hands to see him preferred for it."

There must, one feels, have been a better side to Atterbury's character. Stratford had special reasons to complain of him. But at Christ Church the Dean could not have been seen at his

¹ See his letter to Charlett (*Bodley MS. Ballard I, 149*).

best. When he passed on to Rochester, fighting to the last for his dues from the College, the Chapter welcomed Dean Smalridge with a sigh of relief. "We breathe another sort of air," wrote Stratford. In August 1713, "after the highest ferment that ever any Society was in," the College settled down to "perfect peace."¹

Deans and Tutors like Atterbury and Smalridge must for a time at any rate have prevented Christ Church from developing into a Whig College.² But a greater Christ Church man than either enjoyed at the close of the seventeenth century a commanding influence with the Whig party. To Locke's clear intellect and serene sincerity much of the best thought of the succeeding age was due. His plea for Toleration may have gone little further than the fine aspirations of Chillingworth or Taylor. But its practical good sense and its practical limitations—Roman Catholics were excluded as enemies of the State, and atheists as men whom no oaths or covenants could bind—found ready acceptance with the new generation. His *Treatises of Government*, while easily disposing of Filmer's patriarchal theory, dear to the hearts of some Oxford Tories, which derived from Adam the authority of Kings, set forth the origin and end of Civil Government with the luminous candour which was perhaps their author's most conspicuous gift. And if Locke's political philosophy was in the first place designed to justify the right and the action of King William, it played no small part in the eighteenth century in determining the course of human freedom. But the great *Essay on the Human Understanding*, published in 1690, and the little treatise on Education, published three years later, contained material with which the Universities might be thought to be more immediately concerned.

Locke's inquiry into "the original, certainty, and extent of human knowledge," an inquiry which fearlessly examined the grounds of "belief, opinion, and assent," was bound to cause a stir wherever science and philosophy were taught. A writer who derived all knowledge from experience,³ and who could

¹ Dr. Stratford's letters, from 1710 to 1729, form vol. VII of the *Portland Papers* published by the *Historical MSS. Commission*. (See for these references pp. vii, viii, xii, 4, 49, 64, 73, 91, 98, 109, 121, 134, 140, 163.) But Atterbury, for all his failings, had ability and power, and a real respect for scholarship and letters.

² Merton and Wadham, Christ Church and Exeter were long regarded as the principal Whig Colleges, though others like Oriel had contingents of Whigs. Possibly the old Puritan tradition at Merton, the West Country traditions of Exeter and Wadham, and the growth of the Whig aristocracy at Christ Church may in part account for this.

³ From the two fountains of sensation and reflection.

discuss the limits of faith and reason or the evidence for the existence of a God with the power and reverent freedom Locke displayed, was sure to rouse interest and to win disciples. The Essay found readers everywhere, both in England and abroad. The Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, recommended it to his students. Some Oxford tutors began to read it with their pupils, and the attempt of College Heads to discountenance this practice in 1703 only advertised the Essay's fame. The treatise on Education showed in less profound things the same originality and freshness. Locke had in mind, no doubt, chiefly the young gentleman for whom breeding, accomplishments and travel were necessary things. Health, diet and fresh air were in his judgment of the first importance. Conduct and manners he valued above learning. But he had no respect for the methods of the Public Schools. Under Busby he had learned to distrust those methods, the dominance, the tyranny, of Greek and Latin, mitigated only in the upper forms at Westminster by a little Arabic and Hebrew. He deplored the waste of time on Latin grammar, Latin repetition, Latin themes, and above all Latin verses. If a boy had no genius for poetry, verses were only a torment to him. If, on the other hand, he had a vein of poetry in him, how could any father desire to see it developed?

“Poetry and Gaming, which usually go together, are alike in this too, that they seldom bring any advantage but to those who have nothing else to live on.”

The prejudice of a prosaic age spoke there. But if Locke overstated his case against the classics, his pleas for a wider and more interesting curriculum, for modern languages like French and English as of more practical value than Greek, for new and better methods of teaching, for exercises like dancing, fencing, riding, and for the learning of a manual trade, lent force as well as colour to his views. And his warning to parents against hazarding their boys' “innocence and virtue,” for the sake of a little Greek and Latin, in the rough and tumble of a Public School, had probably no inconsiderable influence with the Whig gentry of a later day.

On one point Locke's philosophy had developments which he was far from foreseeing, both in Oxford and elsewhere. His treatise on the Reasonableness of Christianity¹ is typical of him and of his age, alike in its compromises and in its candour, in its limitations and in its latitude of view. He accepted the inspiration of Scripture. He accepted the miracles associated with the divinity of Christ. On that foundation he would build up a popular and reasonable religion, “articles that the

¹ Published in 1695.

labouring and illiterate man may comprehend." For priestly dogma, for priests who excluded reason from religion, Locke had neither sympathy nor respect. But his system failed to find a place not only for mysteries dear to the priesthood, but for doctrines dear to those who had as little reverence as he had for the authority of priests. And it was naturally objected to it that, if reason could not be reconciled with the dogmas he rejected, it might prove as difficult to reconcile with those that he retained. Calvinists like John Edwards of Cambridge, a divine whom his admirers distinguished as "the Paul, the Augustine, the Bradwardine, the Calvin of his age," attacked Locke's views as leading to Socinianism, one of the most heinous charges that the theologians of that day could bring.¹ Churchmen like Stillingfleet coupled Locke with Toland, whose criticism of the mysterious elements in Christianity appeared to make him the spokesman of free-thinkers.² And though Locke took pains to repudiate the connection, and answered his assailants with dignity and courage, there is little doubt that he opened the gates to rationalistic theories which carried some of his followers far beyond the limits he had set.

Churchmen of the older school could find but little comfort in the new movements of opinion, or even in the Bishops who controlled the Church. Archbishop Tillotson, who stepped into the place of Sancroft, before, some thought, the place was void, had, it is true, been Chaplain to King Charles II and is said to have inspired the style of Dryden's prose. But it could not be forgotten that he had married the niece of Oliver Cromwell and had been closely allied with Puritan Dissenters. Tenison, who succeeded him as Primate, was equally well-known for his tenderness to Nonconformists. Swift could not forgive him for discountenancing whist. Wake, in King William's day a Canon of Christ Church, was already a conspicuous opponent of the views for which Atterbury stood. Edmund Gibson a well-known Fellow of Queen's, Wake's friend at Oxford and Wake's successor in the See of Lincoln, passed on to be Bishop of London and to become Walpole's chief ecclesiastical adviser. William Talbot, the patron of Butler and Secker, and according to Hearne once a Rake and a Gamester, who succeeded Hough as Bishop of Oxford, was equally identified with Whig opinions. His son Charles at All Souls carried them, it was said, to scandalous excess. And though Bishops like Wilkins and Seth Ward, leaders of the University in the days of the Rebellion, were now

¹ A Socinian some regarded as next door to an atheist.

² Toland's *Christianity not Mysteriorious* was largely written at Oxford in 1694-5.

no longer living, their Latitudinarian views and Puritan traditions still lingered in the high places of the Church.

One well-known veteran of Ward's and Wilkins' generation, associated with them in the Philosophical Society, outlived King William and most of his own early friends. It was not till he was over eighty that Dr. Wallis, appointed to his Chair before the Protectorate, began to admit that he was growing old. His interests were inexhaustible. His mathematical fame was surpassed only by Newton's. In 1690 he was writing on the Trinity. At the age of eighty-five, when he could still read without spectacles, he fluttered Jacobite circles by the rumour that he was writing on the Prince of Wales.¹ In 1695 Pepys could not refrain from marvelling at Wallis' vivacity and powers of recollection. In 1699 Pepys proposed to have the Professor's portrait painted by Kneller and to present it to the University as a token of respect.² Kneller afterwards declared that he had never painted a better picture. Wallis had roused his share of animosities: Hearne has given expression to his own. And the Professor had certainly shown some skill in accommodating his opinions to all the political changes of his day. But the closing years of his long life found him in a position of great authority at Oxford, and there is truth in his claim that, "whatever side was upmost," he had tried to promote religion and learning.³ About the end of the century the venerable Professor exerted himself to defeat a project which for a time had a considerable vogue. Lewis Maidwell, a schoolmaster of the late seventeenth century, known to Sir Stephen Fox and other men of influence, had a scheme for developing the politer sides of education, modern studies, French and mathematics, and what Pepys called "exercises and accomplishments" suitable for young gentlemen of station. A special feature of the proposal was to advance "the practice of rideing the great horse." The scheme had friends at Court. It found advocates in Parliament. And the idea that accomplishments like riding, fencing, dancing were of more value to a gentleman than obsolete philosophies had long had powerful supporters. Maidwell invited Parliament to endow a public Academy for the purpose. He offered to contribute "a very valuable large brick house" of his own. He was prepared to act as Rector, even to find money for his project.

¹ See *Bodley MS. Rawl. D. 742* (f. 48).

² *Bodley MS. Ballard I* (152, 160-3, 165, 173).

³ See the memorandum printed by Hearne in his Preface to *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle*, which was sent by Wallis to Dr. T. Smith as material for his own biography. A MS. Life of Wallis by J. Lewis in the Bodleian (*MS. Rawl. C. 978*), gives a sketch of his career and dwells on his theological interests.

His aim, he said, was "the honour of his countrey" and the benefit of mankind. But the Universities showed themselves unconvinced. At Oxford Heads like Hough and Finch were unsympathetic and hostile. At Cambridge the Vice-Chancellor plainly stated that Maidwell was too well-known "to receive any encouragement from hence." And though Maidwell latterly restricted his efforts to schemes for teaching languages, mathematics and navigation, his plans were never destined to attain success. Wallis, it may be, did him insufficient justice. He seized on the ridiculous aspects of "an academy for riding the great horse." He had a little mockery to spare for the gift of the great house as well. He took the opportunity to examine and defend the studies and the "manly" exercises of Oxford. He pointed out the value and freshness of Dr. Gregory's proposals for teaching mathematics "by way of *colleges* or *courses*" there. What better could "this new pretended *academy*" suggest? He thought that tilting and tournaments and running at the ring were just as well worth reviving or endowing. And he did not conceal his own opinion that a national tribute to the great horse was an absurdity, and that an academy with such objects had no purpose "except that of *making the projector rich*." ¹

As Savilian Professor and Keeper of the Archives Wallis was a familiar figure with the younger generation. His colleague David Gregory, Savilian Professor of Astronomy, whose mathematical teaching won his admiration and also the warm sympathy of Pepys, was one of Newton's earliest disciples. Gregory had come up from Scotland to fill the Chair in 1691, and had brought with him a recommendation from Newton as "one of the most able and judicious mathematicians of his age." ² Edmund Halley of Queen's, to whose encouragement Newton owed an even deeper debt, seems to have been passed over on the suspicion that he held materialistic views. It was only human nature that he should afterwards discover "a Great Error" in Dr. Gregory's book. ³ Thomas Tanner again, Wood's chief literary executor, must have been well known to the Keeper of the Archives. He had begun his antiquarian studies before he left Queen's, and he carried them on after he ceased to be a Fellow of All Souls. Humfrey Wanley, another lover of antiquity, was a member of St. Edmund Hall till Charlett drew him away to University and helped to make known his industry and learning. ⁴

¹ The fullest account of this incident is given by Mr. T. W. Jackson (*Collectanea*, I, Pt. vi, where Wallis' letter is printed). See also Bodley MS. Ballard I (187-206), Gutch (*Collectanea Curiosa*, II, 24-35), Wordsworth (*Social Life*, 548-50) and *Surveys and Tokens*, O.H.S. (117-18).

² Bodley MS. Rawl. D. 742 (f. 7). ³ Hearne (*Collections*, I, 13).

⁴ There is a pleasant little story of Wanley being summoned by the Proctor for swearing because, when found out at 11 p.m., engaged on

Thomas Milles, like Tanner a future Bishop—his appointment dashed the hopes of Swift—became Vice-Principal of Edmund Hall in 1695, and was even then working at his great edition of St. Cyril. Tanner, Wanley, Milles were all young men under thirty when the seventeenth century closed. Thomas Hearne, who took his Bachelor's degree from Edmund Hall in 1699, was younger still. Others, like Hudson, Bodley's Librarian, or Hody of Wadham, Professor of Greek, or White Kennet,¹ no longer a Tory undergraduate but training to be a Whig historian and Bishop, were some ten or twelve years older. Dr. Mill, the Principal of Edmund Hall from 1685 onwards, was older yet. But his years and his diligent work on the New Testament did not prevent irreverent spirits from mocking at his instability of mind :

"Wilt thou take the Oaths, little Johnny Mill?
No, no that I won't, yes but I will."

And beside these sober scholars other graduates and undergraduates were growing up to fame. Swift received a Master's degree in July 1692, as a fleeting but illustrious member of Hart Hall. We have a glimpse of him as Dean, twenty-two years later, leaving Oxford with a portmanteau "big enough to contain his library as well as his equipage."² Richard Steele had begun to write comedies at Merton, when in 1694 he suddenly went off to join the Life Guards of the Duke of Ormonde.³ Addison, Steele's school-fellow at the Charterhouse, was qualifying for his Fellowship at Magdalen,⁴ and was soon to qualify for rare distinction and rare popularity in the world outside. And Henry Sacheverell, to whom Addison inscribed one of his early productions, not yet grown "as tall as a maypole and as fine as an archbishop," was also at Magdalen, learning and teaching opinions less easy to reconcile with Whig ideals.

One Head of a College in those days, "commonly called the Gazzeteer or Oxford Intelligencer,"⁵ is better known to us than any other owing to the indefatigable correspondence he maintained. Arthur Charlett, a Fellow of Trinity, was elected Master of University in 1692. "I believe you are the first," wrote Dr. Hickes on his appointment, "that in the memory of man hath

University business, he had innocently protested, "Upon my Soul, Sir, I did not in the least think it was this time of night" (*Bodley MS. Tann.* 21, ff. 22-3).

¹ Otherwise Kennett. Both spellings frequently occur.

² See *Hist. MSS. Commission, Portland Papers* (VII, 186).

³ Steele matriculated at Christ Church in 1690, but became a Postmaster of Merton in 1691.

⁴ He became a Probationary Fellow in 1697.

⁵ Hearne (*Collections*, I, 214).

been chosen by the fellows of another house to be their governour in our University." ¹ Charlett was generous, hospitable, kindly, if rather too fond of "compotations" even for the age in which he lived.² He proved an open-handed friend and patron to young scholars: both Wanley and Tanner had reason to appreciate this. And a Master who, after supping with the Warden of New College, could allow his man to light him home with a tankard, innocently mistaken by both parties for a lantern, touched the heart of the Common Rooms of his day. In some respects, in his earlier years especially, Charlett was a successful Head. But he developed arbitrary tendencies which led to friction between himself and his Fellows, and it cannot be said that he was always consistent or reliable either in his College or in public life. He was vain, no doubt, and a little self-important, part Maecenas and part busy-body, fond of gossip, very fond of feeling himself at the centre of affairs. He is said to have had some two thousand correspondents, among men of all ranks and parties. Letter-writing was his "darling Passion"—a "Fondness of being known to the world."³

For all that, Charlett's letters were clearly acceptable to very many of his friends. Pepys speaks of the enjoyment which they gave at his table, especially when Wanley, "Your Young Man of Coventry," brought them up. The Diarist, depressed by "the many Mortifications" imposed upon him by his "Sin of Jacobitisme," was delighted to hear what the Virtuosi of Oxford were about. How could the Master sigh for company when he had two Savilian Professors to talk to? How could any man fail to be interested in the flood of curious information on Greek music, Chinese paper and an infinite variety of other subjects, which Wanley poured out in a letter to Pepys from the Master's Lodgings in 1699? It was to Charlett that Pepys confided his plan of persuading Kneller to paint Wallis' portrait. It was to Charlett that Tanner and Wanley owed their introduction to the Diarist in his old age. Another distinguished correspondent of the Master's, Sir Simon Harcourt, was equally civil. Another, Sir Hans Sloane, had only one complaint to make, that the Master's letters were too short. Bishop Lloyd of Worcester prayed that Charlett might outlive Wallis and Bathurst and all the octogenarians of the day. Finch wrote to him intimately, almost affectionately, about the "Blushing Natures" of the

¹ See the Bodleian collection of *Letters written by Eminent Persons* (I, 55). Hearne suggests that Charlett pledged himself not to promote the election of any other *alienus*, if he left (*Collections*, X, 163-4).

² The suggestion is Hickes' (*Bodley MS. Ballard XII*, p. 43 in the corrected pagination).

³ See Rawlinson's *Continuation of Wood's 'Athenae'* (A-C, ff. 367-8).

Fellows of All Souls. One day, George Clarke, Burgess of the University, sends him a translation of a French epigram on Law. Another day Walter Pope asks him whether Wood had really been reputed a Papist. Dr. Plot consults him on the study of Geoponics. Sacheverell applies to him for a testimonial. Samuel Wesley announces to him his boy's election at Christ Church: "I believe twill be no unpleasing news to so good a Friend." Dodwell testifies to Charlett's kindness. Sherlock, South and Kennet all speak well of him. Addison mocks at him gently. Hearne snarls, as his custom was, and there are moments when Hearne clearly exhausts the Master's good-nature. "Mr. Herns Infamy is now most notoriously and Scandalously Public," is one sweeping criticism passed in May 1698. But time mellowed even the sharpest acerbities. Hearne's industry always roused Charlett's genuine if rather patronising interest. Nothing could be more desirable than a dish of tea with the miscreant "in my studdy at Univ. Coll." in 1715.¹

Ninety-two letters from Archbishop Wake to Charlett, beginning before Wake came to his great honours, occupy one volume of the Ballard manuscripts;² and, if Wake was only one among a host of correspondents, his letters at least illustrate the topics of the day. There are occasional judgments here upon the clergy. Commenting on the death of Stillingfleet, Wake doubts whether "any other Church in Europe could have boasted so truly Great and Wise, a Prelat." He deplores, perhaps with a touch of unction, Bishop Smalridge's removal from "the troubles of a vexatious, false, divided world." He notes—he has passed now to the See of Lincoln—that it has become popular "to preach, write, or talk against Bishops." He applauds Wanley's "genius" and hopes that Tanner will produce a continuation of Wood's *Athenae*. He rejoices in the University's

¹ For these references to Charlett's correspondents see *Bodleian MSS.*, Ballard (vol. I, 140-3, 153, 157-9, 162, 176-86; vol. IV, 26, 32, 52, 84, etc.; vol. XX, 3 and 133^b; vol. XXXIV, 6, 49, 77, 99), *Rawl. D.* 742 (11-12), *Tanner* 22 (37); and *Bodleian Letters* (I, 73, 165, 207-8, and II, 6). For Addison's skit on Charlett as Abraham Froth see *Spectator* (No. 43).

² Volume III. In vol. IV are 76 letters from Bishop Nicolson and Bishop Tanner, in vol. VI 90 from Bishop Gibson, in vol. VII 89 from Bishop Smalridge and Bishop Kennet, in vol. VIII 72, largely from "Narcissus Armarh" and "Thos. Killaloe," in vol. IX 88 from Tillotson, Tenison, Trelawney and others, in vol. XII 146 from George Hickes, in vol. XXI 147 from Bathurst, Lancaster, Shippen and others, in vol. XXXI 146 from W. Bishop of Gray's Inn, in vol. LXII many more from Tanner and others, and so on all through the great collection. There are also letters to and from Charlett among the Tanner and Rawlinson MSS. Charlett's correspondents included of course many Oxford figures besides those mentioned here

prosperity, but urges that College Tutors should make their pupils "at least Masters of the Greek of the New Testament," which so few candidates for Orders are. He fears the spread of Socinianism, and is determined that the clergy shall not find free thinking the way to preferment. He wishes that Oxford could "put an end to the unhappy Heats about political matters." But he shows no undue alarm about the future of the Church. "Your Independent Whig will prove a very harmless enemy to the Clergy and Religion." Wake himself seems to have made few enemies in his meritorious career. Even Hearne reports him very learned and one of the most abstemious men alive.¹

There is a more personal touch perhaps, a note of closer intimacy, in some of the other letters which Charlett received. Hickes is one of his warmest and most constant correspondents :

"I cannot forbear," he writes in 1711, "to give you thanks for the kindest, and most affectionat letter I ever yet received from any friend."

William Smith, the historian, has always College news to send him.² Tanner confides that the "good old Archbishop," Tenison, is suffering from "that incurable Distemper of 80 years of age," and begs the Janitor's place for poor Taylor of Norwich, the self-taught student whose polyglot bible has been seized for rent. Mrs. Browne Willis confesses to the Master that "truly I think Poetry shews the Heart." Somers appeals for his influence on behalf of an unhappy clergyman. The Norths appreciate his kindness. Ormonde in exile is grateful for his news. Sir Simon Harcourt almost forgets his pomposity in acknowledging what has been done for his boy.

"He is a child I love and wish well to, but if he will not be obedient to my commands, and nicely and critically observe the Orders your kind respect to us both engages you to lay upon him, he will for ever disoblige me."

Sir Simon insists not only on obedience but on visible progress being made. If the boy will not work, "instead of a liberal educacon he shall have a servile One." He shall be "an Attorneys Clark." But under Charlett's care better prospects open. Sir Simon comes to believe that his letters are making an impression at last :

"Now the Wax is soft it may be durable and deep."

¹ See for these opinions *Bodley MS. Ballard* III (34, 73, 90, 122, 147, 150, 157, 159) and Hearne's *Collections* (VI, 256 and IX, 395). There are other letters in the Wake correspondence in Christ Church Library.

² *Bodley MS. Ballard* XVI is full of letters from William Smith to Charlett.

Charlett has heaped kindnesses upon him. He "cannot paint the Joy" with which he notices Henry's improvement—his natural parts "so much improved by skilful cultivation." Henry himself corresponds with the Master after he goes down. And some years later Sir Simon writes as an old friend about his son's marriage:

"These are the grateful Work of a Parents life, propagation for the continuance of Familys and other noble ends is a command upon Mankind." ¹

Other correspondents wrote on University business. Joseph Bowles of the Bodleian was concerned to prevent the printing of manuscripts without the Curators' consent. Incidentally he confided to the Master how his health had suffered from "the dry, fruitless Labour of rectifying imperfect, corrupted, female Indexes." Provost Lancaster, when in London, evidently relied on Charlett for information. He has something to say about his Oxford colleagues. He has a word or two to add about politics. He makes merry over one small but disquieting event. In 1694 the University authorities had condemned certain propositions as heretical and had been reprimanded by the Court.

"You may yet condemn and burn too," writes Lancaster in mockery, "provided you avoid declaring Heresy. You may call the Doctrine impious, the reasoning Scandalous and the Language Bilingual . . . without being in danger of a reprimand from Court."

Lancaster wants the accounts of the Press made up. But without Dr. Delaune's assistance it is impossible to make head or tail of them. He is busy hunting Delaune in London, where the President of St. John's seems to have more choice of houses than anyone else. In appointing a University Registrar he must have a man who "keeps a good conscience." The Muscovite Ambassador, who was coming to Oxford, has been set upon and beaten by the bailiffs for debt. Dr. Shippen, later on, may be less intimate, and his letters from London have less point. But his enthusiasm breaks out over a dinner given by the Bishop of Durham, where the greater part of an ox was brought to table on the shoulders of four men. He may have thought that Charlett would appreciate that. Small talk of all descriptions finds its way into these letters, and much of it, no doubt, is trivial enough. But there must have been a good deal of kindly human nature in the man to whom correspondents so numerous

¹ See for these references the *Ballard MSS.* (XII, f. 189, corrected foliation; LXII, pp. 75-6, 87, 89; X, 45, 188, 142-3, 100, 102, 104, 106-7, 120, 125).

and varied found pleasure in communicating what they had to say.¹

II

Travellers who made pilgrimage to Oxford in the early years of the eighteenth century have left their comments on the society they found. Frans Burman, a Dutch Minister, stayed some days at the Cross Inn soon after the accession of Queen Anne. He was introduced to the Bodleian Library by Hudson, visited several of the Colleges, and saw degrees conferred. He heard Bishop Hall preach, and talked to Dr. Mill about his New Testament, and marvelled at the vitality of Dr. Wallis. But beyond a few passing observations—he praises New College as “*admodum augustum*” and notes the quaint yews in the Physic Garden—Burman’s little journal has no special criticisms to record.² Lewis Holberg, a young Dane who was in Oxford for several months a few years later, entered more into the life of the place.³ He taught grammar and music there. He lived for the most part very sparingly, but for a time, when supplies became plentiful, in a more “gentlemanlike and jovial style.” He notes the discipline enforced. After ten at night, when the Proctors were about, there was a complete solitude, though Doctors and Masters enjoyed “the right of drinking in taverns till daybreak.” He goes so far as to declare that “there is scarcely any institution for public instruction in which the authorities are more respected, and in which the conduct of the students is more uniformly correct and decorous”: and Holberg knew something of Universities abroad. Oxford Latin he cannot respect. Dr. Smalridge of Christ Church was the only man he met in England who could speak Latin tolerably. Oxford men were undoubtedly fond of disputation, and very well versed in ecclesiastical subjects. But their Latin disputations were carried on in a “miserable and bungling” fashion. Holberg played the flute well. His music evidently made him popular. He found pupils and companions, and the English pride which he notices did not stand in the way of his enjoyment. He drew a pleasant picture of University society with its hospitality, its love of talk, its love of humour. He appreciated its essential kindness to the young foreigner whom it adopted as a friend.

¹ *Ballard MSS.* (XVIII, 26, 34; IX, 28–9; XXI, 62, 70, 73, 79, 84, 215). The University’s power to decree heresies is canvassed in more than one publication. (See *A Letter to a M.P.*, etc., published in 1697.)

² Prof. J. E. B. Mayor has translated interesting extracts from Burman’s diary. (See *Cambridge under Queen Anne*, pp. 309 sq.)

³ See his *Memoirs*, translated from the Latin and published in London in 1827, *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (III, 250), and Goldsmith’s references in the *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning* (1759, pp. 67–9).

And he little thought that he was destined to become one of the greatest literary figures in Europe, or that two centuries later his admiring fellow-countrymen would be presenting his picture to Magdalen College.

Conrad Von Uffenbach¹ was at Oxford after this, chiefly in August and September 1710, and his comments are much more critical in tone. Some of the College buildings indeed he admires; Queen's, when completed, would be "a truly royal structure." The new Chapel at Trinity was fine. Christ Church Hall was "exceedingly large and lofty": but the "stench of bread and meat" in it, the coarse and filthy tablecloths, the square wooden trenchers and wooden platters to receive the bones, disgusted the visitor with their ugliness and meanness. "I could not eat or live in such a place." All Souls was planning its new Library, but Uffenbach was indignant that anyone should have given ten thousand pounds for "a palace for these lazy *socios*." Both at All Souls and elsewhere he found a curious unreadiness to take the trouble of showing what there was to see. Even Proctors did not keep engagements: Englishmen generally, "having no politeness, are seldom punctual." And Uffenbach does not spare the authorities for their indifference to their duties. Hudson indeed proved ready to show him round the Bodleian; but this readiness might have been due to the expectation of a handsome present. Even Holberg had had to spend some crowns in getting into the Library, and Uffenbach suggests that Hudson, ominously known as "the bookseller," was too anxious to sell duplicates at high prices. The Under-Librarian, a poor, covetous man, was "an arch-ignoramus." Even Thomas Hearne, though "very diligent and of much learning"—a man of thirty, we are told, and very mean to look at²—was ignorant enough to take a cast in the School of Anatomy for the natural foot. But little else perhaps could have been expected of a place where the Library treasured among its chief objects of interest two worm-eaten loaves from the siege of Oxford and one of Queen Elizabeth's shoes without its heel. Yet Uffenbach must have appreciated the Bodleian and its beauties, for the careful drawings which he took of the little wooden stair-cases inside have since formed the model

¹ In full Zacharias Conrad Von Uffenbach. His diary is largely reproduced and translated in Mayor's *Cambridge under Queen Anne*. (See especially pp. 374-95.) See also Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian* (2nd ed., 180-1 and 197-8). For some notes by a later traveller, A. H. Anquetil du Perron, who visited Oxford in 1762, see *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (III, 150).

² Hearne was then thirty-two. Mr. Green describes him as "big-mouthed, with set obstinate face and inquisitive eye" (*Oxford Studies*, 34).

for their restoration. But he found the great Library intolerably noisy.

“ Every instant visitors come in, even, which is amazing, boors and women, who stare at this library like a cow at a new gate, and make such a clatter, as to disturb everyone else.”

And if the Bodleian failed to make good its reputation, the Ashmolean was even worse. The curiosities there were not at all equal to those of Lüneburg. They were shown by a silly fellow, because the custos, always in the taverns, was “ too busy guttling and guzzling ” to show them himself.¹ The Museum might have been much better kept. The finest instruments in the Laboratory were “ almost all broken to pieces ” and the whole place was filthy. At the Physic Garden there were the same traces of neglect. Dr. Bobart was ugly and insignificant, a Professor whom you would take for a gardener, with a hideous old woman for a wife. Only the Savilian Professor of Astronomy escapes the universal condemnation and is allowed to be honest, intelligent and polite. Uffenbach could not altogether ignore the political ferment at Oxford. He attended service at Magdalen in order to see the notorious Dr. Sacheverell, and was surprised that “ so well-made and well-favored a man should meddle with such foul plots ”; and the judgment shows how little he had gathered of the problems then interesting the English people. His criticisms on the management of Oxford institutions and on the failings of University officials cannot be so easily dismissed. But eighteenth century Englishmen were not always as gracious to foreigners as courtesy required. And if Uffenbach came with insufficient introductions, disposed to criticise and difficult to please, he may not have seen either the University or its representatives at their best.

Thomas Hearne, if mean to look at, was no inconsiderable figure in the University, and his diaries or collections, beginning in July 1705, though violently coloured by his political opinions, give us a more valuable and intimate picture of the place. Hearne's comments show the strength of the Tory reaction in Oxford, as viewed by a Jacobite and Non-juror who could rarely forget the sins of his opponents. In many respects they remind us of Wood's. There is the same sharp, contemptuous criticism of others, the same extreme sensitiveness to criticism of himself, the same tinge of bitterness and disappointment. Both men made it difficult for their friends to help them. But Hearne's want of success in life was due largely to his own determination

¹ This, whether true or not, was certainly not the tradition left by Edward Lhuyd, the Keeper who died, unsalaried, in 1709.

not to bow the knee to Baal, and sympathisers to the last regarded him as a "poor suffering conscientious man."¹ Both were lonely and self-centred students, taking little pleasure in their relations, and becoming more and more engrossed in their solitary work. Yet Hearne in his earlier days was surely a racy talker and a good companion. It was only in later years that he avoided company, fought shy of coffee-house or tavern, and worked behind locked doors.² Both in their crabbed reserve fell under suspicion as Papists. Both spent their lives in Oxford, absorbing its atmosphere, exploring its history, chronicling every incident and weakness of the society they saw so close. Both loved their walks about the Oxford neighbourhood, delighted in its legends and its relics. But Hearne's notes on early Oxford history are not of high value. He had too little opportunity of consulting the materials at hand. And his writings on that point cannot compare with the spacious and delightful volumes in which Wood set forth the story of City, University and Colleges alike. Both loved books and antiquities and everything connected with them: Hearne in particular had, as Gibbon's grudging tribute acknowledges, a "voracious and undistinguishing appetite" for ancient manuscripts, coins, medals, Roman remains.³ Both were great workers, Hearne the better scholar, remarkable for his editions of classical writers, but more remarkable for his editions of British chroniclers till then too little known, Wood the greater figure in literary history, for the single aim he kept so steadily before him, for the breadth and dignity, the charm and interest of his work. Both had a vivid and attractive style of writing, a keen sense of the value and pungency of words. And both, it may be, would have been judged more kindly by posterity, had not every record of their passing rancours been so unsparingly unfolded to the world.

Thomas Hearne was the son of the parish clerk of White

¹ See Mattaire's letter to Charlett of Mar. 27, 1718 (*Bodleian Letters*, II, 38-9). Hearne left 145 volumes of manuscript diaries or collections, and a mass of correspondence, illustrated by the long series of Rawlinson Letters, the Letters from Dr. T. Smith (*Bodl. MS. Smith* 127) and innumerable references in the Ballard MSS., all of course at the Bodleian. Many of the letters he received he incorporated in his journal. Besides the 3 volumes of Bliss' *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, 11 closely printed volumes of Hearne's *Collections*, edited with great labour and skill and illustrated by copious quotations from the correspondence, have now been published by the Oxford Historical Society.

² He kept money in his room. Over £1,000, it is said, was found there, "hid in Holes and Books"—for what the rumour may be worth (*Impartial Memorials of Life and Writings of T. Hearne*, p. 60).

³ Mr. Salter, a more discriminating critic than Gibbon, points out that Hearne's antiquarian knowledge had its limits: he knew little of English law and customs in the Middle Ages (*Collections*, IX, ix).

Waltham in Berkshire. He was educated by the help of Francis Cherry, the well-known Jacobite squire of Shottesbrooke.¹ From Cherry and from Dodwell, another early friend and patron, he learned the political principles which he held so sturdily through life. Cherry sent him to St. Edmund Hall as a batteler,² and there about the beginning of the eighteenth century Hearne became known as a keen and promising student. He refused to go as a missionary to Maryland, and settled down to work at the Bodleian instead, cataloguing books and coins and papers, and learning to know intimately the materials he arranged. Hudson, the Librarian,³ a Jacobite also, but one who realised the necessity for compromise, made the young scholar his assistant, and Hearne would soon have qualified for further promotion had he been less stiff in his opinions and perhaps less ready to mistrust his friends. Unfortunately he abused his political opponents without much regard to the company he was in, and trouble ensued when, in 1713, he rashly exhibited the Pretender's picture to a visitor whom he never suspected of being a debauched and unprincipled Whig. In January 1715 Hearne was elected Architypographer and Esquire Bedel in Civil Law. Charlett and others supported his election. Gardiner, the Vice-Chancellor, admitted his personal claims. But his undisguised Jacobitism, his Non-juring scruples, and above all his intractable temper played into the hands of his critics. He was deprived of the profits of the Architypographer's post. It was alleged that he could not hold the Bedel's place along with his post in the Bodleian. In November 1715 Hearne resigned both his new offices, and when he refused to take the Oath of Allegiance he was deprived of the Sub-Librarianship of the Bodleian as well. To this position, however, Hearne unwisely clung. He kept his keys and claimed his salary though Bowles of Oriel, a "pert servitour," was appointed in his stead; and he seized every opportunity of provoking his opponents. To the last year of his life he jotted down as due to him the fees of the place he had ceased to fill.⁴ Could Hearne have taken the necessary

¹ Cherry made his property a refuge for Non-jurors. A fine rider, he was sometimes followed by King William out hunting, and he is said once to have deliberately taken a very dangerous leap, in the hope that the Usurper would follow (*D.N.B.*).

² Hearne came into residence apparently in 1696, took his B.A. in 1699 and his M.A. in 1703.

³ Elected in April 1701, in succession to Thomas Hyde.

⁴ For details of these transactions see Hearne's *Collections* (O.H.S., IV, 108-13; V, v, vi, 17-18, 32, 43, 46, 127-8, 135-42, 164-5, 171-3, 180-1, 308-11, 324; and VI, 4-9). I do not think it is quite fair to speak of Hearne as persecuted. The "Spight and Malice" were not all on his opponents' side.

oaths and obeyed the necessary regulations, his contemporaries in Oxford would have been glad enough to recognise his merits. Could he have made up his mind to leave Oxford, he might have been Librarian to the Royal Society or Librarian to Lord Oxford later on.¹ But he preferred to stay quietly at St. Edmund Hall, working with extraordinary industry and determination, carrying on a wide correspondence, issuing by subscription volume after volume of substantial value to historical students,² comforting himself with his political consistency, nursing all the while his unconquerable grudges, and setting down untiringly his trenchant comments on the lives, the books, the learning and activities, the gossip and the scandal, outside his study door.

The personal judgments expressed in Hearne's diaries must not be too readily accepted. His loyalty to principle deserves respect. But he found it hard to be fair to any "rank stinking Whigg," or even to any Hanoverian Tory, still harder to forgive those who, as he thought, had injured him. His judgments of public men are what might be expected. To Oliver Cromwell indeed he does allow, "amongst his Remarkable Vices some little Sparks of Virtue." But on William III, "yt Mongrel King," he has of course no mercy. He does not doubt that William paid a thousand pounds to secure the murder of Archbishop Sancroft and Bishop Sprat. He quotes with gusto a comparison of George I to Nero:

"George in a publick State of Lewdness lives,
Immures his own, debauches other Wives."

He notes that the pretended Prince of Wales, "the bastard Son of George, Duke of Brunswick," is a "hott-headed Fool," and his father "in almost all respects a very wicked man." He is glad to believe that "the present Dutchess of Brunswick, commonly called Queen Caroline," is a hard drinker and sometimes disgracefully drunk. He rejoices in the downfall of the Duke of Marlborough, the "Idol" whom the Whigs adored. He is convinced that Lord Cowper had two wives at the same time, that Archbishop Tenison, "ye Logger-head at Lambeth," had "no Principles of Honesty and Conscience," that "King James III^d" was "wonderfully mild and sweet in his Temper," and that Bolingbroke ruined the Jacobite cause. Bishop Trelawney is described as an "illiterate, mean, silly, trifling, and impertinent Fellow." Bishop Hoadly appears as a "noisy

¹ Or he might have accepted the offer made to him by Thomas Rawlinson in 1713 (*Ib.* IV, 128).

² Hearne's success with his subscribers was remarkable, and proves, as Mr. Salter points out, that he could, when he chose, show both patience and tact (*Collections*, IX, vii).

scribler" of "foolish, Diabolical, hellish Doctrines." Bishop Burnet is a "great Villain," immoral in his life, abandoned in his politics, with an impudent brat of a Mohock for a son.

"Of every Vice
He had a Spice
Altho' a Reverend Prelate,
Yet liv'd and dy'ed
If not bely'd
A true dissenting Zealot." ¹

On Archbishop Potter, the object of many gibes, one passage, dated June 23, 1708, may be worth quoting, as an example of the style, richly garnished with politics, personalities and pedantry, in which much of the Diary is written.

"This Day was a Convention at St. Marie's Church for Choice of Proctors for the Diocese of Oxon. . . . No one thought 'till within about a Week that the two old Members Dr. De Laune and Mr. Moore would have been oppos'd; but at y^e Instigation of y^e Heavy Arch^{bp} of Canterbury, Gibson and some other virulent Enemies to y^e Church of England and Universities, such as are for bringing in a Comprehension and establishing every thing that makes for the Whiggs and Presbyterians clandestinely made an Interest for our White Liver'd Professor Dr. John Potter. The Instruments they made use of on this occasion were some other white-liver'd, silly, ridiculous Fellows, such as Rye the Informer of Oriel, Goodwin the Leyden Dr. of Physick and Archdeacon of Oxon, Hynde of Lincoln Coll., a pitifull Pretender to Greek History (of w^{ch} he has given a most dull, empty Specimen lately) and some others; but when the votes came to be cast up it appear'd that Mr. More had 78, Dr. Delaune 66, and Potter but 43; so y^t notwthstanding all the Diligence w^{ch} the Whiggs could possibly make, and the Sly tricks of getting votes by Proxy (a thing w^{ch} has not been practis'd before in this place for a great many years) and the threats of ruining some Men if they did not close wth them, these devilish People have been baffled, and Potter has plainly discover'd himself to be a poor silly tool, of an ambitious conceited temper, and fit to be rank'd only wth Mulles, etc.—I have formerly seen in the Bodlejan Library a Book in which there is a note that Mulles signifies *nebulo*, *naevus*, etc. And the English word *mole* is the same. So likewise in Saxon. And Mr. Llhuyd tells me that they have in one part of Wales the word *maullish*, which he says is a silly, insignificant, craz'd fellow." ²

Hearne certainly had his fill of political prejudice, but it is not to be assumed that he believed quite all he jotted down. His judgments on the men of his day in Oxford are more interesting than his judgments upon politicians, though they do not

¹ For these expressions of opinion see the *Collections* (I, 56, 68, 187, 315; II, 62-3, 95, 118; III, 20, 289, 327; V, 44-5, 153, 280; VIII, 287; IX, 317; X, 194).

² *Ib.* II (115). In 1708 Potter was Regius Professor of Divinity, Tenison Archbishop of Canterbury, and Edmund Gibson Rector of Lambeth. Llhuyd or Lhuyd was Keeper of the Ashmolean.

necessarily correspond more closely with the facts. Few College Heads escape without sardonic comment. Dr. Baron of Balliol, described as a worthy man at first, proves later to be "a poor snivelling Fellow." Dr. Delaune of St. John's, the successor of Dr. Levinz, a Gallio in all matters of business, grossly mis-managed both the University's finances and his own. Dr. Halton of Queen's had "his drunken Adherents." Dr. Dunster of Wadham was "Louzy" as well as a Whig and a rogue. Dr. Mill of St. Edmund Hall is not obscurely accused of small peculations. Dr. Hall of Pembroke, Calvinist and Republican, is "an admirer of whining, cringing Parasites, and a strenuous Persecuter of truly honest Men." Dr. Meare of Brasenose "was never noted for Learning or anything else," and his successor, Dr. Shippen, a "meer Hocus-Pocus," was "commonly called Ferguson, from Ferguson the Scottish Tricker." Dr. Gibson of Queen's was "crazed," and "hastened his end by drinking Drams." Tory Heads who disapproved of Non-jurors fare no better than uncompromising Whigs. Even Dr. Smalridge, once admired little less than Aldrich, becomes "a vile, flattering Republican" in 1716. It is difficult to keep up with Hearne's rancours or their causes. But against certain College Heads he bore a steady and unvarying grudge. Dr. Lancaster of Queen's, Gibson's predecessor, was "a soft, sneaking, designing Person," a "smooth-boots," an "old, hypocritical, ambitious, drunken sot." Lancaster, we are assured, shamefully neglected his pupils. He had neither integrity nor courage. He was the worst Vice-Chancellor ever seen in Oxford. Hearne had been involved in a sharp quarrel with him¹: hence "the Pillar of Infamy" on which the Provost stood. Dr. Gardiner of All Souls, another Vice-Chancellor with whom the Diarist came into conflict, showed "the same tricking, false, insidious Temper." Gardiner is untruly depicted as a man of great pride and conceit, base, treacherous, malicious and implacable, a cheat, a glutton and a debauchee. But, as Hearne once observes, after venting his feelings in epithets, "let us not judge"—on such evidence as this. In Charlett's case the bitterness is less unbroken. It seems to vary with the Master's attitude towards the writer. A "strange Rambling Head" and an "unaccountable Vanity" are mild and not unfounded comments. There are glimpses of better feeling. In 1715 we hear that Charlett's Kindnesses have been "very many (tho' nothing near so many as his Diskindnesses)." But in 1717 he is again "that most malicious Man." In 1718 he is an implacable Enemy and a "stupid Incumberer of the Ground." And on his death in 1722 there is merely a curt reminder that the Master had been a

¹ For details of this quarrel see vol. II of the *Collections* (379-83).

very busy, very illiterate and very mischievous man. In his Diary at least, it must be admitted, Hearne's kindlier feelings seldom showed for long.¹

Outside the circle of College Heads the Diarist's comments could not be expected to be more restrained. White Kennet, "that republican, whiggish, giddy-headed, and scandalous Divine"—a "Cacodemoniack of a Compleat Historian"—he naturally cannot abide. Dr. Radcliffe, a conspicuous friend to the University, is only to Hearne an illiterate sot. Tindal of All Souls is "a most notorious ill Liver," cunning enough to secure advantages in argument by abstemiousness in drink. William Smith of University College, the first discriminating critic of Oxford history, is dismissed as a man of little judgment. Wanley, a brilliant and untiring scholar, is a very illiterate fellow, who committed "almost incredible Blunders," and who was generally drunk when he wrote. Hearne's comments on hearing of Wanley's death are an illuminating example of his jealousy and spite. Hudson, Bodley's Librarian, was notorious for his "stingy, miserable, selfish Temper, and his abominable Love of Money." Ayliffe of New College was the author of a lying, abusive rhapsody. Dr. Sacheverell was at best an indifferent Scholar, who "pretended to a great deal of honesty," at worst a rascal and a knave. Dr. Clarke, the University Member, was more fit for an Alderman than for a Member of Parliament. Vanbrugh the great architect was merely "a Blockhead." Even Anthony Wood, for whom one would have hoped to find a touch of sympathy or kindness, "was always look'd upon in Oxford," we are told, "as a most egregious, illiterate, dull Blockhead, and a conceited, impudent Coxcombe." It is difficult to find excuses for judgments so malevolent all round as these.²

Nor was Hearne always happier in his pronouncements on points of history or on current books. Genuine antiquary as he was, his statements about Oxford antiquities are often misleading. He brands as ridiculous Wanley's shrewd suggestion that the University was no older than the days of Henry I. He dismisses those who question Alfred's foundations as partisans too ready to belittle the rights of a King: William Smith, we are assured, "makes every thing spurious that happens to be against himself." Incidentally he notes Charlett's outbreak of anger

¹ For these comments on College Heads see *Collections* (I, 134, 215, 315, 320, 392; II, 49, 53-5, 69, 109, 137, 165, 281, 297, 343, 395; III, 60, 132; IV, 333; V, 55, 361; VI, 5, 22, 109, 247; VIII, 16, 161, 311; X, 16, 330; XI, 19).

² See again the *Collections* (I, 38, 193, 237; III, 65, 347; IV, 336, 384-5, 431; V, 59; VI, 9, 57, 112, 132; VII, 278; VIII, 224; IX, 161-2).

at anyone presuming to publish a life of King Alfred without permission from the Master of University College, and observes that the King's portrait in the Master's dining-room has not "that Briskness neither in the Face as should be." He talks confidently of the University in British times. He uses the strongest language about Henry VIII, revels in scandal about Queen Elizabeth. He is of course convinced of the innocence of Mary Queen of Scots, who gasped, poor lady, after her head was cut off "by the Space of half a Quarter of an Hour." He has scanty respect for other historians. Harrison's descriptions are sometimes imperfect and his observations poor and childish. Fiddes' *Life of Wolsey* is "a most wretched, injudicious Book." Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* is a mean performance. Rymer's *Foedera* is a Rhapsody containing "a vast deal of Trash." Wilkins, planning his *Concilia*, is "a vain ambitious man, of little judgment." It is a relief to find, in another field of literature, "Mr. Addison's Book of travells" allowed to be "not so contemptible, as most would make it." Hearne's own literary productions were always in danger of becoming contentious. He delighted to introduce into them ingenious passages quite sure to give offence. In March 1713 the Heads of Houses, after vainly inviting him to retract certain statements, ordered one of his books to be suppressed. And five years later the Vice-Chancellor intervened to stop the printing of one of his chronicles and to take proceedings in regard to another. On this occasion Dr. Baron was roused to speak as plainly to the Editor as ever Dr. Lancaster or Dr. Gardiner had done.

"He said he would give me leave to print nothing, that I should be put in the Court, that two Justices would tender the Oaths to me, that in my Preface to Camden's *Elizabetha* I had abused all Mankind, dead and living, that it was the most malicious Thing he ever read in his Life, that I was a Papist, and that he would not take my Word for an half Penny."

Hearne was cited in the Vice-Chancellor's Court for libelling Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth. He set himself with characteristic stubbornness to "confound and vex" his assailants. And he at least convinced himself that they were "damnable exasperated" when, on his signing an apology, the lengthy prosecution was allowed to drop.¹

Among those whom Hearne held responsible for the proceedings of 1718 was Dr. Gibson, then Provost of Queen's, whom he suspected partly on the curious ground that he was

¹ For these opinions see the *Collections* (I, 161; II, 180; III, 75; IV, 76, 314, 365, 382; V, 361; VI, 341-2; VII, 219, 286; VIII, 285-6, 370; X, 29, 33; XI, 115, 119). For Hearne's trouble over his books see the long and discursive accounts (*Ib.* IV, 108-31 and VI, 341-413).

married. The truth is that Hearne, like Wood, regarded marriage in the Head of a College as little short of an indictable offence. His diary abounds in gibes at such attachments, gibes for which the circumstances, as he describes them, give some reason. In 1717 he noted that the Rector of Exeter at nearly fourscore was courting a young girl, "handsome, but an Ideot," in the Turl.¹ In 1723 Dr. Hunt, the Master of Balliol, married a natural daughter of the Duke of Buckingham. In 1728, Dr. Leigh, his successor, married a fortune of ten thousand pounds, and the lady—to add point to the conquest—had previously rejected Dr. Hunt. A few years later we find Dr. Shippen of Brasenose charged with a scandal which not even marriage could excuse. Professors are as indiscreet as Heads of Colleges. Dr. Keill at fifty marries an Oxford bookbinder's daughter, a handsome girl, whose name had already been associated discredibly with his. Bishops are scarcely more judicious. "Most of our B^{ps} have married after they were made B^{ps} some of 'em once, and some twice, to y^e Great Prejudice of y^e Church." Hough was no sooner promoted from Oxford to Lichfield than he secured "a swinging fat Wife." White Kennet had three wives—"such a strong Inclination have y^e low Church Tribe to Flesh and Bloud." No wonder that he proved "a perfect Weathercock," and that his daughter married a coachman instead of the clergyman whom the Bishop proposed. Bishop Milles was rash enough to court at Bath a young beauty of seventeen. Bishop Crewe of Durham was "a *digamist*," in compliance with the fashion of the age. Tanner's first wife, herself a Bishop's daughter, was a "short squabb dame," remarkable for drinking brandy. But that did not deter the Bishop from marrying two more. The recluse of Edmund Hall is not unwilling to console his solitude by dwelling on the trials of married men.²

Death plays as large a part as marriage in these little daily records. Hearne has many a tragedy to mention, both in academic circles and outside them. The suicide of Thomas Creech, the translator of Lucretius, startles his contemporaries at All Souls. Another All Souls Fellow shoots a constable: and Hearne suspects that the offender, "a proud empty person," is "of y^e Whiggish Party." A Proctor dies of hard drinking, which he calls "corruption in his Lungs." But against this there is to be set a Canon of Christ Church who would die rather than drink a whole bottle of port. A Gentleman Commoner is

¹ But he added later, "I have been told since that this is false" (*Collections* VI, 115).

² See the *Collections* (I, 288, 305; II, 9, 269, 327; VI, 104, 115, 251; VIII, 50; X, 43, 72, 80; XI, 41).

drowned in a well: it made it all the harder that he was heir to fifteen thousand a year. William Blencowe, a grandson of Dr. Wallis, shot himself: "alass! 'twas too notorious . . . he was a proud Fanatical Whigg." There was a barbarous murder at Oriel, the criminal a Whig again. The Duke of Hamilton's death in the famous duel of 1712 is described: the Whigs cry up the Duke's opponent as a Saint. Young Dormer murders a gentleman in Woodstock Park: but the judges on Circuit—"two great Whiggs, and equal Rogues"—secure the reduction of the crime to man-slaughter. Traitors' deaths are chronicled at Tyburn. The prevalence of suicide among clergymen is noted, especially among clergymen who have taken "abominable Oaths." But clergymen have no monopoly of the melancholy practice. A genteel barber, named Ficcars, gives way to it, and another barber also, Thomas Hunt of Cat Street, shortly after shaving Hearne. All ranks alike have their tragedies and troubles. One Browne falls backwards into a boiling vat in the brew-house at Queen's. Mrs. Meads poisons her husband with apple-dumplings, and after many adventures is "burnt to Ashes" at Green Ditch. College servants figure in the chronicle, with an aroma of College ale about them. Jackson, the Head Cook of Merton, lives to eighty-seven, though "a sad old, drunken Rogue": his two sons were clergymen but not ornaments of the Church. The second Butler of All Souls dies with his bottle and glass before him—"a very great Lifter, indeed, a down right Sot." An octogenarian Manciple of Queen's is famed for eating, drinking, fawning, cringing, indulging his vices and "heaping up Pelf." Prickett, the Butler of University College, said to be a great crony of Dr. Charlett, and described by others in more opprobrious terms, is almost a public character. "King of Pocillator's, Senior Proto-Butler," his fame is celebrated by a Fellow of the College in doggrel much on a level with its subject. Hearne has the taste of a born gossip for all the small beer of Oxford life.¹

Homely topics mingle with the graver episodes: the jottings are of a widely varied kind. We have notes on the neglect of lectures by Professors, notes on College troubles, at University, Oriel and elsewhere, notes on the manners of Gentlemen Commoners, notes on the sale of small offices in the University's service, "a most vile, scandalous Thing." We hear of Dr. Milles writing to Mrs. Bracegirdle, the celebrated actress, to remonstrate on her way of life, of Richard Cromwell's daughters

¹ *Collections* (I, 33, 52, 107, 305; II, 332, 456; III, 26, 439, 486; IV, 181; VI, 71; VII, 63, 65, 130, 278, 296-7; VIII, 12, 25, 34, 37, 76, 78, 185; IX, 35, 57; XI, 32).

visiting the Provost of Queen's, of a stag killed inside Corpus by Lord Abingdon's hunt. Hearne had an interest in all kinds of knowledge, not only in books and coins and antiquities, but in the Ballad of Chevy Chace, in the different sorts of Oribanchi, in the early use of spectacles, in the records of centenarians, in the lead statues for the new Printing House,¹ in the coffee-houses which concentrated all the news and gossip of the day. There is of course many a reference to his walks and explorations, to Ditchley and Blenheim and Fairford Church, to the remains of Godstow, Silchester and Oseney. There is a brief account of Antiquity Hall :

"Antiquity Hall is a little House on the other side of High-Bridge, on this side Rewley Abbey. It is on the South side of the Rode. It is so called from Antiquaries meeting there. There are many young Gentlemen of Xt Church with whom I have the Honour of being acquainted. They are studious of our Antiquities, and sometimes I meet them here."

We read of bull baiting at Headington, where there was trouble because certain scholars would tie a cat to the bull's tail ; of the plague being kept off by tobacco and of an Eton boy being whipped for refusing to smoke ; of the famous smoking match at an alehouse over against the Theatre in 1723, at which an old soldier came off conqueror, smoking the three ounces of the wager gently through. We are told how the new Master of Balliol was welcomed by four hundred horsemen ; how the new Dean of Christ Church, Atterbury, gave a banquet conspicuous for its decorum and magnificence ; how Dr. Tanner's books were sunk in the Thames ; how Magliabecchi, the Duke of Tuscany's librarian, wore no shirt and lived on pudding and hard eggs. The Diarist's prejudice breaks out again on the visit to Oxford in 1733 of "Handel and (his lowsy Crew) a great number of forreign fiddlers." He is happier in chronicling births, fortunes, marriages of British stock, the fame of Oxford beauties, the meetings of the High Borlace, the gatherings in Merton Walks.

Aug. 20 (Sun.). On Friday last was the Burlace Club at the King's Head Tavern in Oxford, at which time as usual a fine Woman was pitched upon for the Toast for the next year."

And the year following Miss Molly Wickham of Garsington was chosen Lady Patroness, and Dr. Leigh, Master of Balliol, was the first clergyman present at a meeting of the Club. Toasts were the Oxford Muses of Hearne's day, inspiring alike con-

¹ There is an item of £300 for these statues in the Vice-Chancellor's Accounts for 1720-21 in the University Archives. Hearne speaks of £600 (*Colls.* VI, 106).



ANTIQUITY HALL

- A The Hall.
- B The Mansion House.
- C The Zytheapsarium behind y^e House.
- D The Way leading to y^e Hall.
- E The Manner of Entring.
- F One waiting for Company.
- G The Stone Seats at y^e Door.
- H A Stone Wall for Enclosure.

viviality and song. But Amhurst gives an ugly picture of the Oxford Toast of mean estate, taught to dance and dress and draw young College Smarts about her, and so to entangle one of them in a foolish marriage :

" She has *impudence*,—therefore she has *wit* ;
 She is *proud*,—therefore she is *well-bred* ;
 She has *fine Cloaths*—therefore she is *genteel* ;
 She would fain be a *wife*——"

and therefore only she avoids the gravest misconduct.¹ Merton Walks, till closed on account of the growing scandal, were thronged every Sunday night in summer. And when Merton Walks were closed, the " young Gentlemen and young Gentlewomen " betook themselves to Magdalen College Walk, and made that on Sunday evenings " like a Fair." Venus, surveying the scene at Merton, compared the College Grove favourably with Ida's Hill.

" A Thousand beauteous Nymphs She Here beheld,
 Who all, her much-lov'd *Greece* cou'd boast, excell'd.
 A Thousand sportive Youths, contriv'd for Joy,
 As her *Adonis* fair, but not so coy." ²

III

It is tempting to dwell on these glimpses of early eighteenth century Oxford. But the years when Hearne was busily recording them saw a movement charged with deeper issues growing up behind the lighter sides of life. The protests of the Non-jurors did not go for nothing. The passionate loyalty which had gathered round the divine right of the Stuart Sovereigns, could not be extinguished by the events of 1688. Oxford Tories could not be indifferent to the menace offered by the new order to the old ascendancy of the Established Church. Burnet had noticed from the first the coldness of the clergy. Even moderate men were afraid that the Church might fall a prey to wicked and sacrilegious Nonconformists.³ During William's life the reaction against the Revolution grew, and the demand for the Abjuration

¹ See *Terrae-Filius* (1726, pp. 152-7) and Green's *Studies in Oxford History* (1901 ; p. 58). The young Marquis of Blandford, who died, it seems, of drinking, was conspicuous in August 1731 at the " Borlace Club " (Hearne, *Collections*, X, 450).

² See *Merton Walks or The Oxford Beauties* (1717), which " mightily intraged " the Vice-Principal of St. Edmund Hall. For the references to Hearne above see *Collections* (I, 95, 100 ; II, 127 ; III, 165, 203, 238 ; VI, 92-3, 106, 216 ; VII, 45, 56, 208, 333 ; VIII, 92, 102, 113, 305 ; IX, 84-5, 103-4, 295, 336 ; XI, 16, 99, 225, 245-6). Other ephemeral publications like *Strephon's Revenge* (1724) deal with the Oxford Toasts.

³ See the *Diary* of A. De La Pryme (319).

Oath of 1702,¹ though naturally perhaps acquiesced in by the clergy, strengthened their feeling of revolt. When William died and Anne succeeded, the Tories immediately triumphed in Parliament, and their triumph was only checked for a time by the war, and by the necessity, under which Marlborough and Godolphin found themselves, of relying more and more on Whig support. The Queen was known to be devoted to the Church, far more truly, some said, than the Latitudinarian Bishops. Her devotion soon took the practical shape of surrendering to the clergy the tenths and first-fruits appropriated by the Reformation to the Crown: and the University promptly expressed its unfeigned thanks for this "unexampled Charity."² For so generous a Queen, who was not only a Tory but a Stuart, and who might well have proved a Jacobite, had she not set the interests of the Church above the interests of her race, there was a warm welcome in the University City, when she visited it in the first summer of her reign. The townsmen, the University alleged, forgot their proper place on the occasion.³ But there is no evidence that either townsmen or gownsmen failed in the enthusiasm shown. The Queen stayed only one night on her way to Bath from Windsor. But she received the accustomed gifts and addresses and was entertained at a banquet in the Sheldonian Theatre. Her admirers noted with pleasure that she proved, unlike King William, ready to do ample justice to the meal.⁴

Round the person of the new Queen the old traditions of the Stuarts gathered. The Royal miracle, healing by the Sovereign's touch, revived.⁵ The cult of the martyred King grew stronger, intensified by the publication of Clarendon's History, which began to appear in 1702. The University of Oxford is alleged

¹ The Abjuration Oath of 1702 not only abjured the descendants of King James but admitted the rightful title of King William.

² See *Convocation Register B_D* (f. 7). Queen Anne's Bounty dates from 1704.

³ *Convocation Register B_o* (pp. 28-9, at end).

⁴ See Hearne (*Colls.* VII, 276) and Miss Strickland's comment (*Lives of Queens of England*, ed. 1852, VIII, 167). Queen Anne's appetite seems often to have roused her subjects' admiration. See the lines quoted by De La Pryme (*Diary*, 49):

" King William thinks all,
Queen Mary talks all,
Prince George drinks all,
And Princess Anne eats all."

The Queen's entertainment cost £344. (See Vice-Chancellor's Accounts for 1701-2, in the University Archives.)

⁵ Even if a child's complaint was not very obvious, parents, we hear, "had no objection to the bit of gold." (See Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, II, 499, n.)

to have ordered—the fact is that a private lady painted and presented to the Bodleian—companion pictures, recalling the death of Christ and the death of King Charles.¹ The poet Young, a Fellow of All Souls, published at Oxford in 1713 a poem on the Last Day, which described the Royal Martyr appearing at the Judgment Seat:²

“ His lifted Hands his lofty Neck surround,
To hide the Scarlet of a circling Wound,
Th’ Almighty Judge bends forward from his Throne
These Scars to mark, and then regards his Own.”

Loyalty so extravagant provoked retort. Wild young Whigs, summoned to pay homage to the divinity of Stuart Kings, sang songs recalling the political achievements of the second James and the domestic habits of the second Charles. On the solemn anniversary of the 30th January, to all good Tories a day of national humiliation,³ they asked

“ What the Devil means all this pother
On this Day more than another ? ”

They had as little respect for priests as for Kings :

“ Tis Force must pull a lawless Tyrant down ;
But give Men knowledge, and the Priest’s undone.”

And it must be admitted that a good many scurrilities mingled with these bolder views. Angry Tories declared that a Calves Head Club, instituted by Milton and “ some other Creatures of the Commonwealth,” habitually celebrated the murder of King Charles.⁴ Hearne mentions in 1707 an “ abominable Riot ” at All Souls, when two Fellows, including Charles Talbot, a Bishop’s son and a future Lord Chancellor, assisted by two Pro-Proctors from Oriel, “ both low church Men,” dined off beheaded woodcocks “ in contempt of the memory of the B. Martyr.”⁵ Outrages of this kind fed the Tory fires. In the clerical world the agitation for a Bill to stop Occasional Conformity, and to prevent Dissenters from evading the Test Act intended to exclude them from office, became so fierce that the

¹ See G. Agar Ellis’ *Historical Inquiries respecting the character of Lord Clarendon* (p. 177, n.) and Lecky (*Hist. of England*, I, 67). I think the statements must refer to the two pastels hung in the Selden End, which were given by Mary or Maria Prince in 1722. (See *Bodleian Quart. Record*, vol. III, p. 4.)

² *A Poem on the Last Day* (ed. 1713; pp. 56–7).

³ The day of course of Charles I’s execution in 1649.

⁴ See *The Secret History of the Calves-Head Club or The Republican Unmasked* (1703) where a certain number of these songs are collected. See also Hone’s *Every-Day Book* (II, 158–60).

⁵ *Collections* (I, 337).

Queen herself was accused of vacillation ¹ when, session after session, the Lords threw out the Bill. Convocation, which King William's Government had tried to suppress, attacked the moderation of the Bishops. Between Popery on one side and Schismatics on the other the Church was "crucified between two thieves." At Court the Tory strength was growing. Mrs. Masham was quietly undermining the formidable Duchess. Only the astonishing victories of Marlborough kept the Whigs in power. In 1708 indeed the Whigs asserted their authority. Harley was driven from office. The great Duke forced his Whig allies upon the Crown. And French schemes for a landing in Scotland produced at Oxford a spirited protest against invasion by "a Pretended Prince attainted of High Treason, educated in Romish Superstition, and supported by a French Army." ² But the danger from invasion passed. Harley contrived to retain his influence. The Duchess of Marlborough was positively nauseated by the attentions paid to Mrs. Masham. The rising Tory tide swept on. And when, in November 1709, a hot-headed Oxford preacher flung down his famous challenge at St. Paul's to all friends of Whiggism, toleration or Dissent, the country rose to save the Church at his appeal.

Henry Sacheverell had for years past been a familiar figure at Magdalen, with his imposing presence and his imposing voice. There is evidence that he was not very highly regarded. But he had long been busily engaged in pamphleteering and in preaching against Low Churchmen, Fanatics and Whigs. In December 1705 he had already delivered in the University Church the substance of the sermon which found such startling celebrity when delivered four years later at St. Paul's.³ In denouncing the perils of the Church from false brethren he knew he had Oxford feeling behind him. In demanding bail on his memorable impeachment he nominated the Vice-Chancellor as one of his sureties. In demanding a testimonial from the University he wrote as if he had an overwhelming claim.

"I shall onely tell you my Safety depends on it, and I shall think my Self most barbarously us'd to be Denied such a piece of justice." ⁴

Observers declared that the Doctor's speech on his defence, which moved Queen and Nobles "and All y^e She^s to tears,"

¹ Oldmixon (*Hist. of England*, under Queen Anne, 380).

² *Convocation Register Bd* (f. 41), under date 13 March, 1708.

³ But his defenders claimed that "two thirds of the Sermon, at least, were new." (See Dr. W. King's *Works*, ii, 249.)

⁴ See the letter dated 5 Feb. 1710 in *Bodley MS. Ballard XXXIV* (77-8).

was composed by the University for him.¹ Trapp of Wadham, the first Professor of Poetry,² accused of murdering Virgil in blank verse, was conspicuous among the Doctor's defenders. And Hearne, who had no liking for the man, dwells on the extraordinary scenes which accompanied his trial, on the bonfires lit in Oxford to celebrate the mildness of the sentence, on the enthusiastic crowds which heralded his return. The Oxford Doctor, whatever his faults, had fired a train which nobody could quench.³ In April 1710 the University forwarded to the Queen a protest against "that Popish Republican Doctrine of Resistance of Princes, the very mention of which at this time under the best of Queens ought to be detested and abhorred."⁴ In June the change of Government began. By the autumn Harley and St. John were secure in power. The Tories swept the country. Not even Marlborough's prestige could stem the tide. Early in 1711 the intolerable Duchess was driven from her places. On the last day of that year the Government found courage to dispense with the illustrious Duke himself.

Oxford Tories might be pardoned if they rejoiced in the victory so long deferred. Never had the Church been more triumphant. But never had the spirit of faction been more shamelessly alive. Peace was a necessity of Tory policy, and a reasonable peace was desired by the nation. Ormonde replaced Marlborough, and Bishop Robinson, once a Fellow of Oriel, was made Privy Seal and sent to Utrecht to negotiate a Treaty. The University took credit for the prowess of its sons.

"It is our Peculiar honour that One of the Sacred Order, bred amongst us, is pursuing the Business of his Holy Function in Treating of a Peace, whilst our Chancellor himselfe is at the Head of your Majesties Troops ready to oblige the Enemie by Arms to accept such Terms as you have thought fit to offer."⁵

The Masters of Oxford might have been less proud had they realised that British Ministers were secretly conspiring with the French Government against the interests of their own Allies, and that, while the campaign in Flanders still continued, Ormonde,

¹ *Ib.* (XXXI, 57, corrected to 82). Some suggested Atterbury's hand (Hearne, *Colls.*, VIII, 224).

² The wits thus summarised the nine poetical muses of Oxford:—Bubb, Stubb, Grubb, Crabb, Trapp, Young, Carey, Tickell, Evans. (See Percy's *Reliques*, ed. Wheatley, III, 307—where the spelling, however, is slightly different.)

³ Mr. Madan's *Bibliography of Dr. Henry Sacheverell* is a valuable little guide to the literature of the subject. For the Doctor's life see also *Bodley MS. Rawl. J.* 40 (I, 88; II, 139 sq.; III, 272).

⁴ *Convocation Register Bd* (f. 62).

⁵ *Ib.* (ff. 88^b and 89).

Marlborough's inadequate successor, was proposing to withdraw his troops on the eve of battle, and even to communicate to the French commander the intentions of the Dutch.¹ But in spite of the protests excited by these methods, the peace with France was carried through. The production of Addison's *Cato* in April 1713—the first regular tragedy, thought Voltaire, ever written by an English writer—joined Whigs and Tories in a vain endeavour to turn its suave verses to political account.² Party feuds grew daily fiercer. Bolingbroke recognised that the best way of uniting his followers was to hound them on against Whigs and Dissenters. The Occasional Conformity Act had now passed into law, and in 1714 the Schism Act dealt a severe blow at Nonconformist education.³ The Queen's health was known to be failing. The whole world waited for the crisis, while the dominant politicians quarrelled and intrigued. On the 1st August 1714 the Queen died at Kensington. King George was immediately proclaimed. With the collapse of the Tory Government the ascendancy of the Church in English politics passed. And many an Oxford Jacobite, without Bolingbroke's philosophy, must have echoed the words of bitter disillusionment in which he confided to Swift the shattering of his hopes.

The years which followed were difficult years in Oxford politics. The Whig Ministry was wisely blind to some ebullitions of feeling which it could not prevent. Oxford might, as John Wesley declared, be "paved with the skulls of Jacobites,"⁴ but officially the University authorities endeavoured to preserve a sense of decorum. Convocation, which had recently hailed with joy the "Uprightness and Wisdom" of the Tory Administration, was able to assure King George of the "unanimity"

¹ It is impossible, I think, to reject Mr. Lecky's measured but severe condemnation (*Hist. of England*, I, 107 sq.) of the methods adopted to secure the peace. See the evidence in the *Report from the Committee of Secrecy* (1715) appointed by the House of Commons, Torcy's *Memoirs*, Bolingbroke's *Letters and Correspondence*, ed. 1798 (especially vol. II, pp. 320-1, 344-5, 442-3), etc. Chatham was no mere partisan when he described the Treaty as "the indelible reproach of the last generation," and even Mr. Gladstone's early Toryism condemned the Tory Ministers of Queen Anne for conduct "hostile to British interests" and "destructive of British glory." (See the *Chatham Correspondence*, I, 251, and Mr. G. Russell's life of Mr. Gladstone, II.)

² Mrs. Oldfield's singular but urgent reasons for discontinuing the run of the play are noticed in the *Seventh Report of the Historical MSS. Commission* (p. 239).

³ Both were repealed within a few years.

⁴ Skulls figured often in contemporary phrases. Golgotha, "the place of Skulls or Heads of Colleges," was the name given to the Council Chamber in the new Clarendon Building (*Terraë-Filius*, 54-5).

with which his subjects recognised his "undoubted right."¹ Ormonde, though deeply involved in Jacobite diplomacy, was popular both in the University and in the country—"the bubble of his own popularity," Bolingbroke alleged. Dr. Gardiner of All Souls, Vice-Chancellor on the new Sovereign's accession, had certainly not the gift of popularity, but his political moderation had its value at the time.

"The gentlemen here who were rampant four days ago," wrote Dr. Stratford of Christ Church on the 2nd August 1714, "begin to turn upon their heel very quickly. Delaune ordered King George to be prayed for yesterday morning in St. John's Chapel, when it was objected that it was not certain the Queen was dead. 'Dead,' says he, 'she is as dead as Julius Cæsar.' At the ordinance on Wednesday night the President of Trinity toasted the Earl of Oxford. Delaune said then, 'He is out, what do you toast him for? What have we to do with him?'"²

Dr. Delaune had grasped the methods of his age. Elsewhere, it is true, some idealism lingered. Non-jurors gathered in earnest consultation. A few stern spirits sacrificed their academic careers sooner than acknowledge the new dynasty. Some Jacobites waited for opportunities of rebellion, while poetasters taunted them with their broken schemes.³ And though the opportunity for rebellion never came in Oxford, there was enough vitality among the members of the University to make their discontent uproarious if not dangerous to the State. A letter delivered by a mysterious "Person, in an Open-Sleeve'd Gown and in a Cinnamon-Colour'd Coat," summoning the Mayor imperiously to proclaim "his Sacred Majestie King James," had startled the authorities for a moment in 1714. Hearne and his friends chuckled to see that the rejoicings and illuminations for King George were so poor. But the address of James III, assuring his people that he still had them in view, and that the Elector of Brunswick was "one of the remotest" of his relations, appears to have caused still less sensation.⁴ The birthday of King George, however, on May 28th almost coincided with the birthday of Charles II on May 29th. The double chance was too tempting for adventurous spirits to overlook. And the year 1715, which produced in the North a serious rebellion, was not suffered to pass without manifestations of opinion in the Jacobite capital of the South.

¹ See the Addresses of 6 May 1713 and 17 August 1714 (*Convoc. Reg. Bd.*, 96, 112^b, 113). In July 1713 Harley in the Sheldonian verses is still "Britanniae decus et columnam" (*Acad. Oxon. Comitia Phil.*, 10 July 1713).

² See *Hist. MSS. Commission, Portland Papers* (VII, 198).

³ See the *Epistle from a Student to the Chevalier* (1717).

⁴ On these incidents see Hearne (*Collects.* IV, 389-90, and V, 13).

The Constitution Club were supporters of the new Government, whose "insolent loyalty" the Jacobites of Oxford could not abide. They included Fellows of various Colleges—New College, though a Tory society, and Oriel seem to have been strongly represented—and they included also a number of Gentlemen Commoners and young Bloods. On the 28th May, after some jambling of bells in King George's honour by "the Whiggish, Fanatical Crew," the Whigs met at the King's Head Tavern in the High Street, drank to the Hanoverian King, and proposed to light a Hanoverian bonfire. But they found themselves beset by a Jacobite mob, which had been parading the streets and shouting for the Pretender, and which was determined to prevent "the least Sign of rejoicing" on the part of its opponents. After a scuffle the Whigs were dispersed. The "Rabble" flowed on to gut the Presbyterian Meeting-House and to put "the Amen-Raiser of that Place" in the stocks. A Dissenting pulpit was burned at Carfax, shots were fired at New College and Oriel, and a good many windows, if not heads, were broken. Next day, the anniversary of "the Glorious Restoration," the Jacobites seized the opportunity for a celebration such as had hardly been known, says Hearne, since King Charles' return. The streets were filled with people shouting for Ormonde and King James. Every window not illuminated was broken. Meeting-Houses of Quakers and Anabaptists were pillaged. There were even threats of attacking Colleges: Oriel was supposed to be a refuge of the Whigs. The Government showed some natural irritation. "Rattling letters" came down from Court to reprove the Mayor and Dr. Charlett, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, and Charlett had to exert himself to prevent another outbreak on the 10th June.¹ But the Heads of Colleges solemnly decided that the trouble arose from the provocative action of the Constitution Club. And when Mr. Justice Dormer came down to hold an inquiry, a Grand Jury of unflinching Tories declared that all the mischief must be put down to the Club's account. "A Sett of Men, whose Principles are opposite to Monarchy," could not be forgiven, even when they met to celebrate the birthday of the ruling King.²

¹ The birthday of "King James III." Dr. Smalridge invited all the noblemen and Gentlemen Commoners of Christ Church to dinner, to keep them out of mischief.

² The Tory view of these disturbances will be found in Hearne (*Collects*, V, 61–8) and in *A Full and Impartial Account of the Oxford Riots*, in a Letter from a Member of the University (1715). For the Whig view see *Terrae-Filius* (279–83) and Mr. Green's *Studies* (145 sq.). See also the press comments in the *St. James' Post* for June 1 and 8, 1715, the *Post Boy* of June 4, the *Flying Post* of June 7, etc. The May riot of 1715

As that critical year proceeded, the Jacobite fever in Oxford must have risen high. But no further outbreak of importance occurred. In August came the news of Ormonde's flight to France and of Mar's suspicious journey through the Highlands.¹ Swift's fine tribute to Ormonde's generosity and sweetness of nature helps to explain the popularity which his errors of judgment never destroyed.² The University leaders took no official notice of the Duke's disappearance, but in September they elected his brother, Lord Arran, as Chancellor in his place.³ Their attitude to the new dynasty could not be mistaken, and little incidents revealed the tension which existed. An old soldier named Prichard, arrested at the instance of a Christ Church Student for cursing King George, was incontinently rescued by rash young Tories. Officers recruiting for the King's army in Oxford were met with hissing and Jacobite songs. "I never was in such a damned, villanous, hellish Place," cried one of them, losing his temper. Only a few "poor shabby, beggerly, mean spirited" recruits were secured. In the Corn-market "rascally Dragoons" set upon certain scholars of distinction: Hearne omits to mention any provocation which they may have received. Lord Abingdon was said to have declined to call out the militia. There was certainly disloyalty abroad, some collecting of arms—Hearne speaks of "a Hogshead full" being seized at Oxford Wharf—and some talk of a rising in connection with Ormonde's vain descent upon the West.⁴ The Government determined on a display of force, and in October troops were marched into the City.⁵ Martial law was proclaimed. College gates were shut, while the soldiers searched for Jacobite conspirators. A few arrests were made. One prominent agitator, Colonel Owen, "a brave, stout Man," was nearly captured at the Greyhound Inn. But he fled over the wall into Magdalen College, where sympathisers are said to have hidden him in the

appears to be described in Dr. Stratford's letters under the year 1717. (See *Portland Papers*, VII, 222-3.) Mr. S. F. Hulton (*Rixae Oxonienses*) describes these and other Jacobite troubles of the time.

¹ Mar raised the Pretender's standard on the 6th September at Braemar. In February 1716 they arrived together as fugitives at Gravelines.

² It is quoted in the note on Ormonde's career given in the *Seventh Report of the Historical MSS. Commission* (p. 761).

³ See *Convocation Register Bd* (f. 126) and Hearne (*Collections*, V, 110-11). Arran signified his brother's resignation.

⁴ At any rate petitions were presented to the Government later by men who claimed to have given information in regard to an intended rising at Oxford. (See *Calendar of State Papers*, 1720-28, pp. 17 and 290-1.)

⁵ First under General Pepper, then, towards the end of the month, under Brigadier Handasyde. (See the *Political State of Great Britain*, X, 343-6.)

turret of the Grammar Hall. And with Colonel Owen's ignominious departure, all danger of a rising in Oxford disappeared.¹

A few rash lads from Oxford were probably drawn into the Northern insurrections. Hearne mentions one, Lionel Walden of Christ Church, who was taken at Preston, and who left him a legacy later. But the soldiers remained for some months, to overawe the University city, and others besides Whigs were probably content to have them there. Professor Trapp must have had more wit than Swift allows him if he is responsible for the well-known lines :

" King George, observing with judicious eyes
The state of both his universities,
To Oxford sent a troop of horse ; and why ?
That learned body wanted loyalty.
To Cambridge books he sent, as well discerning
How much that loyal body wanted learning." ²

After the collapse of the risings the Whigs naturally seized the opportunity to indicate their views. On the 29th May 1716 the Constitution Club, meeting, as they alleged, to commemorate King Charles' Restoration and to drink King George's health, found themselves exposed to misconstruction and subjected to noisy interruptions from the street. An unfortunate Proctor, visiting the tavern, was induced, perhaps by pressure, to join them in drinking to King George. But Mr. Meadowcourt of Merton, whose ingenuity had suggested the toast, was made to suffer for it in academic circles.³ In June, despite " Scuffles " between scholars and soldiers, Oxford celebrated the crushing of the Rebellion, the Whigs " very rampant . . . particularly in Oriel College." But the thanksgiving in the churches was said to be poorly attended, and even Smalridge joined those who saw no necessity for an address of congratulation to the King. In July a certain Frank Nichols of Exeter College was

¹ For other references to Hearne above, see his *Collections* (V, 87-8, 96-7, 105, 125 and 149).

² But the Cambridge retort was happier :

" The King to Oxford sent a troop of horse,
For Tories own no argument but force.
With equal skill to Cambridge books he sent,
For Whigs admit no force but argument."

The books were Bishop Moore's library, purchased and presented by George I. Trapp's authorship of the Oxford epigram is now admitted.

³ Meadowcourt's account of the transaction is given fully in a memorandum, dated 28 June 1716, in vol. XV of Archbishop Wake's Letters in Christ Church Library. Mr. Green (*Oxford Studies*, 163-5) describes the incident and its consequences. His papers on the Jacobite disturbances are of course full of life, but perhaps a little difficult to follow in the matter of dates.

fined, imprisoned and compelled to offer a very humble apology in Convocation for crying *An Ormonde for ever* in the public streets.¹ The temptation to scuffles recurred. In August a rough-tongued recruiting-serjeant was said to have insulted certain scholars lounging outside Balliol by asking "if they had a Pope in their bellies," a remark which inevitably led to liveliness upon both sides. At the end of October, when the Prince of Wales had a birthday, Dr. Stratford noted a great disturbance, caused by the soldiers beginning to break all windows that were not illuminated, and the rapidly ensuing anniversaries of King William's birthday and the Gunpowder Plot served to keep the excitement up.² In January 1717, however, there were bonfires in King George's honour, and Hearne could only comment acidly on "the cringing Temper of this Age." And a few months later, when the Whigs were demanding a visitation of the University—Toland in particular denouncing its "spirit of narrowness, party, censoriousness, and bigotry," its idle, drunken Fellows, and its lazy and arbitrary Heads³—Charlett hastened to assure the Chancellor that his College at any rate was "intirely devoted and attached to the Illustrious House of Hanover." Hearne may have had some excuse for deploring the cringing of politicians less impeccable than he.⁴

IV

Oxford Jacobites had little influence in the end upon the course of politics. But it was long before their influence in the University disappeared. A letter written to Archbishop Wake by one of the Fellows of Merton in November 1715 gives a gloomy picture of disaffection. Rebellion, it is alleged, was openly owned and encouraged. Some Tutors were lecturing on Hereditary Right. There were only three Houses, Wadham, Jesus and Merton, whose Heads were not "violent Tories and Jacobites." There were several Houses in which there was not a single Whig. To meet these dangers proposals were put forward—a Bill was even drafted—for transferring to the Crown the appointment not only of University officials, but of all members of Colleges and Halls. Bishop Trelawney, writing to Wake, deprecates these extreme measures, promises as a College Visitor to deal sharply with anything like sedition, and evidently expostu-

¹ See *Convocation Register B D* (f. 136) and Hearne (*Collections*, V, 268).

² See *Portland Papers* (VII, 216-18) and *The Political State of Great Britain* (XII, 505 sq. and XIII, 419 sq.). A number of Informations and Depositions were sent in.

³ See *The State Anatomy of Great Britain* (1717, pp. 71-2).

⁴ For other references to Hearne above, see *Collections* (V, 234, 236, 237, and VI, 16 and 76).

lates with some high Tories at Oxford. He begs for a reprieve, for patience. He entreats the Archbishop to save the University from "destructive violence," and so to show himself a greater benefactor than Chichele or Wykeham. Dr. Gardiner also protests against Government interference: he is sure of the loyalty of College Heads. Dr. Baron is evidently not free from apprehensions. The Dean of Christ Church will not pretend that there is no ground for imputations of disloyalty, but he thinks, shrewdly enough, that the disaffection is neither so widespread nor so vehement as it is represented.¹ Outbreaks of feeling in Convocation were as far as possible repressed. Robert Shippen, the Principal of Brasenose and the brother of "honest Shippen," the Jacobite leader in the House of Commons—he "can talk politicks," says *Terrae Filius*, "as well as any Man, after his Brother has lectur'd him"—made at least one determined effort to support his brother's views. In December 1717 he moved a resolution suggesting that a part of the King's Speech seemed "Rather to be Calculated for the Meridian of Germany than of Great Britain."

"'Tis the only infelicity of His Maj^{ties} Reign that He is unacquainted with our Language and Constitution, and 'tis therefore the more Incumbent on His British Ministers to inform Him, that our Government does not stand on the same Foundation with His German Dominions."

But the challenge failed. Convocation drew back in alarm. It resolved by a sweeping majority² that Shippen's words reflected dishonourably and unjustly "on his Majesty's Personal Government." And other injudicious manifestations had no more definite results.

We should expect Hearne to sympathise with Shippen's political opinions. But for the Principal's character he had no respect. A man of higher standing, Bishop Atterbury of Rochester, was drawn more closely into Jacobite intrigues after the Rebellion, when new plots heralded Prince Charles Edward's appearance in the world. But the Bishop's arrest and imprisonment failed to shake the Government's credit, and his banishment in 1723 was a fresh blow to the High Church party. Atterbury's friends in Oxford, where he still had correspondents and supporters, were of course powerless to save him. Dr. Smalridge, his successor at Christ Church, knew his faults too well. "Atterbury," he once said, "sets everything on fire. I come after him with a bucket of water." Oxford Tories fell back on

¹ See Wake's Letters at Christ Church (vol. XV, unpagged). The Merton Fellow who signs J. R. is J. Russell. The Dean of Christ Church is Smalridge, who was also Bishop of Bristol.

² 189 votes to 96. (See *Bodley MS. Ballard XXI*, ff. 206-7.)

disciplinary measures. If they could not dislodge the Whigs from power, they could do something to chasten them in their years of indiscretion. Young Whigs in Colleges were made to feel that the way to academic prizes would not be found easy by political transgressors. Mr. Costard of Wadham was "put by his Degree" for a time, Hearne says for reading an obscene lecture, Amhurst says for refusing to renounce the Constitution Club, whose members a Proctor had openly described as "villains hateful to heaven and to men."¹ Mr. Scurlock of Jesus was "pluck'd" for his opinions. Three Fellows of Merton were denied degrees on the same grounds. Mr. Meadowcourt of Merton, kept out of his degree by the Proctors whom he had offended, boldly put the Proctors in the Vice-Chancellor's Court in December 1718, with the result that his degree was conceded and the bells of Merton rung for his triumph.² It is to be feared that the episode did not teach him better ways. For the next year, when Professor Warton, "squinting *Tom of Maudlin*," Trapp's successor, preached on the 29th May a deliberately inflammatory sermon, reminding his hearers that Justice beareth all things, hopeth all things, and—with great emphasis—restoreth all things, Meadowcourt denounced him in plain terms for sedition, first to the Vice-Chancellor and then to the Secretary of State.³ And in later years Meadowcourt broke out again with an ostentatious dinner at Merton on the 30th January 1728, which seemed to Hearne much fitter for a gaudy than for a day of solemn fast:

"the Whigs themselves being nettled at it, for even the generality of them would have the day observed, being afraid least an Usurper should undergo the same Fate as that blessed martyr K. Ch. I." ⁴

It appears that some young Whigs at any rate could hold their own. But some were, no doubt, as Amhurst says, discouraged and brow-beaten by the College authorities.⁵ Even moderate

¹ See Green (*Oxford Studies*, 165).

² See *Terrae-Filius* (115-31) and Hearne (*Collections*, VI, 261). I have accepted above some of Amhurst's statements (*Terrae-Filius*, 285-6): but they are in part confirmed by Hearne.

³ For a detailed account of this popular sermon see *Terrae-Filius* (75-86). George Clarke, writing to Charlett in July 1719, speaks of a threat to take away the University's Charter if such incidents recurred (*Bodl. MS. Ballard XX*, 126-7).

⁴ *Collections* (IX, 404).

⁵ Practically, says *Terrae-Filius* (175), "attainted and outlaw'd." Mr. Green speaks of Oxford (*Studies*, 160) as "an earthly purgatory" for Whigs "during the reign of the first two Georges." Possibly both these statements are too sweeping.

men like Archbishop Wake felt that University reform was badly needed, and that the Royal supremacy over the Universities ought to be more definitely assured.

At the same time the older Whigs were made to realise that the dominant traditions of the University must not be lightly set at naught. Dr. Ayliffe of New College, a diligent student of academic customs, published in 1714 two volumes on *The Antient and Present State of the University of Oxford*, which others besides Hearne condemned as a scurrilous book. As a record of University practices Ayliffe's work had considerable value. But the writer was an uncompromising Whig, who made no secret of his political opinions. He not only dedicated his book to the Whig leader, Lord Somers, a luminary of "pure and primitive lustre." He went out of his way to attack Charles II for refusing to pass the Exclusion Bill, the one creditable episode in a discreditable reign. He came nearer home and reflected too rashly on the faults of Heads of Colleges and the mismanagement of University finance. He suggested that the Heads abused their veto on College elections, and caused trouble by straining the authority which they possessed. And he invited any "proud strutting Head," whom he had offended by his comments, to "expend his angry Resentments" in reply.

"I shall ever be ready to expose and lay before the World the many foul and scandalous Corruptions, which may very probably arise from such an exorbitant Power."¹

It was too much to expect that this challenge would be allowed to pass. Ayliffe was summoned before the authorities and expelled after a struggle from the University: and an attempt to expel him from New College also ended in his resigning his Fellowship there.² Ayliffe may have been harshly treated, and his controversial methods probably injured his case. But one charge at least which he brought, the mismanagement of the University funds, was not without foundation. During Dr. Delaune's Vice-Chancellorship a substantial sum of money, arising largely from the sale of Lord Clarendon's History and amounting, it was said, to three thousand pounds, seems to have been muddled away. And it is significant of the easy standards prevailing then in Oxford, that the Head of a College, who was

¹ See the Preface to vol. I of Ayliffe's work. He afterwards published *The Case of Dr. Ayliffe* (1716), in which he declared (p. 75) that the Vice-Chancellor had determined to expel him before the publication of his book. For the charges made against him at New College see *Bodley MS. Ballard I* (128-32).

² The authors of *New College* (198-204) also deal fully with Ayliffe's case.



THE OLD CLARENDON BUILDING

From the engraving by Skelton, after the drawing by E. & M. Rooker

never quite cleared of this scandal,¹ and who was at the same time a notorious gambler, should have been elected Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in 1715. The election was largely due, says Dr. Stratford genially, to Bachelors of Divinity "near half of them jail-birds like himself, who had left the University for debt."² The loss happily did not prevent the building of the Clarendon Printing House, "a most magnificent and stately pile," destined not only to be a new home for the Press but to serve as a meeting-place for the University authorities in future.³

Nicholas Amhurst, elected a Scholar of St. John's in 1716, was another Oxford student who convinced himself that he had suffered for his Whig opinions. He certainly expressed those opinions with unflinching freedom after the authorities had sent him down. A member of the Constitution Club, a satirist of Oxford Toasts and Professors, an admirer of Hoadly, an assailant of Popery in the Church, Amhurst set himself to flout the feelings of one of the sturdiest Tory Colleges in Oxford; and it is unfortunate if his misconduct gave the Dons, as they alleged, the excuse for expelling him which they undoubtedly desired. "My Indictment," he says in the ironical dedication of his poems to President Delaune, "may be collected" thus:

Imprimis, For loving foreign Turnips⁴ and *Presbyterian* Bishops.

Item, For believing that Steeples and *Organs* are not absolutely necessary to salvation.

¹ Dr. Delaune apparently repaid some £300 in the end. "*Oh tempora ! oh mores !*" cries Hearne (*Collects.*, I, 315). An entry in the Register of the Chancellor's Court (*Arch. Univ. Oxon. Regrum Curiae Cancell.* 1706-1712) records an action against him, 21 July 1709, and Delaune's consent to the sequestration of his income.

² *Portland Papers* (VII, 212).

³ Dr. Ayliffe gives a contemporary account of this building (*Antient and Present State of University*, I, 476 sq.). The builder named is Townsend, a well-known Oxford mason. But there is no doubt that it was Hawksmoor's work. At least one of his designs is at Worcester College, with Thornhill's drawings for the figures on the roof. I do not know of any grounds for connecting it with Vanbrugh. One contemporary rhymester speaks of the Old Men's Heads set up on posts round "the Thatter-Yard" (*Academia, Or the Humours of the University of Oxford*, 1716). The Vice-Chancellor's Accounts in the University Archives (*Computus Vice-Can.* 1697-1735) name no architect; but they mention Townsend and several of the workmen, and they have other references to the building—items of £90, of £150, of £185 for the purchase of houses on the site in 1709-10 and 1710-11, payments of £6,185 and receipts of £4,677—I quote round figures—under 1714-15, and £300 for the lead statues in 1720-21. The Proctor's Accounts for this period show that rents received from one or two houses cease as the site for the Clarendon Building is cleared.

⁴ Thomas Warton, the elder, had written a satire on George I called *The Turnip Hoer*.

Item, For Ingratitude to his Benefactor, that spotless Martyr, St. William Laud.

Item, For *Preaching* without Orders, and *Praying* without a Commission.

Item, For lampooning *Priestcraft* and *Petticoatcraft*, etc.

In 1721 Amhurst began to publish under the title of *Terrae Filius* the bi-weekly papers which afterwards appeared as a *Secret History of the University of Oxford*. And the writer, who proved able to launch and to conduct the *Craftsman*, soon showed that he had many of the qualities of the born satirist and pamphleteer.

"It has, till of late, been a custom, from time immemorial, for one of our family to mount the *Rostrum* at *Oxford* at certain seasons, and divert an innumerable crowd of spectators . . . with a merry oration . . . interspers'd with secret history, raillery, and sarcasm."

On these occasions nobody was spared. Heads of Colleges and Professors fell under the flail, on the principle that it could do the University no harm if the old fellows were "jobbed at" occasionally for their failings, as the young ones were every day. To discover, in Hearne's phrase, "the flagrant crimes of many loose Academicians, particularly the abominable Acts of some Heads of Houses," to rattle a dice-box as Dr. Delaune came into the Theatre, to assert that the President of Trinity went in fear of the lash, to wonder what a "mitred Hog"—the Bishop of Oxford—had to do with a wife of eighteen, to mock at the "Maudling" Fellows of Magdalen, the "Merton Lollards," or the "Jacobite Topers of St. John's"¹—these and similar innuendoes gave zest and point to an academic scene. But as the public Acts became more popular and crowded, the license of the *Terrae Filius* became more than the authorities could stand. In 1713 Dr. Gardiner suppressed the speaker, whereupon the speech was printed in a form so libellous that the Heads ordered it to be publicly burned.² This produced another pamphlet entitled *More Burning Work for the Oxford Congregation*,³ containing other material of much the same kind. "The Fashion of being arch upon all that was Grave, and waggish upon the Ladies," had undoubtedly, as a contemporary notice says, "crept into our Seats of Learning." Evelyn had long ago described it as "rather licentious lyeing and railing than genuine and noble witt."⁴ It was not only Heads of Colleges who felt that the old custom of the *Terrae Filius* might with advantage be suppressed.

The Act had now become almost too well-known an anniversary, and the authorities seem to have taken every opportunity

¹ See the suppressed Speech of 1733 among the Bodleian Pamphlets (*Gough, Oxford*, 101).

² See *Bodleian Pamphlets* (308).

³ Or *The Oxford Miscellany* (1713).

⁴ *Diary*, 10th July 1669.

of suppressing that as well. A character in a comedy of 1704 declares that it drew to Oxford half the nation.¹

“Men o’ Fashion come to shew some new French Cutt, laugh at Learning, and prove their want of it. . . . The Doctors have smugg’d up their old Faces, powder’d their diminutive Bobs, put on their starch’d Bands and their best Prunello Cassocks, with shining Shoes that you might see your Face in. The young Commoners have sold their Books to run to Plays. The Servitors have pawn’d their Beds to treat their shabby Acquaintance, and every College has brew’d such store of strong stupifying Belch, in hopes to level sheer Wits to their own Mediocrity.”

Again and again we find the Chancellor suggesting the postponement of the ceremony. After 1693 there were many years without any public celebration. After 1707 there was an interval till 1713. In 1721 Amhurst speaks of the practice as almost worn out, and in spite of his protest there seems to have been no repetition of it between 1713 and 1733. Then the anniversary again attracted great attention. It was crowded, says Hearne, with “Country Mob.” But while others spoke of the brilliancy of the occasion, Hearne, as his nature was, found little to praise and much to regret. Hardly anything was done “in a decent manner.” The Philosophical Disputations proved to be “just as ’twere nothing.” The Professor of Music failed to read the usual Music Lecture. The “Consort” was no better than a sham. Mr. Handel gave a performance for his own benefit: but his book, sold at 1s., was “not worth 1d.” Worst of all the speech of *Terrae Filius* was again suppressed.² Caricaturists represent the Vice-Chancellor as congratulating the Proctors on escaping from an experience which might have left them all “bemir’d and in the Suds.”³

Terrae Filius loved personalities too well. But he commented with equal freedom on other aspects of Oxford life. It was not only on grounds of politics or to check the petty persecutions to which Whigs were exposed, that he pleaded for a thorough reform of the University system. He noted the neglect of lectures: out of twenty Public Lectures he found only three or four observed at all. An official of the Schools assured him that he had not seen the face of any Lecturer in any Faculty except Poetry and Music for three years past. He discovered among College Tutors some signs of improvement in the teaching of philosophy. But in matters of faith he advised all Oxford

¹ See *An Act at Oxford* (1704, p. 2). A summary of this play is given in Wordsworth’s *Social Life at the English Universities* (289 sq.).

² For Hearne’s comments see his *Collections* (XI, 226–7).

³ See *The Oxford Act*. A New Ballad-Opera (1733).

students simply to declare themselves churchmen, and never to attempt to explain what that meant :

“ *Since in religion all men disagree,
And some one God believe, some thirty, and some three.*”

His papers tell of one College Head who scolded his students for lingering away their time in Chapel, “ robbing their Parents under a pretence of serving God.” They dwell on the excessive influence of some College servants and their familiarity with College Heads. They describe the Poetical Club, persons of all faculties and persons of none, who meet at the Three Tuns on condition that good wine is kept and a pretty wench to serve it. They sketch the College Smart, not always a nobleman or a Gentleman Commoner, who comes in academical undress every morning to Lyne’s coffee-house, dines on chicken in his own chamber, “ whilst the dull *regulars* are at dinner in their hall,” dresses and goes back to Lyne’s, adjourns presently to Hamilton’s, attends Chapel to air his clothes and his singing, and after prayers drinks tea with some celebrated Toast. They warn the school-boy going up to Oxford that he will find himself at once among “ a parcel of *honest, merry fellows*, who think themselves obliged in point of honour and common civility to make you *damnable drunk*, and carry you, as they call it, a CORPSE to bed.” They mock at the Master of Balliol’s humour—sconcing a young fellow five shillings for trying to cut his throat, and threatening next time to make it ten. They never miss an opportunity of ridiculing the President of St. John’s. There is, no doubt, levity and exaggeration in the indictment, a sense of smarting injury, a strong spice of malice. But it is hardly to be denied that Amhurst laid his finger on many of the weaknesses which discredited the Oxford of his day.

The Jacobite fever continued for some years after the Fifteen. There must have been joy in the camp when a spy was arrested for trying to “ trepan ” Jacobites at Brasenose, and whipped at the cart’s tail from Carfax to East Gate.¹ There was a good deal of liveliness, and some curious cross-voting, over the election of University Burgesses in 1722, when the Jacobites ran Dr. King, the Principal of St. Mary Hall, against Dr. Clarke, who had been Member for some years already. There were attacks on Clarke as “ a pitifull, proud Sneaker ” who had opposed the Occasional Conformity Bill. The Heads supporting him, Shippen especially, were freely accused of vanity and passion. The Bishop’s interposition was sharply reprovèd.² There was scorn

¹ Hearne (*Collections*, VII, 261).

² *Ib.* (318 and 341). See also *An Account of the Late Election for the University of Oxford* (By an M.A., 1722), and the *Copy of a Letter sent to a Certain B— on account of a Pragmatical Interposition*, etc.

for the compliments and caresses exchanged between Dr. Clarke and the old Duchess of Marlborough. There was resentment in Hearne's jottings of 1723 against the Abjuration Oath demanded of all owners of real estate, resentment all the bitterer because "it is incredible w^t Numbers of all kinds run in to swear."¹ There was resentment even at the "pitifull, cringing" Address in which the University acknowledged, in 1724, the foundation by the King of a Professorship of Modern History, from which dates the study of Modern Languages in Oxford.² For the History Professor was to maintain out of his salary two Lecturers in Modern Languages, to train for the public service and diplomacy Scholars nominated by the Crown. The Letters Patent spoke of the Crown's great concern for the University's welfare, while Convocation expressed its thanks for the "Paternal Affection and Tenderness" of the King. And above all, on Hearne's part there was deep and natural resentment when in 1730-31 a group of his ill-wishers in Oxford got hold of a letter or essay written by him over thirty years before, in vindication of those who took the Oath of Allegiance to William III, and printed it together with a malicious commentary on the errors which his many books contained.³ Hearne met the attack with his usual spirit, though he felt the injury intended by "designing, knavish men." It was true that he had taken the oath for his degree. But the arguments used then satisfied him no longer. "When I was a childe, I spake (or reasoned) as a childe . . . but when I became a man, I put away childish things." The answer was not complete. But it was not in Hearne's nature that his stubborn principles should weaken, or that the enmities which he had cherished for a life-time should pass. His diary indeed in its later passages became less violent in tone. But, as with Wood, the churlishness of his reserve grew on him, and his loneliness deepened into isolation as the shadows closed round him at St. Edmund Hall.⁴

Time passed. George II succeeded his father. Courtly instincts strengthened the established King. The University indeed seems to have hesitated for a moment in 1727 whether, considering the new King's relations with his father, condolence or congratulation would be more in place.⁵ But the Vice-Chancellor broke boldly into Latin verse.

¹ Hearne (*Collects.*, X, 53, and VIII, 121).

² *Ib.* (VIII, 218-19, 293 and 297). See also *Convocation Register B_D* (ff. 207^b-8, 214-16).

³ See the *Collections* (X, 227-8, and XI, vi and 467-79).

⁴ See Mr. Salter's sketch of Hearne's last days (*Ib.* XI, vii sq.).

⁵ *Ib.* (IX, 319-20). Young noblemen were invited to accompany the deputation which presented the Address.

"Te Duce, siqua manent civilis crimina rixae,
Publicus absolvet, qui Tibi constat, Amor." ¹

The same note rang through the University Addresses published in 1736 and 1738. And later on the academic elegies on Frederick Prince of Wales bore witness to

"The countless tears which sad Britannia shed." ²

Congratulations to the Crown, more difficult perhaps to offer, celebrated the "signal Victory" over the rebels at Culloden, and the "Invincible Courage" of a Royal Duke, who, the Jacobites perversely asserted, feared everything except God. ³

"An Invasion in favour of a Popish Pretender, animated with the hopes of Assistance from the power of France or Spain, is reflected upon with uncommon abhorrence by those, whose studies peculiarly lead them to know, that the Religion to be introduced by this intended Change is founded in absurdity and the grossest superstition." ⁴

Jacobitism must have been going sadly out of fashion if such resolutions passed without protest. Yet the falling-off of freshmen at some Jacobite Colleges in the autumn of 1745 may not have been unconnected with Jacobite designs. And in 1748 we do find a flicker of the old spirit in Oxford. Seven young gentlemen, fresh from their potations, issued out of Balliol one February night, shouting "God bless King James," and otherwise conducting themselves in an objectionable and treasonable manner. Unhappily they fell into the hands of the Reverend Mr. Blacow, a determined Whig, who knew what he owed to the University, to himself and to the King. Blacow was at Winter's coffee-house when the rioters came shouting to the doors. He followed them into Oriel Lane to arrest them, and there a lively scuffle occurred. The ring-leaders, Whitmore, Dawes and Luxmore, refused to surrender. Two of the boys stripped to fight. A delighted mob gathered about them, and Blacow had to take refuge in Oriel College. Blacow reported to the Vice-Chancellor, who tried in vain to pour oil upon the waters. "Nothing could prevent young fellows getting into liquor." He was willing to punish but not to make too much of the offence. The authorities indeed expressed their detestation of such seditious practices, condemned the gross contempt of discipline and the insult to

¹ See *Pietas Univ. Oxon. in obitum . . . Regis Georgii I* (1727).

² See the *Gratulatio Acad. Oxon.* upon Prince Frederick's marriage in 1736, the *Pietas Acad. Oxon.* on Queen Caroline's death in 1738, and the *English Poems* on Prince Frederick's death in 1751.

³ "Qui timet omnia praeter Deum," said Dr. King of him (*D.N.B.*).

⁴ See *Convocation Register B* (ff. 141 and 156-7).

the Crown, and issued orders for a stricter control of coffee-houses and taverns. But with this Blacow would not be appeased. He brought the matter before the Government. Dawes, Whitmore and Luxmore were tried in the King's Bench. Dawes and Whitmore were heavily sentenced: Luxmore, more fortunate, was acquitted. There was some talk of noticing the Vice-Chancellor's conduct and of revising the University Statutes. Blacow was denounced by the Jacobites as an informer. But, presently appointed to a Canonry of Windsor, he realised that good might come out of evil even in public life.¹

This rare instance of belated severity, contrasting so strongly with the Government's apparent indifference for a generation past, did not indeed quell Jacobite feeling in Oxford. In 1749 Dr. King of St. Mary Hall, one of the last leaders of a failing cause, delivered, on the opening of the Radcliffe Library, a Latin speech obviously devised to delight his political friends and to exasperate the other side.²

"What Britons dare to think he dares to tell."

Two Whig members of Exeter College, who were present,³ have left lively accounts of "the Grand Hurly Burly," when King "arose in all the Majesty of Ancient Eloquence," with his son sitting behind him "to hold his Lemon," descanted impudently on the degeneracy of the nation, the iniquity and corruption of the times, and then, turning to prayer, made his devotion "as Virulent as his Harangue" and as clearly intended to convey Jacobite opinions. Next day, however, Professor Brooks, who in the Whig view "behaved like an Angel," contrived to get in a satisfactory retort. King had acted as secretary to Ormonde and to Arran. He was the confidential friend of Swift. He once made a speech at which Dr. Johnson "clapped his hands till they were sore."⁴ He is even rumoured to have entertained

¹ The fullest account of this episode is given in Richard Blacow's *Letter to William King, L.L.D.*, published in 1755, and provoked by an attack on Whig Informers contained in Dr. King's *Apology or Vindication of Himself*. The substance of Blacow's pamphlet was reprinted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of that year (vol. XXV, 168-70. See also vol. XVIII, 214). Smollett's *Hist. of England* (1790, III, 257-8), Hulton's *Rixae Oxonienses* (152-6), Prof. Davis' *Balliol College* (185) and *Collectanea* (O.H.S. II, 421-2) refer to the riot.

² See the protests in contemporary tracts like *Remarks on Dr. King's Speech at the Dedication of Dr. R——'s Library and Oxford Honesty; or a Case of Conscience*. Horace Walpole speaks of "chastisement for Oxford" being contemplated by Government in May 1749. (See his *Letters*, ed. Cunningham, II, 153.)

³ Thomas Bray and Benjamin Kennicott, whose contemporary letters are printed in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (vol. I, pp. 165-72).

⁴ See Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (ed. B. Hill, I, 348).

Charles Edward for a secret hour in Oxford.¹ His epitaph, drafted for preservation with his heart in St. Mary Hall, spoke of him as finding friends among all conditions of mankind—"at veros, stabiles, gratos perpaucissimos."² He devoted to politics, possibly to faction, no small powers of eloquence, irony and wit. But for all his cheery audacity King must have known that the hopes he stood for were passing away. And when in 1761 he allowed himself to be persuaded to join in presenting an address to George III, he publicly admitted that Jacobitism was dead. The cause went down in no unkindly laughter, as all but the bitterest or faithfulest of Tories gathered round an English and a Tory King. And the birthday of the future George IV was hailed not inappropriately as "Cupid's holy day" by a far-seeing academic poet.³ Once more the oft-tried loyalty of Oxford had found a King whom it could lawfully acknowledge, a comfortable faith in which it could abide. But with the new allegiance came new ways. As the phantom of faction disappeared, the phantom of reform rose over the horizon, hardly less dangerous to political or educational repose, and in many respects more disquieting to inveterate lovers of the past.

¹ In 1750. But this story, though repeated in *D.N.B.* and elsewhere, seems to need further confirmation. It is more probable that King saw the Prince in London.

² See Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes* (II, 607-9). A small collection of King's letters to Lord Orrery, from July 1738 to July 1745, is now in the Bodleian (M.S. Eng. Hist. d. 103). They deal chiefly with personal and literary matters, and have comparatively few references to politics. But they illustrate King's kindness and humour.

³ See *Gratulatio Solennis Univ. Oxon.* (1762).

CHAPTER XXI

THE COLLEGES OF HEARNE'S DAY 1696-1735

RICHARD STEELE, recalling gratefully the happy days which he had spent at Oxford, wrote delicately of that "mansion of select and well-taught spirits," where men were inspired by "the magnificence of their palaces, the greatness of their revenues, the sweetness of their groves and retirements" to works worthy of their noble nature.¹ But life in an Oxford College of the early eighteenth century did not always equal this ideal. Among the College Heads who were Hearne's contemporaries there were men indeed of character and learning.² Deans like Aldrich and Smalridge were rulers of distinction, and Aldrich especially must have been a man of charm. Dean Boulter and Dean Conybeare kept up the tradition; but Conybeare found Christ Church "an Augean stable" when he succeeded in 1733. Charlett again at University College and Bishop Hall at Pembroke were both in their different ways conspicuous. At Queen's Dr. Lancaster and Dr. Gibson were devoted to the interests of their College. Gardiner at All Souls had force and ability, if he had also an unhappy knack of exasperating his colleagues. Provost Carter of Oriel had the same good intentions, accompanied by the same failing. But of outstanding figures among College Heads there were too few. The level in some cases was below mediocrity. For men of Fell's strong character and sense of duty one would look in vain. Take "an Old Heavy Country Parson," said *Terrae Filius* in 1713, in his scurrilous receipts for making a Head of a House, and "extract all Remains of common Sense and common Honesty," or take a "Plotting, Intriguing, Rakish, Drinking" Fellow of a College, and "drill him down to a Rigid Disciplinarian," and the necessary foundations would be laid. At Balliol Dr. Baron made way for a successor no more distinguished than himself, and Dr. Leigh, who secured the Mastership in 1726, was known chiefly as a high and reactionary Tory. At Brasenose Dr. Meare

¹ See *The Tatler* (No. 39, July 9, 1709).

² Hearne was entered at St. Edmund Hall in December 1695 and came into residence in 1696. He died there in June 1735.

was latterly insane, and Dr. Shippen certainly did nothing to raise the tone of the College. The harsh judgments passed on Shippen seem to be well founded. He had, no doubt, his own friends. His relations were fond of him. Dr. George Clarke made him one of his trustees. Dr. Delaune of St. John's was one of his cronies: Stratford calls them "Hoppy and Toppy." The Chancellor made him Vice-Chancellor for five years in succession. But both as Vice-Chancellor and as Principal his bad judgment and bad temper brought him into disrepute. For his morals it would not be fair to rely upon Hearne's stories. But Shippen seems to have secured his Fellowship by fabricating a pedigree. He stooped to mean or doubtful actions to advance his interests. He quarrelled right and left with those who resisted his chicanery. And his gifts of companionship and conviviality failed to conceal his sordid outlook upon life.¹ Dr. Delaune at St. John's may have had some more lovable qualities to excuse his very obvious shortcomings. But he appears constantly as Shippen's ally and supporter, and that cannot be considered a title to respect. Other Heads were merely unintelligent. Holland, Lydall's successor at Merton, was known as "Dull John." Dobson of Trinity seemed to some critics the incarnation of stupidity. Hole of Exeter, an octogenarian, was ridiculed as Dr. Drybones. And Panting, Master of Pembroke when Bishop Hall and his Whig connections had departed, was content to be labelled as "an honest Gent." Humphrey Prideaux, asked some years earlier to recommend a College for his nephew, thought that Wadham had the best reputation. But he was careful to add that most of the men responsible for the government of Colleges in Oxford were "such as I could scarce committ a dog to their charge."²

I

But if College Heads were often disappointing, College Tutors were becoming more important every day. The beginnings of

¹ Hearne has many references to Shippen. Stratford (*Portland Papers*, VII, 72, 140, 212, 243, 246-7, 252-3, 255-6, 276, 335, 340 sq.) has many others. The Shippen papers in the Bodleian (*Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. C. 106*) throw little light on his character, though they illustrate his attachment to his family. But the pamphlet *The Spiritual Intruder Unmasked in a letter from the Orthodox in Whitechapel to Dr. Shippen* shows him capable of sharp practice. I am glad to find that Mr. R. W. Jeffery's MS. *Life of the Principal*, which he kindly lent me to read after this sketch was for the most part written, confirms my judgment. But I owe some points to him.

² See the *Fifth Report Hist. MSS. Commission* (374). The letters in question were written in 1692 and 1695. Prideaux might not have spoken so favourably of Wadham in the later years of Dunster's rule.

the tutorial system are to be found early in Oxford history. The view that the senior members of a College had some responsibility for the conduct and instruction of their younger colleagues was a natural development of the Collegiate idea. The Deans, who superintended discipline and studies, were gradually supplemented by special teachers. The Merton Statutes contemplated a teacher of grammar or Latin, to whom any Merton man might resort "without a blush."¹ The Poor Boys of Queen's had teachers to instruct them in grammar and logic. William of Wykeham provided for all young students at New College teachers paid from College funds. Waynflete, following Wykeham closely, established at Magdalen a regular system of instruction.² Fox and Wolsey appointed at Corpus and at Cardinal College Lecturers or Professors, whose teaching threatened to eclipse the teaching in the Schools. But the earliest Tutors were not primarily teachers. They were intended rather to be personal guardians and to superintend the student's conduct and expenditure. The Magdalen Statutes of the fifteenth century allowed the admission of twenty Commoners, "sons of nobles and of worthy persons," under the care and tutorship of "creditors" or "creancers"; and an addition of 1547, recalling that these creditors or Tutors³ were to instruct their pupils in good letters and good manners, laid special stress on their responsibility in matters of finance.⁴ The protection of the College was at least as prominent as the instruction of the student. At Brasenose Sutton's Scholars had Tutors to see to their expenses and to be responsible for the payment of their fines.⁵ The Statutes of Corpus and of Cardinal College provided Tutors to look after the funds of Commoners and young Canons, Tutors who, at Cardinal College, might, if necessary, resort to blows.⁶ At Trinity and Jesus there were Tutors for Commoners: at St. John's there were Tutors for Commoners, choristers and Scholars.⁷ The Elizabethan Statutes, which drove the students into Halls and Colleges, brought them all under the supervision of Tutors, who had to see that the necessary oaths were taken and the Matriculation Statutes kept. College Lecturers were at the same

¹ Even advanced students—"proveciores" (Cap. 2).

² "Informatores" is the word used for these teachers at Queen's, New and Magdalen. (See *Statutes of Oxford Colleges*, vol. I, Queen's, pp. 30-1, New Coll., p. 54, Magdalen, p. 78.)

³ "Creditores, tutores et fidejussores" (*Ib.* Magdalen, p. 127).

⁴ *Ib.* (pp. 60 and 127).

⁵ *Statutes*, I (Brasenose, p. 12).

⁶ "Verbis et verberibus" (*Stats.* I, Card. Coll., p. 100, and Corpus, p. 80).

⁷ *Statutes*, I (Jesus, p. 58, and St. John's, pp. 75 and 83), and *Trinity Statutes* (Cap. 10).

time increasing. But the educational functions of the Tutor were probably increasing also, though they were overshadowed by his functions as a guardian still.

In the seventeenth century the tutorial system quietly developed. Charles Greenwood, who exercised such a happy influence at University in the last years of Queen Elizabeth, was not the only College Tutor into whom, as Strafford put it, a pupil might safely pour his secrets. And John Evelyn's Tutor at Balliol was probably not the only one who sacrificed his pupils to his preoccupation with politics and College quarrels. In the Laudian Statutes the Tutor's responsibility is a recognised part of the University system. All scholars must have Tutors, and all Tutors must be approved by the Heads of Colleges or Halls, and if necessary by the Vice-Chancellor.¹ But Laud is found complaining that Oxford Tutors were content "only to read to" their pupils, and did not pay sufficient attention to their discipline and conduct.² In the days of the Commonwealth, when the whole University system was tightened and improved, new regulations for Tutors were laid down. Even Gentlemen Commoners had to do their exercises. A Tutor's duty to his pupils included daily prayer. And though prayers grew shorter and all strenuous obligations tended to grow slacker after the Restoration, the value of a good Tutor undoubtedly remained.

In the year of the English Revolution Stephen Penton, who had been a Fellow of New College and Principal of St. Edmund Hall, published a pamphlet called *The Guardian's Instruction or The Gentleman's Romance*, in which he freely discussed University education. He pictured an old Oxford man, who had entered the University just before the Civil War, and who had been greatly impressed by his Tutor then. The Tutor's instruction had been eagerly sought. His lectures were regarded as "a great Condescention," and those who could not secure his help were "left naked" and were objects of commiseration. Time passed and disillusion followed. The old Oxonian heard others rail against the University and took to railing against it himself. He "did almost swear" not to send his children to it. He actually sent his eldest boy abroad. But when the lad came back too "stately," with no learning and thinking of nothing but sport, and when he found his nephew at Oxford acquiring a "sense of Vertue and Religion and industrious Inclinations," he began to

¹ See the Caroline Statutes (*Tit.* III, S. ii). The Tutor was to supervise his pupils' morals, to instruct them in approved authors and the rudiments of religion, and above all to make them conform to the discipline of the Church of England. He was also to see to little matters like clothes, boots, etc.

² See Laud's *Works* (ed. 1853, vol. V; pp. 259-60).

return to his old allegiance. He was recommended to judge of a College, not by individual young men there, but "by the known Integrity and Prudence of a Tutor." He found a Tutor of an independent mind, who insisted not only on administering his pupil's allowance, but on choosing his books and his studies and his intimate friends. He found rules suggested for the pupil's conduct, which included the regular performance of exercises and the regular payment of dues, attendance at church and attendance at prayers, avoidance of cards, dice, bowling-greens and even horses, regular letters home, and confidential reports between parent and Tutor.¹ If Penton's suggestions were based upon practice, the needs of the system must have been, in some cases at any rate, thoroughly thought out. A conscientious Tutor might ask himself, like some of his predecessors under the Commonwealth, did he plan his pupils' time to the best advantage? Did he set them a good example? Did he constantly inspect their compositions? Did he see to their conduct and expenditure, to their health and morals, as a Tutor should?²

At the end of the seventeenth century, however, a Tutor's responsibilities probably varied a good deal with the view which he took of them and with the habits of his pupils. He combined the two-fold functions of guardian and educational adviser. He had a two-fold obligation, to his College and to the boy's parents, though William Smith of University in 1703 was unwilling to recommend to a parent one Fellow of the College as Tutor rather than another.³ He had to see that statutory requirements were met, and that the College was saved from loss or discredit. But he was sometimes in close personal relations with the father of a boy under his charge, and he reported to the father on the boy's progress and on the way his money went. To the parents of the richer boys in particular he would look for any special remuneration which his services deserved. A humble, serious-minded boy might come to his Tutor chiefly for help in work. A well-to-do young Commoner might trouble him little in regard to his studies, but might give him a good deal of anxiety in matters of conduct and finance. When Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal sent his sons to Queen's in the days of King William, he hoped that his cousin Henry Brougham, who was a Fellow there, would act as Tutor.

¹ See especially pp. 18-22 and 45-50 of *The Guardian's Instruction*, and compare Sir Stephen Fox's advice to his grandson, quoted by Mr. Carr (*University College*, 162-3).

² See the Tutor's scheme of self-examination in *A Sketch of Academical Institution*.

³ He was unwilling, he wrote to Charlett, "to intermeddle in so new a point as to prefer any of you before another." (See *Bodley MS. Ballard XVI, f. 48.*)

"I have been very indifferent as to y^e business of pupilling," writes Brougham in February 1693, "there being other establisht Tutours very fit and able to serve y^e Colledge."¹

But Brougham agreed to act, and he soon found Roger Fleming regrettably strange "to y^e Greek and latine tongues." Another Fellow, Mr. Waugh, in Brougham's absence, "read to" the boy and was "extraordinary kind." When Roger's brother James came up the next year, Brougham consented to tutor him also, and thanked Sir Daniel for "y^e unusual allowance you are pleased to make for Tuition."² But the Tutor's accounts of the two boys' expenses soon proved uncomfortably large.

"Their battles," writes Brougham to Sir Daniel in May 1695, "notwithstanding all that has been said, continue very high, and for my part, I can doe no more than I have already towards reforming that excess, without taking such courses as might have worse consequences. If you should again conclude from hence, that their application to their Studies has not been so great as it ought, I do not know how we can avoid y^r inference."

Bills for the two boys mounted up. Sir Daniel decided that the Tutor was right "not to be very quick in paying off such extravagant Ticks." But one of the young rascals suggested to his father that Brougham's failing health was accountable for "that most pernicious passion of peevishness, whence might proceed our difference in stating accounts." Brougham died and Waugh took over his duties. But the difficulties in regard to bills went on, although the pleasures which formerly tempted Roger to wrong-doing had, we are assured, become odious in his sight. For the "ticks" taken over by his Tutor, James confessed to his brother, he cared nothing at all. But the "ticke at Noes-Ark," a tavern near the Physic Garden, was probably outside the Tutor's cognisance, and it "mounted to more than either you or I did think of." In October 1696, after Roger had gone down, James was removed to St. Edmund Hall, where the Vice-Principal acted as Tutor, and where James could be supervised by his elder brother George. George was in many respects a model of propriety, as became a man who was to enjoy seven livings, to be in turn a Prebendary, an Archdeacon and a Dean, and to end life both Baronet and Bishop. We know that when George exceeded his allowance, his heart was "in an agony and distilling drops of blood." But we do not know that he was

¹ See *The Flemings in Oxford* (III, 106). There was perhaps no very definite line drawn between private Tutors and Tutors appointed by the College.

² Dr. Magrath points out that Sir Daniel had doubled Brougham's usual tuition fee for battelers in Roger's case (*Flemings in Oxford*, III, 162 n.).

successful in checking his brother's extravagance, or in teaching him the sobriety of spirit which no Tutor seemed able to impart.¹

As time went on the influence which might be exercised by College Tutors came to be better understood. Young Samuel Johnson indeed, miserably conscious of his poverty and contemptuous of his teachers, failed to profit much by the tutorship of William Jorden at Pembroke, a worthy but a heavy man. He neglected his exercises. He cut his lectures and went sliding in the Christ Church meadows instead. He omitted, to Boswell's deep regret, to write "something sublime" on the Gunpowder Plot. But he atoned for that by taking to his Tutor a "truly Virgilian" set of Latin verses. And the young rebel's "stark insensibility" was touched at last by Jorden's kindness. "Whenever a young man becomes Jorden's pupil, he becomes his son."² Some Tutors, however, counted for more, and some pupils perhaps were easier to handle. Atterbury and Smalridge had no small influence at Christ Church before they succeeded as Deans. Alsop and Bateman, whom Johnson praised so highly, were less conspicuous there, but, it may be, not less useful. Addison and Sacheverell had their pupils at Magdalen. John Burton at Corpus, a little later, struggled to introduce the teaching of John Locke. Both Waugh and Francis Thompson at Queen's are described by Hearne as great Tutors: Thompson was said to understand Newton's *Principia* better than Newton himself. Dale and Teasdale were two other successful Queen's Tutors; Dale in particular saw to it that his pupils attended lectures. At Lincoln John Morley won consideration as a Tutor, though he married and grew indolent in his Rectorial days. Harding of Trinity and Best of Balliol were highly esteemed by their contemporaries. John Bingham at University had a great reputation, till an unhappy sermon compelled him to relinquish his work. Conybeare at Exeter, a more successful preacher, was one of the most successful Tutors of his day. He compelled all Scholars, Commoners and battlers of the College to pay five shillings a quarter to a tuition fund.³ And at Lincoln John Wesley's experience as a Tutor perhaps helped to make him a leader of men. University Reformers realised how important the tutorial system might become. In 1715 Dean Prideaux forwarded to the Secretary of State articles suggesting that the tutorial system should be organised under more definite

¹ Indeed the inference from Sir Daniel's letter of 28 Jan. 1697 is all the other way. (See *Flemings in Oxford*, III, 334; and for other points noted above see the same volume, pp. 28, 84, 116, 121, 151-2, 208, 218-19, 242, 255-6, 312-17.)

² See Birkbeck Hill's edition of *Boswell's Life of Johnson* (1887, I, 58 sq.).

³ See Stride's *Exeter College* (103).

rules. All Tutors should be appointed by the Masters and Seniors of a College, and licensed by the Vice-Chancellor after taking the necessary oaths. They should lecture regularly to their pupils and expound to them on Sundays the Articles of the Church. Too many Fellows lived "a dronish and slothful life." And they should be subject to penalties and, if need be, to removal, were their duties not properly performed.¹

Old letters preserve for us more than one example of an Oxford boy's relations with his Tutor in those already distant days. Richard Graham or Grahme, the son of a well-known Jacobite squire, came up as a young boy from Levens to University College in the last years of the seventeenth century. He found Oxford at first a very pleasant place. The buildings were "mighty ancient and venerable," if "inferior to those in the modern style." The College beer was much praised, though not up to "that of our Will Blackwell's brewing." His new friends, some of them, were very smart. His chambers he would have liked better if the chimney had not smoked. His College Tutor proved "somewhat high and repellent." But before long a Fellow of another College became both an informal guardian and a disinterested friend. The boy writes to his sister Lucy :

"You must not think, dear sister, that they keep us at our books from morning till night. Our days are much at our own disposal. . . . Some are mighty bookish, and some are mighty idle. . . . I would rather be a bookworm than a dunce ; but I do not see the need to be either."

Presently he has to write to his father for money. He has lent £8 to a friend who "unfortunately put £7 15s. 6d. loose into his pocket, unknowing of a hole therein." He takes to reading Mrs. Aphra Behn's novels. His new acquaintance Chowler, who becomes too intimate, thinks "polite authors" so important for a man of spirit. Love-letters teach a man to form his style. Chowler's influence, unhappily, leads him into mischief. His Tutor² fears that he has fallen among bad companions. The Head of the College fears that the boy "is touching pitch—touching pitch." Trouble follows. Drink leads to

¹ See Prideaux' *Articles for the Reformation of the two Universities* (printed in his *Life*, 199 sq., especially articles XXXIX to XLVI). Other articles suggested the limitation of Fellowships to twenty years from matriculation, the revision of College Statutes, the abolition of privileges for Founders' kin, etc. In the *Memorial Relating to the Universities*, attributed to the first Lord Macclesfield a little later, and printed by Gutch (*Collectanea Curiosa*, II, 53-75), it is suggested that there should be two Tutors in each College, who after fifteen years' service should hold Fellowships for life, while other Fellowships were limited to twenty years.

² His informal guardian, Dod or Todd, may be considered, I think, as his real Tutor.

a bad accident, and the accident leads to a decline. The boy repents with bitter self-reproaches. "I have been," he confesses, "a poor weak fool." He wastes away, his faithful Tutor watching by him, and the sense of his folly weighing heavily, morbidly, upon his mind. His parents seem unable to visit him: his father was a Jacobite conspirator under arrest in the spring of 1696. He has only his devoted Tutor, a devoted friend or two, near him at the end. His brief will bequeaths to the best friend he has his spaniel, his gun and saddle, and twelve of his best-bound books—"my darling Lucy to have all the rest." It is a pathetic little record of a wasted life.¹

Nearly thirty years later George Fothergill was writing home from Queen's, entreating his parents not to forget to reply—"you'll scarce believe how it enlivens me to hear from you"—and reporting that his "reverend tutor is very careful" of him. He believes the Tutor to be "diligent in his own studies": example, no doubt, was better than precept. He accepts the classics, exercises and philosophy and the Hebrew lecture which the Tutor enjoins. He is evidently glad at the same time to escape from them and to read some English books when he can.² But he bears testimony to the Tutor's kindness and to his readiness especially to help him in eking out his narrow means. Within a few years of this we find Mrs. Taylor sending her boy to Brasenose at a very early age, to be under the care of her cousin Mr. Leyborne, whose fatherly tenderness she gratefully acknowledged. Her own letters to Jack, she was afraid, were only "a familiar rabble of anything which at that time comes into my Pate." But if Leyborne looks at them he will see how she has insisted that Jack must obey his Tutor's and the Principal's commands. She apologises for sending Jack a crown, not knowing that he was "under necessary correction." The boy, it seems, was kept short of cash by his Tutor. In his necessities he contracted small debts, sold his books and even borrowed one or two half-crowns. He had to be pulled up for such behaviour. "Jack is now Thirteen," writes his mother to Leyborne in January 1728; "I pray God Bless my Boy and make him good." Jack himself, no hardened offender, assures his mother that he would never willingly "do anything to greive" her. He begs that his submissiveness may disarm her anger. "And if I want any money or anything else I will ask Mr. Leyborne and tell him why, if I dare." Mrs. Leyborne continues her letters to the Tutor. Jack has assured her very earnestly

¹ See *A Student Penitent of 1695*, by F. E. Paget, a true story, though the names are altered, and notes by Mr. Carr (*University College*, 163) and by Dr. Magrath (*Flemings in Oxford*, III, 191).

² See *The Fothergills of Ravenstonedale* (pp. 67-8, 80, 82, etc.).

that he would "mind whatever I thought a fault in him; and then he hop'd I wou'd Love him as well as I us'd to do for the fear I did not was a trouble he could not bear." She had tried to write to him without showing her annoyance: but he had discovered at once that something was wrong. "It is to no purpose for me to attempt dissimulation when a Boy of thirteen can find me out." Later on there were hints of more serious trouble. Jack reproaches his mother for suspecting him of wrong. "Your letter made me so uneasy" that "I did not know what to do and I could not help crying all the night after." He begs her to tell him if ever she has any cause for suspicions against him. He assures her that he has paid all he owes to anyone. He has invested in "Milton's Paradise lost." If he gets into difficulties by shooting pigeons, he atones by writing verses. No very grave sins seem to be chargeable against him. Leyborne acts as a kindly guardian, and wisely suggests that the boy should see his mother when troubles arise. Yet with the kindest of Tutors to watch over him, a boy of thirteen may well have been exposed to serious temptations in the College over which Dr. Shippen presided in the early days of George II.¹

The attitude of some Tutors towards older pupils, Gentlemen Commoners and men of fortune, may not always have been so void of offence. Sycophancy was by no means unknown in Oxford: even young Richard Graham discovered that. Many parents, it was admitted, preferred a Tutor who would cringe and tattle and make their sons into men of fashion to one who would make them work.² Even at the end of the eighteenth century, when reform was in sight, Fellows and Tutors would sometimes join in the extravagances of the richer students. In Queen Anne's day and King George's rank had a fascination of its own. The Duke of Beaufort at fifteen was evidently a personage at University College, and respect for the boy's years did not prevent one of the Fellows, "Jolly" Ward, from drinking with him till two in the morning. A special Convocation was held to give a Master's degree to Lord Sidney Beauclerk of Trinity, a grandson of Nell Gwyn. Dr. Shippen, when Vice-Chancellor, gave a Doctor's degree to the young Duke of Hamilton; *Doctor Angelicus*, the wags called him, because he was staying at the Angel Inn. The Vice-Chancellor also supped with his Grace and apparently encouraged him to defy the Dean of his College.³ The Duke of Buckingham's "three fine managed

¹ See the Shippen Papers (*Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. C. 107*, pp. 89-91, 99, 105-7, 109-11, 123, 139, 143, 147, 225). The Leybornes were related to the Shippens.

² See *The Guardian's Instruction* (49).

³ See the *Portland Papers* (VII, 252-3).

Horses"—he "was lately a little while of Queen's Coll. Oxon"—did not escape the attention of Hearne. Gentlemen Commoners¹ and their acts and omissions fill a large place in College records. The institution was undoubtedly a bad one, bad for discipline and bad for study, demoralising alike for undergraduates and for Dons. It must be held responsible for some of the discredit into which the University of the eighteenth century fell. Gentlemen Commoners were far too numerous. Some, no doubt, were readers and students. But as a whole they had too much leisure for mischief and too little inclination for work. They were on a widely different footing from the poorer undergraduates. They resided or not very much as they pleased. They spent probably at least twice as much as ordinary Commoners.² They had servants to wait on them sometimes apart from College servitors, and toadies, no doubt, to take advantage of their weakness. They wore handsome dresses and paid high fees. They were admitted to the Fellows' table in Hall and to the Fellows' Common Room afterwards, and even—a conclusive sign of social standing—to the College cellar.³ Sir Simon Harcourt, who had little toleration for idleness, regretted that he had entered his boy as a Gentleman Commoner. Robert Pitt regretted the expense. Hearne has some scandalous tales to tell of the race, tales of a young lady disguised as a Gentleman Commoner who passed some time at Hart Hall undiscovered, of three young ruffians of Queen's who fell on a barber for protecting his maid against them, and of a fight at St. Edmund Hall, little less discreditable in origin, which was only checked by the intervention of the Principal's wife.⁴

A better picture of a Gentleman Commoner's occupations is drawn in the diary of Erasmus Philipps, who went up to Pembroke in 1720.⁵ He received and, no doubt, expected a good deal of civility. He dined with College Heads and with smart young gentlemen in other Colleges. He was made free of the

¹ Gentleman Commoner and Fellow Commoner meant practically the same thing. But there are traces of some fine distinctions: e.g. the *Commensales primi ordinis*, *superioris ordinis* and *supremi ordinis* at University College (see Carr's History, 191). At Cambridge a Fellow Commoner was supposed to have greater privileges than a Gentleman Commoner at Oxford (Wordsworth, *Social Life at the Universities*, 646-7).

² Mr. Jeffery suggests (*Brasenose Quatercentenary Monograph* XIII, 45-6) that in 1714 a Commoner's expenditure might be put roughly at £60 a year, and a Gentleman Commoner's at £120, though the latter would often be more.

³ See *Bodley MS. Ballard XLIX* (25) for the rule at University College in 1669.

⁴ See Hearne's *Collections* (VIII, 87, and IX, 232, 390).

⁵ Parts of it are printed in *Notes and Queries* (2nd Series, vol. X, 1860, pp. 365-6 and 443-5).

Bodleian Library, taking, as he puts it, "the usual oath not to Embezzle the Books." He was welcomed at the Poetical Club and impressed by what he heard there. He gave a private ball. He met young ladies of beauty and "L'Esprit," who talked with him sitting upon large oaks and "breathing the Evening Fresco." He was on good terms apparently with his Tutor, and was once asked to write an essay on *Pride* by the Master of his College. He treated the College in the Common Room before he went down. But for the most part the diary, slight enough, is a record of amusements and race-meetings, with little in it about work, with a great deal in it about horses, and, so far as it goes, a fair representation probably of the lives of many Gentlemen Commoners of that day. Richard Graham, a little earlier, had a note to add about the fashions. He was persuaded by a friend to carry a snuff-box; every one with any pretensions to be a gentleman must. And he could not refrain from telling his sister how surprised he was at the size of the periwigs, and how strange he thought the large combs of tortoise-shell or mother of pearl, "with which the owners combe their perukes, as they walk with, and talk to, the ladies."¹ But that at least was a better occupation than fisticuffs in the quadrangle of St. Edmund Hall.

Distinctions of rank were certainly too prominent and must sometimes have been galling to the poorer students. Eighteenth century caricaturists drew highly-coloured pictures of the servitors who attended to the needs of Gentlemen Commoners, who cleaned their shoes and wrote their exercises, while dressing themselves in old clothes and dining often off cold scraps. A servitor's fortune is soon summed up:

"the Reversion of old Shoes which Gentlemen Commoners leave off, two Raggs called Shirts, a Dog's-eard *grammar*, and a piece of an *Ovid de Tristibus*."²

He might be very humbly born, the son of a chimney-sweep and a poor gingerbread woman. He might lodge miserably and toil hard. He might have to sit up and copy manuscripts at night. He might have to study like Dr. Willis, once Canon Iles' servitor, in his blue livery cloak at the lower end of the hall. Or he might, like George Whitefield of Pembroke, gain his experience of waiting by drawing beer in the tavern-bar at home. Whitefield indeed found a servitor's duties nervous work. He hated going round to call the other men. He was always afraid of finding the Devil lurking at the top of the stair.

¹ See *A Student Penitent* (33).

² See *An Act at Oxford* (By T. Baker, 1704, p. 54), and the *Servitour* quoted by Wordsworth (*Social Life*, etc., 101 sq.).

And, as it was the custom at Pembroke for merry young gentlemen, with Samuel Johnson among them, to hunt the servitor who called them with pots and candlesticks to the tune of Chevy Chase, Whitefield may have had some ground for his fears.¹ But generally perhaps the menial services required of him did not greatly distress the servitor. They did not in many cases differ very widely from the services rendered by school fags. It was not so much distinctions of work or dress or condition which made the life difficult. It was the poverty contrasted with the wealth and comfort round them, the grinding poverty which sometimes went hand in hand with great natural endowments, which embittered some servitors, as it embittered Johnson in his undergraduate days.

"The difference, Sir, between us Servitors, and Gentlemen-Commoners is this, that we are Men of Wit and no Fortune, and they are Men of Fortune and no Wit."²

But after all to many a poor Scholar and servitor Oxford did offer, even in the eighteenth century, generous opportunities of education and success. George Fothergill of Queen's writes home in 1723:

"The Provost has admitted me on Servitor . . . I believe twill save me about eight pounds a year, one way or other. My tutor likewise has given me a Gentleman Commoner last night, which I called up this morning."

Fothergill got ten shillings a quarter for calling his Gentleman Commoner, and for calling three ordinary Commoners five shillings a quarter each. He carried their meals into hall and waited on them, and he found no degradation in this work. But he adds that his Tutor's kindness has saved him from being a junior servitor, and has "thereby freed me from a slavery which I always dreaded, and which I could not well have undergone."³ Even among servitors there were refinements of work. A more famous man, John Potter, rose from servitor to Primate. Lancaster, afterwards Provost of Queen's, was brought there as a servitor by the first Lord Lonsdale. Provost Royse of Oriel did better as a servitor than as Provost. Samuel Wesley not only kept himself as a servitor at Exeter, but actually, by taking pupils and by literary work, increased the little capital of forty-five shillings, which he had brought up with him, to ten pounds by the time he left.⁴ College history is full of such examples. If class distinctions long survived, if in the days of

¹ See Boswell's *Johnson* (ed. Hill, I, 73, n.).

² See *An Act at Oxford* (p. 10).

³ See *The Fothergills of Ravenstonedale* (78-9 and 88).

⁴ See Stride (*Exeter College*, 128-30).

George II a Gentleman Commoner could not, as William Shensstone's biographer assures us, be seen in public with a servitor without disparaging himself, such rules must often have been mitigated by the good-fellowship of Oxford life. James Fleming was only a batteler at Queen's. His friend Pennington was only a batteler or Poor Boy. But that did not keep them from drinking and smoking as freely as their command of cash or credit allowed; "Ile pay no more Ticks," cries Sir Daniel angrily, "for Ale, Brandy, Pipes, or Tobacco; which I abominate in any of my children." Nor did it prevent them from joining in other "extravagances and Irregalartyties" which Gentlemen Commoners too often enjoyed. The tales which James Fleming tells his brother Roger of conviviality at the Noah's Ark and elsewhere, of "absenting prayers" and attending races, of Eastgate Jinny and her disreputable companions, show that the amusements and temptations of undergraduate Oxford were not entirely a monopoly of rank or wealth.¹

II

Hearne notes a statement made by a Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, purporting to give the numbers in Oxford and Cambridge Colleges in 1733.² The list assigns a total of two hundred and forty-seven to Christ Church, higher than the total of Trinity College, Cambridge. After Christ Church, at a long interval, come Jesus College with one hundred and fifty-five, Balliol with one hundred and forty, Queen's and Wadham with one hundred and thirty-four and one hundred and thirty-two. The figures for Magdalen College are put at one hundred and eight, and for Magdalen Hall, the largest of the Halls, at thirty-three. Corpus and All Souls are among the smallest Colleges, with fifty-eight and fifty-three. If the list is even approximately accurate it indicates large numbers of Commoners at Christ Church, Jesus, Balliol and Wadham, a considerable number at Queen's, Trinity and St. John's, at Brasenose and at Pembroke,

¹ See *The Flemings in Oxford* (III, 183-4, 214, 218-20, 229-33, etc.). The accounts of the young Flemings at Oxford show legitimate expenses rarely exceeding £12 or £13 a quarter, including £1 for tuition and £4 or £5 for battels. Battels of £5 or over for the quarter seem to have been regarded as high (*Ib.* 34-5, 49-50, 129, 186-8, 209-10, 225-6, 257-8, etc.).

² *Collections* (XI, 268-9). The extract from a letter by Dr. Warren of Trinity Hall to Mr. Eden of University College is given in *Bodley MS. Rawl. D. 912* (f. 683). The numbers are based on the names in the Buttery Books, an incorrect basis in Hearne's view, and presumably too high. The figures should be received with caution. Jesus, for example, is allotted a total of 155. But Dr. Hardy (*Jesus College*, 170) makes the numbers in 1740 not more than 129.

and very few at Magdalen College. The University as a whole is allotted something over two thousand Fellows and Students.¹ But whatever the fluctuations in numbers, the University of Hearne's day included not a few distinguished names. To Christ Church, where Charles Boyle had made an easy reputation, young men of fashion were flocking freely. And three Wesleys, Samuel, John and Charles, though not men of fashion, followed each other there.² William Murray, a brilliant young Scotchman, afterwards one of the greatest of English Judges, began over a Latin poem his life-long rivalry with William Pitt.³ If his broad pronunciation at first made his Oxford contemporaries smile, Murray learned, it is said, under Pope's coaching a gift of elocution which became the envy of his age. In later years one admirer devoted a chapter of eulogy to an oration on Demosthenes which Murray had written in his Christ Church days.⁴ George Grenville, even more closely linked with the career of Chatham, entered Christ Church in 1730, the year when Murray took his Master's degree. Andrew Stone, a distinguished Scholar from Westminster, was more nearly Murray's contemporary. He passed through the service of the Pelhams into the household of the Prince of Wales, and helped to instil high Tory doctrine into the boyish mind of George III. John Wesley moved on to a Fellowship at Lincoln in 1726. By that time Lord Crewe, the faithful friend and patron of Lincoln, had died, and John Potter, the most conspicuous Fellow of the College, had been promoted to the Bishopric of Oxford. Magdalen could boast, besides Addison and Sacheverell and Boulter, Thomas Yalden, a writer of verse,⁵ many of whose poems were "supposed to be Pindarick," and Thomas Warton the elder, Professor of Poetry in 1718, the first of a family which was to play a large part in Oxford life.⁶ Corpus included a poet of more celebrity, Edward Young, who entered first at New College and passed on to All Souls, and James Edward Oglethorpe, soldier and philanthropist, who founded one of the latest English Colonies in America, and who lived on to welcome in London the first

¹ 2,107.

² In 1711, 1720 and 1726. Of the three John alone is entered as Westley in the Dean's Admission Book.

³ He beat Pitt in the competition for a Latin poem on the death of George I.

⁴ See Holliday's *Life of Lord Mansfield*. But there is no truth in the tale, that, owing to his pronunciation, he was entered as born at Bath instead of at Perth. He appears in the Dean's Admission Book as "Murry" under date June 15, 1723.

⁵ William Collins, a better known poet, did not join Magdalen till 1741: he was entered at Queen's in 1740.

⁶ Warton matriculated from Hart Hall in 1706, before moving on to Magdalen.

Minister of the United States.¹ Corpus included also, before the seventeenth century was over, the father and uncle of Sir Joshua Reynolds. New College retained its taste for minor poets. William Somerville wrote sporting poems after his Fellowship ceased. Christopher Pitt translated Virgil: "Pitt is quoted, and Dryden read." Joseph Spence was content to write about other men's poems. A well-endowed divine, in turn Professor of Poetry and Professor of History, Spence took his Oxford duties lightly. But his *Anecdotes* were a real contribution to the literary history of his time. And Robert Lowth, a sounder scholar, and except in the case of Warburton very tolerant of the scholarship of others, was trained at New College to be one of the most successful and one of the most representative churchmen of his day.

Christopher Pitt had begun his Oxford life at Wadham, where members of his family figure on the list. But the most illustrious of the Pitts went up to Trinity in January 1727,² from an Eton where he had "scarcely observed a boy who was not cowed for life." He spent only a brief year at Oxford. He was already worried by the gout. But we possess, happily, a few letters, published by a later statesman,³ which illustrate not only Pitt's experiences but the expenses of a Gentleman Commoner's career. Mr. Stockwell, who was prevailed upon to tutor him, though he had refused many such offers before, secured a very good room for the new-comer, just vacated by "a Gentleman of Great Fortune." He recommended a private servant rather than a servitor to wait on the young man. A servitor "was not now usual." It was "much more Customary and Creditable to a Gentleman of Family to be attended by a Footman." Mr. Stockwell's views were evidently large, and the young freshman's initial expenses proved to be heavy. Mr. Robert Pitt was asked to put down a hundred pounds. The College required ten pounds for caution-money and ten pounds more for a benefaction. Besides that Mr. Stockwell felt it his duty to point out that "several Young Gentlemen of Mr. Pitt's Gown" were in the habit of presenting the College with "a Peice of Plate of 10 or 12*l.*" The gown itself was of "Paddesway"⁴

¹ Horace Walpole gives us a glimpse of General Oglethorpe at 95, still wonderfully young and vigorous (*Letters*, ed. Cunningham, VIII, 548). The date is April 1785.

² He is described apparently in the College Register, under date Jan. 10, 1727, as "primi ordinis commensalis sub tutamine mag^ri Stockwell." (See Mr. B. Williams' *Life*, I, 36 n.; I have not had access to this Register.)

³ See Lord Rosebery's *Chatham. His Early Life and Connections* (pp. 31-3). The letters run from November 1726 to April 1727: there are two from Stockwell and three from William Pitt.

⁴ Paduasoy.

—at least in the young man's spelling—and Mr. Stockwell had to ask "what degree of Mourning" would be required in it: the famous Governor Pitt was lately dead. Finally the gown cost eight pounds, five shillings, and cap and bands were needed also. There were two pounds for admission to the Fellows' Common Room, and two pounds more for the use of College plate, and thirty-five shillings for fees to College servants. Beside these charges the University fees of sixteen shillings looked modest enough. Mr. Robert Pitt was restive. But Mr. Stockwell had his way. The furniture and tea table and china ware which he desired were purchased, "and some other little Ornaments and Conveniences that young Gentlemen don't care to be without." William Pitt himself was afraid that his father would find "some of these articles too extravagant, as they really are": but it was the "custom of this Place" to pay "for most things at a high rate." And when, at the end of the first quarter, a bill for forty-seven pounds more came in, Robert Pitt evidently let his son know his opinion of the custom and the prices. Fifteen pounds for battels—quite a high charge for one quarter—and five pounds for books might speak for themselves. Two guineas for a course in French and a similar fee for a course in Experimental Philosophy were beyond even a parent's cavil. But Robert Pitt's anger seems to have broken on items like hose and breeches and ruffles and gloves. William has to explain, with "ye utmost concern," the two guineas charged for a quarter's washing, the thirty-nine shillings expended on stockings and shoes. He at once admits the offence.

"Tis sufficient to convince me of the extravagance of my expences, that they have met with y^r disapprobation."

In this case it was probably the system and not the young man that was to blame. But beyond these accounts, and the correspondence which they led to, we know very little of the Great Commoner's Oxford career. He wrote some Latin verses, not of the first quality. He read classics, no doubt, and history.¹ He may or may not have brooded on the form of Liberty, as Thomas Warton suggested later on:

"That form, whose mien sublime, with equal awe,
In the same shade unblemish'd Somers saw."

But before he had been five months at Trinity his father died. Pitt was left to conquer the world with a younger son's income,

¹ Von Ruville's suggestions in regard to Pitt's reading at Oxford (*Life*, I, 80-9) seem to rest on rather slender foundations.

which Mr. Stockwell, it is to be feared, would have thought quite inadequate for the "Young Gentlemen of Figure" for whom he loved to provide.

With Pitt at Trinity, Wadham had to be contented with a great Parliamentarian like Arthur Onslow,¹ for long a familiar figure in the Speaker's Chair, or like James Harris, a devotee of grammar, a lover of harmony² and an admirer of Johnson. The Doctor, however, described his admirer as "a prig and a bad prig." More familiar perhaps to the University were Joseph Trapp, Professor, poet and pamphleteer—

"Trapp's lofty scenes in gentle numbers flow"—

and Humphrey Hody, an earlier scholar, who became Regius Professor of Greek in 1698, and who on his premature death nine years later left to his College an interesting bequest. All Souls, always ready to gather to itself the flower of other Colleges, elected Thomas Tanner a Fellow in 1696. Tanner was drawn to the diocese of Norwich, but he returned as a Canon of Christ Church in 1724, and became Bishop of St. Asaph in 1732. He did not forget his duties as Wood's executor. But the new edition of the *Athenae*, published in 1721, met with more criticism than it deserved. Tanner assured Charlett that it had not been an easy matter to carry out Wood's wishes and to avoid publishing unbecoming things. He had not added one sentence or one hard word, and by his few admissions Wood's memory would not suffer.³ Tanner brought out one notable work of his own, the *Notitia Monastica*, during his lifetime, and left material for another, the *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, to be published after his death. His great bequest of books to the Bodleian included valuable manuscripts which had belonged to Sancroft. At all Souls also, Charles Talbot of Oriel, a future Lord Chancellor, was admitted a Fellow in 1704, Edward Young of Corpus in 1709, and Robert Henley of St. John's, another future Chancellor, in 1728.⁴ It is touching to find Young presenting later his "most excusable" poems. Creech died of suicide in 1700. Tindal retained his Fellowship till 1733, and continued till his

¹ He was the third Onslow in the Speaker's Chair (*D.N.B.*). He matriculated in 1708.

² Harris entered the House of Commons. He would find, said John Townsend, neither harmony nor grammar there (*D.N.B.*).

³ For this letter of 2 April 1722 see *Bodley MS. Ballard IV* (f. 143^b).

⁴ I take these dates, sometimes differently given, from vol. II of the College Register—"Admissionum Instrumenta." But the entry for Talbot might be meant for 1705. Henley's election has been attributed both to 1727 and to 1729. Mr. Foster (*Alumni Oxonienses*) gives for these three elections the dates of 1704, 1706 and 1729. In the All Souls Register the words "Poeta celeberrimus" are added under Young's name.

death to infuriate High Churchmen. And two other All Souls men rendered in the early eighteenth century conspicuous service to their College. Christopher Codrington, a gallant man of action and a great "amasser of books," elected a Fellow in 1690, left twenty years later a noble bequest, and George Clarke, who held his Fellowship from 1680 to 1737, was for long an important figure in University affairs. Clarke's gifts to All Souls were only a part of his many gifts to Oxford. But they helped, with Codrington's assistance, to transform the College which Chichele had built.

All Colleges were not so fortunate in educating or endowing well-known men. But at St. John's Robert Henley first made his reputation and learned perhaps to drink too deeply. And the fierce Whiggism of Nicholas Amhurst was atoned for by the unchanging Toryism of Richard Rawlinson, whose devotion to antiquity resulted in one of the greatest collections of the age. At Exeter Thomas Secker proved that an Oxford or a Cambridge training was not essential for the loftiest position in the English Church.¹ At Oriel Secker's old school-fellow Joseph Butler, trained like him as a Nonconformist, and owing much like him to the kindness of the Talbots, found the system of education so frivolous and tiresome that he almost migrated to Cambridge in disgust. But he stayed to take his Bachelor's degree in 1718, and passed on to enjoy the great Bishopric of Durham and to lead the thought of a later generation. At Queen's Thomas Tickell, a poet like Young and Addison and intimate with both, published his first poem, *Oxford*, in 1706.² But when he lectured in place of the Professor of Poetry, Hearne found his performance silly, indiscreet and obscene.³ By that time Edmund Gibson, once Tanner's companion in antiquarian studies, had left the College for Church work in London, where he was soon marked out for high promotion. Meanwhile Pembroke, almost the youngest of the Colleges, was signalised by the presence of Samuel Johnson. Johnson's Oxford residence began in October 1728 and ended in December 1729.⁴ He came up as a boy of nineteen, poor and fierce and proud, and his poverty made him rough and

¹ Secker graduated in three months by a special dispensation from the Chancellor. (See Stride's *Exeter College*, 108.)

² Though it was dated 1707 and inscribed with that date to Lord Lonsdale (*D.N.B.*).

³ See Hearne's *Collections* (III, 111). This was in January 1711, when Trapp was absent as Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

⁴ His name remained on the College books till October 1731, and he was charged occasionally small dues up to December 1730. But Dr. Birkbeck Hill has, I think, proved that he did not reside after December 1729. (See *Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics*, Appendix.)

independent.¹ He would laugh indeed as loudly as any of his contemporaries, join them in any breach of discipline, talk to them lounging in the College gateway, lead them readily enough into mischief. But there was almost as much bitterness as gaiety in his laughter. "I was mad and violent," he told Boswell afterwards. "We all feared him," said one of the undergraduates of his time. He must always have been strong, in spite of some infirmities. His courage both physical and moral was undaunted. From the beginning he must have been fearlessly sincere. But he was impatient of authority and would work only when and how he pleased. He was naturally indolent and his better nature struggled against it. "Desidiaē valedixi," he jotted down proudly in October 1729. But the temptation returned, and his prayers show how steadily in the years that followed he tried to guard against it.² Even towards the end of life we find him registering new vows, at Easter or at the New Year, to rise earlier and to waste less time.³ A tireless worker, he was yet always longing to bid, as he said, "goodbye to sloth."

At Pembroke Johnson learned to know his Homer and Euripides. He delighted in Horace's Odes. He dipped into metaphysics. He read desultorily and widely, as his fancy chose. He found in the College Library Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia*, borrowed the book and failed to return it, and borrowed from it, no doubt, the idea of *Rasselas*. He wrote a Latin translation of Pope's *Messiah* for a Christmas exercise, which won attention both in Oxford and outside. And chancing one day to take up Law's *Serious Call*, in no spirit of humility or reverence, he was impressed beyond all expectation. "I found Law quite an overmatch for me." Years afterwards he spoke with his usual candour of his own intractable spirit at Oxford. But, bitter as he had felt there, the memory left no bitterness behind. He loved to come back later. He revisited Oxford first in 1754. He became a welcome guest in College Common Rooms, and, as his fame grew, more and more courted and caressed. His old University gave him degrees. His old contemporary William Adams,⁴ elected Master of Pembroke in

¹ But he may have had some help in early days at Oxford from his godfather Dr. Swynfen, if not from his friend Andrew Corbet or Corbett. His College bills were about 8s. a week (Hill's *Boswell*, I, 78 n.). His battels must have been much the same as most young Commoners'.

² E.g. the prayers dated 7 Sept. 1738 and 18 Sept. 1757, and others, in the little collection of prayers and letters at Pembroke College, which the Bursar, Mr. Salt, kindly allowed me to see. They have been reprinted and re-edited in Dr. Birkbeck Hill's first volume of *Johnsonian Miscellanies*.

³ E.g. the prayer at Easter 1772, and again in 1777 and 1778.

⁴ Adams went up several years before Johnson. He was never, strictly

1775, was not only a host but an intimate friend. Johnson took Hannah More over the College, showed her the garden where they played cricket, showed her perhaps the mulberry-tree which Shenstone had planted, and Shenstone's room, now forgotten, and his own. On one of his latest visits, in 1784, being then infirm and very bulky, he asked the porter to push him up the stair-case to the room on the second floor over the entrance-gate, where many a pilgrim has paid homage since, and where Dr. Panting heard him in his boyhood talking of his ambitions to himself, dreaming, like Erasmus, of the places he would visit so soon as he could find the means for travelling abroad.

"I'll go to France and Italy. I'll go to Padua. And I'll mind my business. For an Athenian blockhead is the worst of all block-heads."

Even the boy's dreams were coloured with the man's unconquerable common sense.

William Shenstone was one of a group of young men who came up to Pembroke soon after Johnson left it, and who helped to make the College "a nest of singing birds." Richard Graves, both poet and novelist, whom the world of Bath at the beginning of the nineteenth century still knew as a lively and amiable old man,¹ joined the College also in 1732. Richard Jago, who wrote pleasing elegies on goldfinches and blackbirds,² and George Whitefield, who at least altered other men's hymns, both came up as servitors that year. William Hawkins, poetical Professor and divine, who was good enough to make *Cymbeline* suitable for the stage, and William Blackstone, who was once among the minor poets of Pembroke though posterity connects him with sterner things than song, followed before the fourth decade of the century closed.³ Of Shenstone and his contemporaries we have glimpses in the Recollections which Graves wrote in 1788.⁴ Graves describes the different sets in the College—the sober, water-drinking Grecians, who spent their time in reading Theophrastus, Epictetus and such authors, the "jolly, sprightly young fellows," who "drank ale, smoked tobacco, punned and sung bacchanalian catches," the "plain, sensible, matter-of-fact men," who had come to Oxford on their way to the Temple,

speaking, Johnson's Tutor, but Johnson's name may have been on Adams' list of pupils after his residence had ceased. (See Maclean's *Pembroke College*, 172-3.) On Johnson's later visits to Oxford see Chapter XXII.

¹ *The Invalid, with the Obvious Means of Enjoying Health and Long Life, by a Nonagenarian*, was published by Graves in 1804.

² His principal poem was *Edge-Hill*.

³ For Whitefield and Blackstone at Oxford, see later (Chap. XXII).

⁴ *Recollections of Some Particulars in the Life of the late William Shenstone Esq.* See also Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*.

"or to get a slight smattering of the sciences before they settled in the country," and lastly the Gentlemen Commoners, who aimed at high life, who thought some of the others "very *low* company," who drank toasts on their knees and sat up to all hours over arrack punch. Shenstone was a Gentleman Commoner, and as such could only visit Richard Jago, a servitor, in private. But that did not prevent him from reminding Jago later of the delights of the youth which they had known :

"O Youth ! enchanting state ! profusely blest."

Shenstone, Graves and a young Etonian, Anthony Whistler, drew together in an intimacy which continued for many years. They read plays and poetry freely. They showed each other their verses. They breathed vows of friendship in that "sweetly-vacant" scene. And though Graves, correcting Johnson, says that Shenstone *employed* himself in study and only *amused* himself in poetry, they all probably preferred these poetical interests to the ordinary curriculum of Oxford life. Whistler produced an unfinished tragedy on Dido. Shenstone printed a little volume of poems at Oxford.¹ Graves, perhaps more usefully, qualified for a Fellowship at All Souls. Shenstone passed from Oxford to win fame as a landscape-gardener, and, in Walpole's uncharitable judgment, as a "water-gruel bard." But he and others largely owe their immortality to the fellow-collegian whose companionship they so narrowly escaped. Pembroke, which had grown out of an ancient Hall, was thus winning distinction as a College. But among the Halls Hearne might have claimed that his own foundation was hardly less distinguished in another way. John Mill, as Principal at St. Edmund Hall—"the considerablest man of that University," thought Prideaux—White Kennet and Thomas Milles, as Vice-Principals,² at least set an example of industry and learning. Humfrey Wanley, who began his career at the Hall, was a man to appreciate that tradition. And Hearne spent his life in carrying it on.

III

Writing in June 1726, and commenting on the low standard of candidates for Ordination, Hearne lays his finger on one unhappy characteristic of the Oxford of his time.

¹ *Poems upon Various Occasions. Written for the Entertainment of the Author and Printed for the Amusement of a few Friends Prejudiced in his Favour* (1737). The first draft of *The Schoolmistress* is here.

² But John Mill died in 1707, and Milles ceased to be Vice-Principal in the same year. White Kennet preceded Milles.

"There are such differences now in the University of Oxford (hardly one College but where all the Members are busied in Law Businesses and Quarrels, not at all relating to the promoting of Learning) that good Letters miserably decay every day."¹

Personal rivalries and political animosities were sharpened by disputes over elections, by differences in regard to the construction of Statutes. At Queen's there was a contested election for Provost in 1704, when the Senior Fellow pressed a constitutional point hard, in the hope of preventing another man's election.² At New College the bitterness which finally drove out Dr. Ayliffe first arose from the election of a Warden who, in Ayliffe's view, was always "contriving Ways and Means" to vex his colleagues. At Corpus there was a struggle over the admission of a Fellow, with an appeal to the Visitor and a little war of pamphlets.³ At Brasenose Dr. Shippen expelled a member of the College for heterodoxy: but Bishop Gibson, perhaps suspecting the Principal's motives, found it possible to restore the offender.⁴ At Merton there were constant bickerings. The address presented to Warden Holland on his installation in 1709 expressed the hope that "a more severe monastic discipline" would be restored. There were attempts to elect "Bangorian" Fellows, thwarted by the Warden in conjunction with the Tories.⁵ There were appeals to Archbishop Wake, questions about the number of Fellows permitted, doubts about the value of benefices which disqualified for a Fellowship, allegations about the Warden's claim to "absolute power."⁶ At last in 1737 the Warden invited Archbishop Potter to visit the College, and in due course Injunctions were issued, which insisted on the need of better discipline and more regular residence, which forbade the Fellows to keep horses at the expense of the College, and which laid down rules on other points of detail. The Archbishop's right of Visitation was challenged, but was formally confirmed by the King's Bench. At Jesus there was a fight

¹ *Collections* (IX, 149).

² See the Pamphlet, probably by the Senior Fellow, Francis Thompson, *A True State of the Case concerning the Election of a Provost of Queens College in Oxford* (1704). But Lancaster was elected.

³ See *The Proceedings of Corpus Christi College, Oxon, in the case of Mr. Ayscough, vindicated* (1730), and the *Vindication of the Proceedings in the Case of Mr. A., a defence of the Visitor* (1731).

⁴ See Hearne (*Collections*, VII, 131). It was suspected that Shippen wanted to confer on a friend of his own the Exhibition held by Thomas Ball, the offender (*Portland Papers*, VII, 276).

⁵ See *Portland Papers* (VII, under January 12, 1721).

⁶ On the troubles which culminated in Archbishop Potter's Commission see the *Merton College Register* (1567-1731, p. 687, and 1731-1822, pp. 38-73, etc.), the Wake Letters at Christ Church (vol. XV), the *Statutes of Oxford Colleges* (I, Merton, 59-69) and Dr. Henderson's *Merton College*.

for the Headship in 1712. Two candidates, Mr. Harcourt and Dr. Wynne, were declared elected by their own supporters. Here, as so often in these elections, a real doubt existed whether one or two of the Fellows were entitled to vote.¹ The Visitor gave the election to Wynne. And Hearne found a ready explanation in the fact that both Visitor and candidate were "in the same Whiggish interest."

The same murmurings were heard elsewhere. Warden Dunster of Wadham had certainly no lack of critics. But when he passed from the scene in 1719, rumour alleged that a purse of fifty guineas, which changed hands in Chapel, decided the election of his successor. At St. John's Amhurst was not the only sufferer by expulsion. Thomas Tooly, a Fellow who had "scandalously abused" the President, appealed in vain to the Visitor for reinstatement.² Abel Evans, a "loose ranting" epigrammatist, who did not spare Delaune or others, was ejected but allowed to come back. The senior Fellows seem to have taken full advantage of their seniority: and claims for "overplus commons," claims for free allowances of wood, claims to divide the profitable fines levied on the renewal of leases, probably did not render easier their relations with their younger colleagues.³ At Exeter there were special causes of complaint. To an observer like Dean Prideaux Exeter seemed to have fallen altogether on evil days. Both Christ Church and Exeter in his view were "spoyled." But at Christ Church at any rate there was "something of ingenuity and gentele carriage in the genius of the place," whereas at Exeter there was nothing but "drinking and duncery."⁴ Dr. Bury, the masterful Rector partly at least responsible for the growth of this tradition in Conant's College, was finally got rid of in 1694. He had rashly expelled a Fellow, James Colmer or Colmar, who had failed to vote for his nominee as Chaplain.⁵ More rashly still, he had written a book, *The Naked Gospel*, a bold protest against certain mysteries associated

¹ See Hardy (*Jesus College*, 164) and Hearne (*Collections*, III, 428, 453-4, and IV, 107-8).

² On Tooly and his views compare Hearne (*Ib.* VII, 307) in 1721 and a letter from Bishop Trelawney to Archbishop Wake a few years earlier in vol. XV of the Wake Letters.

³ See Dean Hutton's observations on these points (*S. John Baptist College*, 205).

⁴ See the *Fifth Report, Hist. MSS. Commission* (374 and 376). But Prideaux was speaking of the end of the seventeenth century.

⁵ The offence alleged against Colmer was "Incontinency"; and according to Dr. Ayliffe's account (*Antient and Present State of the University of Oxford*, I, 284-5) Colmer was twice charged on this score and twice appealed to the Visitor. Dean Prideaux regarded the charge as true, and thought that Bury had "the hardest measure possible" from Trelawney. (See *Hist. MSS. Commission, 5th Report*, 376.)

with the life of Christ, which was accused of heresy and burned by the University's decree. Most rashly of all, when Colmer appealed to the Visitor, he refused to admit Bishop Trelawney's right to interfere, and even boasted that he had "thrown the Visitor flat on his back." But Trelawney, who had faced King James, was not a man to flinch before defiance. He forced his way into the College, though the Rector barred the doors. He trampled under foot the Rector's protest. He invited the Fellows whom he did not suspend to expose the Rector's "Enormities." He reinstated Colmer and deprived Bury of his post. A law-suit followed, while a great schism rent the College, both sides electing Fellows as they pleased. Finally the House of Lords declared for the Visitor's authority, but the memory of these lively animosities must have made things difficult for Bury's successor.¹ Rector Hole's election twenty years later was followed by fresh troubles. "The poor old creature," says *Terrae Filius*, thought "he might do what he pleased in his own College." And when the vigorous Dr. Newton set on foot his schemes for transforming Hart Hall into an independent foundation, Hole's reluctance to fight the proposal led to sharp differences between Rector and Fellows.

In its readiness for litigation Exeter did not stand alone. Provost Carter of Oriel, who succeeded Provost Royse in 1708, proved a generous benefactor to his College. But like some other Heads he was inclined to strain his powers. He claimed a veto on the election of Fellows, and on this point he found himself in sharp conflict with his colleagues. At first, it seems, the Provost was technically right. He refused in 1721 to allow a candidate named Edmunds, born in the diocese of Bangor, to be elected to a Fellowship confined to candidates born in the diocese of Worcester. The Visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln, supported his decision. But Edmunds, who had the majority of the Fellows behind him, became the leader of a vigorous opposition. In 1723 and 1724 he was again a candidate, and was again supported by the majority of Fellows. But each time Carter vetoed his election, and the Bishop supported the Provost's veto. Feeling rose high. Bowles of the Bodleian, Hearne's old enemy, stood by the Provost, and that may account for Hearne's opinion

¹ On these episodes see various pamphlets—e.g. *An Account of the Proceedings of Jonathan, Bishop of Exeter, in his late Visitation of Exeter College* (1690), *The Account examined; or a vindication of Dr. A. B.* (1690), *The Case of Exeter College, and A Vindication of J. Colmar* (1691), Ayliffe (*Antient and Present State*, I, 84-5 and II, 85 sq.), Chief Justice Holt's argument in *Bodley MSS. Tanner 280* (ff. 153-7) and *Ballard XLIX* (106-9), and Stride (*Exeter College*, 73-9). For Bury's book, *The Naked Gospel*, see the treatise itself, the pamphlets it occasioned (briefly summarised in *D.N.B.*), and the *Judicium et decretum Univ. Oxon.* (1690).

that the Provost was "a vile man and a sneaking Hypocrite," and that one of the Fellows was driven to suicide by Bowles' conduct. At any rate in 1724 Edmunds and his friends appealed to the Law Courts against the Provost's veto and the Bishop's authority alike. They ingeniously pleaded that the original Statutes of January 1326, set aside by Bishop Burghersh of Lincoln and disregarded ever since, made the King and not the Bishop the real Visitor of the College. The Court gave judgment in their favour. Bishop and Provost were overwhelmed. Edmunds and other rejected candidates were admitted. The Crown, acting through the Lord Chancellor, became the College Visitor. And Provost Carter is romantically alleged to have died of a broken heart. On his death a fresh contested election followed. Wicksey, Vicar of St. Mary's, the defeated candidate for the Provost-ship, gave trouble and had to be expelled. And Lord Chancellor King, appealed to as Visitor, found it as difficult as any Bishop to calm the animosities which elections roused.¹

Trinity again was not free from disturbance. President Dobson, who reigned from 1706 to 1731, proved unwise and arbitrary. A great controversy arose over the expulsion of a Fellow Commoner, who, his friends said, had been guilty of nothing worse than laughing in Chapel and kicking at the Bursar's cat. Other squabbles followed, appeals to the Visitor, and caustic observations on his part.² *A Letter from a Student in Oxford to his friend in the country*, dated December 1708, draws a disagreeable picture of the enmities prevailing. The Vice-President Barber is accused of fomenting every quarrel. He had sheltered an immoral Manciple. He had procured the expulsion of his opponents. Worst of all, he had got the President into his hands. Questions arose on the College Statutes at Trinity as elsewhere, and the Fellows sometimes found it very difficult to gain access to them. But the College seems generally to have accepted the rulings of its Visitor or at least to have avoided an appearance in the Courts.

University College was less fortunate. On Charlett's death in 1722 a memorable contest for the Headship occurred. Thomas Cockman secured a bare majority of votes, but not a clear majority of the ten voters present, and on that ground William Dennison, who had run him very close, appealed to the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors. They had always been regarded as the Visitors

¹ On the Oriel controversies see Hearne (*Collections*, VIII, 104, 137, 200, 212; IX, 133, 165, 357 and 363), *Poriland Papers* (VII, 369), Rannie (*Oriel College*, 133-43), and Richards and Shadwell (*Provosts and Fellows of Oriel*, 122-3 and 132). For the early College Statutes and their history see *ante* (vol. I, 256-9).

² See Blakiston (*Trinity College*, 187-8).

of the College. "Jolly" Ward, a notorious Fellow whose partisanship would have discredited almost any cause, headed the opposition to Cockman, and Shippen, the Vice-Chancellor, with grave impropriety threw his influence on the same side. Cockman's election was declared void. Dennison was more or less informally elected. But Cockman's friends determined to resist. They held the Master's Lodgings for their candidate. They refused to surrender the keys or the College Seal. A preacher at St. Mary's boldly prayed for Cockman as Master, while the Vice-Chancellor sat fuming below. Worse still, Cockman's party appealed to the Crown.¹ A long period of inquiry and litigation followed, while Shippen laid down the office of Vice-Chancellor, which he had done little to adorn. Jolly Ward and his confederates held out to the last, with every aggravation of defiance. But in 1727 the Court of King's Bench decided against the Vice-Chancellor's claim to act as Visitor, and with this decision Dennison's hopes collapsed. Morally the judgment in Cockman's favour was right, but historically the grounds of it were worthless. For the Court, relying on the fraudulent assertions made in mediaeval lawsuits, pronounced King Alfred to be Founder of the College, and Commissioners were appointed to enforce the rights of Visitation which King Alfred had transmitted to the Crown. The ancient Statutes of the College were accordingly revised. In vain William Smith protested from his Yorkshire living against a judgment which disregarded both history and common sense. He had lived "in privacy and obscurity to the seventy-seventh year of his age," and was "so bowed down by infirmities as not to have feet to walk on or hardly a hand to write." But he was happily moved by the absurdity of the sentence to produce a book of real value on the annals of his College. Cockman at any rate triumphed over all opposition in the end. Under his judicious rule dissensions died away. Even Ward's truculence seems to have lapsed into indifference. In 1747 a kindly *Terrae Filius* is found admitting that the Master was "revered as a Father and beloved as a Brother," especially by the younger members of the House.²

If All Souls avoided the Court of King's Bench, it did not avoid internal quarrels, nor appeals which made the lives of its Visitors difficult to bear. Warden Gardiner had a natural gift

¹ A full account of this controversy will be found in Stratford's letters (*Portland Papers*, VII, 339 sq.), in Hearne (*Collections*, VIII, 20, 22-7, 62-4, 70, 370, IX, 90, 314, 323, and X, 129), in Dr. Newton's pamphlet *The Proceedings of the Visitors at University College*, etc., with the reply *A Vindication of the Proceedings at University College*, and in Carr's *University College* (172 sq.).

² See *A Letter to the Heads of the University*, signed "Terrafilius," in the Bodleian (MS. Gough, Oxford, 101).

for disputation, and apart from lesser matters, like the Warden's claims to linen or his allotment of the College rooms, there were constitutional problems in the College which afforded real grounds for difference of opinion. Were the Statutes to be modified by custom or literally obeyed? How many Fellows ought to study medicine? How far could the obligation to take Orders be dispensed with? How far was the old provision for Canonists and Civilians in the College to be enjoyed by lawyers practising in London? On what pretexts could non-residence be allowed? The Warden stood by the Statutes. They were the Founder's will, he told the Visitor, and could not be "distinguished away by arbitrary opinion upon a pretence of alteration of times." Gardiner took his stand on principle, but he could be as arbitrary as anybody else. He entered in the College Punishment Book names of recalcitrant Fellows who must be made to take Orders.¹ He thanked God that his views had the approbation of those of his own station. "Lett your opinion in other matters differ from mine or not," he wrote to Archbishop Tenison with a touch of arrogance in 1708, "I am not unprovided att any time to give an Account of my Action." The Fellows who opposed him were impertinent and troublesome. Some went out of their way to be noisy when he was ill in bed at night. One of them met his reproofs with the statement "I defye you, I defye you, I defye you." Others raised "new pretences" about the physic places, or alleged false excuses for avoiding Orders, or lived with wives openly within a few miles of Oxford, or spoke to the Warden's prejudice behind his back. "You can't imagine," he tells the Archdeacon once angrily, "that I will be thought a Lyar by Mr. Piers." Archbishop Tenison evidently felt the difficulties of the position. He warned Gardiner that he could not always be rejecting appeals from the Fellows. "I saved you a great deal last year," he wrote in November 1709, "of w^{ch}, perhaps, you were not aware." He conjured him six months later "not to create any new difficulties by any new Practices." But the Warden thought himself "obliged to persist thro' all discouragements." Compromise was abhorrent to him, tact apparently unknown.

In 1709 Blencowe's case afforded a test. William Blencowe, a young Whig Fellow destined to a tragic ending, had been appointed, as became a grandson of Dr. Wallis, Decipherer to the Queen. He claimed to reside in London and to dispense with Orders. Gardiner refused permission, and his refusal brought down on him a sharp reproof from Sunderland, then Secretary

¹ There are several such entries in Gardiner's day. Blencowe's case is notable in July 1709, and Robert Henley is so entered in December 1738.

of State. But Secretaries of State were liable to change. In the days of Tory triumph the Warden petitioned the Crown for leave to insist upon his Fellows taking Orders. It seems that the orthodoxy of the Queen was roused. She directed a new Secretary to explain that her service need not prevent Mr. Blencowe from conforming to the Statutes of his College. For the moment Gardiner triumphed. But his "pharisaical litigiousness" stirred the anger of his Fellows. The Warden's veto became a battle-ground. Politics and personalities made the struggle worse. Disappointed Jacobites, inveterate Tories, rabid Whigs, provocative free-thinkers, contributed lively elements of scandal. The Warden was determined to veto all elections or dispensations of which he disapproved. "The faction" took up his challenge with delight. Deans absented themselves, to hinder College business: one of them, Gardiner insisted, was "directly mad." College officers refused the Warden his allowances. Sub-Wardens and Bursars were accused of insolence and fraud. Rebellious Fellows abused the occasion, refused to come to Chapel, kept dogs in defiance of Statutes, beat the servants of the College. Worse still, they were resolved, as the Warden contended, "to plant the Common Law" and to undermine the study of theology at All Souls: and on this serious issue, as on others, Gardiner appealed to the Visitor in vain.

In 1716 Wake succeeded Tenison at Canterbury, but the trouble still continued. Gardiner complained that the Visitor was alienated from him by "ill Arts." Wake, like Tenison, had to hold a formal Visitation. In 1710 Dr. Bettesworth's exhaustive inquiry had led to some important Injunctions. A few years later the same representative was sent to report to the Visitor again, and he could not deny that the behaviour of the College officers was "very astonishing." But in both cases the Warden's claims received a check. His veto on the election of Fellows was confirmed. But his veto on the election of College officers and on the grant of dispensations was taken away. And even nineteen pages of argument addressed to the Archbishop in 1717 failed to convince him that the confident if conscientious Warden was altogether right. Gardiner's authority inevitably suffered. His courageous fight against non-residence and the avoidance of Orders met with defeat. In 1722 indeed Hearne noted that the "proud Warden" was still vetoing elections as he pleased. In 1725 Gardiner refused to recognise the election of three new Fellows from Balliol, and we hear of "much heat" and "great Bustle" in consequence. But he could not always count on Wake's support. His long struggle was drawing to an end. Once at any rate he had the

rare experience of finding the College behind him. The Fellows realised the dangers lurking in the plea of Founder's kin, and they joined the Warden in protesting when Wake forced a new Fellow named Wood upon them as "the blood of Chichele" in 1723. On this occasion the proceedings in the Visitor's Court at Lambeth so disgusted Dr. Clarke, that he left to Worcester College a substantial legacy which would otherwise have fallen to All Souls. In the years that followed, the claims of Founder's kin were pressed again and made "the College tremble." Wake sometimes disallowed them, but sometimes urged them too far. He stretched them once to cover a near kinsman of his own, and his successors permitted the abuse to grow to a formidable extent.¹ After Gardiner's death in 1726 the constitution of All Souls was not only interpreted, it was to a great extent made, at Lambeth, and the Archbishops of Canterbury cannot altogether escape responsibility for the abuse of Founder's kin and the secularisation of the College.²

In the year of Gardiner's death a contested election at Balliol caused an appeal to another College Visitor, and the Visitor gave a decision which made his own nephew Master of the College for nearly sixty years. Neither Dr. Baron nor Dr. Hunt had rendered very conspicuous service as Master. The most useful and successful of the Fellows during Hunt's short reign had been Mr. Best, and on Hunt's death in 1726 it was generally expected that Best would succeed him. But Best began to canvass too actively, and his opponents determined to bring

¹ Between 1757 and 1777 thirty-nine vacancies out of fifty-eight were filled by Founder's kin. But after Blackstone's memorable protest Archbishop Cornwallis ruled in 1777 that the Founder's kinsmen need not number more than ten, and in 1792 Archbishop Moore confirmed this (*All Souls College*, 184).

² Gardiner's administration at All Souls is illustrated by many letters in Archbishop Wake's correspondence in Christ Church Library (vol. XV, unpagcd), some of which, especially Gardiner's long memorandum of 1717, I have used above, and by Gardiner's letters and papers and other documents in the All Souls' Library, which the Warden kindly allowed me to see, especially the volume entitled *Appeals and Visitors' Injunctions* (pp. 74, 82, 85, 88, 95, 144, 148). The *College Punishment Book* has some entries on the subject. The *College Licenses of Absence* show a marked increase between 1702 and 1720. The *College Register* (vol. II) deals mostly with admissions, but Wake's angry mandate in the case of Robert Wood is given there. Mr. Martin's *Catalogue of Archives* has many useful references to the College papers. Prof. Montagu Burrows (*Worthies of All Souls*, Chaps. XIX and XX) and Mr. Grant Robertson (*All Souls College*, 160 sq.) have treated the subject fully. The *Statutes of Colleges* (I, All Souls) give one or two decrees by Tenison and Wake. Hearne refers often to the Archbishop's action in nominating Fellows, e.g. in 1725, 1727-8, 1732-3 (*Collections*, IX, 53, 61-2, 368, 372, 393; X, 66, 250; XI, 33, 42, 78, 123, 275, 286). For Tenison's view on this point, which was wiser than Wake's, see *Bodley MS. Ballard XVII* (ff. 62-7).

out a candidate against him.¹ The Visitor, Dr. Brydges, was invited to stand. Best's followers did not conceal their disapproval. Brydges declined, but thereupon his nephew, Theophilus Leigh of Corpus, was put forward in his place. Leigh was not eligible unless the Statutes were dispensed with: but the necessary dispensation his uncle the Visitor "very readily" gave. A curious struggle followed. Six of the Fellows were committed to each side. But one of Best's supporters, Mr. Lux, was weak in health and was alleged to be weak in understanding, and one of Leigh's supporters, Mr. Quick, had never subscribed to the Act of Uniformity. Attempts to convict Mr. Lux of imbecility were met by threats to exclude Mr. Quick as a Non-juror. Poor Mr. Lux protested to the Visitor against the charge by which he was assailed:

"Because I have endeavoured to avoid y^e Hurry of much Company, having been very weak and ill, I have heard that some Persons have been so ungenerous as to think that I did so because I was somewhat disordered in my Understanding."

But it was thought that pressure could be brought to bear on Mr. Lux, if he were left alone with his co-scrutator, a friend of Leigh's, when the election took place. "My Friends will have an opportunity of talking with him," wrote Leigh significantly to his uncle. Later on he confided to Brydges, "I have been advised to try and take him out of the way." There is no idea of violence, only of influence or pressure. But it is impossible to read Leigh's letters without feeling that he and his uncle were parties to a discreditable plot, and one is not surprised to find an old friend of Dr. Brydges writing to beg him not to violate the Statutes for his nephew's sake.

"Let Whig visitors go on to Judg wrong, and to oppress; but let all honest men do Justice to their King and fellow subjects."

Politics may have had their share in the election,² and personal grudges and sycophantic motives. Young Leigh was a man of family: the Duke of Chandos is mysteriously mentioned. At any rate the voting led to strange results. Mr. Lux refused to be left alone with his co-scrutator in the Chapel. Best's six friends declared him elected, whereupon the other six declared

¹ Hearne dwells on the claims of Mr. Sanford, who, he says, induced Leigh to come forward, when convinced that his own election was impossible (*Collections*, IX, 131, 206-7, 287).

² But I do not, like Prof. Davis (*Balliol College*, 179-83), gather from the correspondence that an attempt was made to persuade Brydges that his nephew was a Whig.

Leigh elected too. Best's claim was the better,¹ but the Visitor had the last word, and the Visitor decided for his nephew. Best took an early opportunity of withdrawing from the College, but his friends set themselves to thwart the new Master, and Dr. Brydges had presently to intimate to the Fellows that it really was not fitting that the Master, "a principal and vital part of your Society, should be a Cypher in his own College." Leigh, though credited with considerable powers of jesting, had neither the character nor the abilities to impress his opponents. The shadows of apathy and reaction gathered round Balliol for sixty years. The Goddess of Dullness, Leigh's critics insisted, was the Master's "best belov'd."² Numbers, it seems, steadily declined—from a hundred and ninety-two in 1726 to seventy-five in 1770.³ Scholarships and Fellowships fell almost entirely to friends or members of the College, of whom no vulgar intellectual competition was required.⁴ Rude observers declared that the "Men of Belial" spent their time in "sconcing and pinching poor Under-Graduats," and never frequented their Chapel unless their office compelled.⁵

IV

More creditable than these internal quarrels, if not always more successful in results, were the efforts made by many a College to enlarge or to beautify the inheritance of the past. The greatest transformation was of course at Queen's. Sir Joseph Williamson gave the first impulse to the movement there by setting up a handsome block of classical buildings at the North-east corner of the College in 1672.⁶ Thirty years later

¹ The junior Fellow, one of Leigh's supporters, ought, according to custom, to have withdrawn or joined the other side, when the tie occurred. (See *Statutes of Colleges*, I, Balliol, 1509, p. 4.) A full account of this election, with a clear statement of Best's case, is in the College Archives, which the Senior Bursar kindly put at my disposal. The account in the College Register stops short with Dr. Brydges' refusal to stand.

² See the skit *Threnodia*, by J. Freinshemius (1753)—not on a high level.

³ They fluctuate, but Commoners fall off, and the decline is very marked. It would not be fair to put it all down to Dr. Leigh. The lowest figure is 68 in 1800. Then a marked revival begins. The total is 158 in 1816, 227 in 1825, 327 in 1840, etc., if Dr. A. Clark's notes on the Buttery Book figures in the Balliol Library are to be taken as correct. But the highest figures must include many not in residence, and I am sceptical about the 327.

⁴ For the abuses connected with the Blundell foundation see Davis (*Balliol College*, 123-4 and 177-8).

⁵ See the speech of *Terrae Filius* in 1733 (*Bodley MS. Gough, Oxford*, 101).

⁶ It is conspicuous in Loggan's view, though modified later.



QUEEN'S COLLEGE LIBRARY
From the drawing by J. C. Buckler

he bequeathed six thousand pounds to add to, to ornament or to reconstruct the College. Meanwhile in 1692 Provost Halton began to build a new and noble Library on a site North-west of the old quadrangle, and the style and stateliness of this new building must have provided another argument for more ambitious plans.¹ William Lancaster, who succeeded Halton as Provost in 1704, threw himself heartily into the great project. His energy and generosity committed his colleagues to a complete scheme of rebuilding, which was to tax their resources heavily for many a year to come. Williamson's legacy was there to work on. Halton's building suggested lines for the new quadrangles.² The old tenements bordering on the High Street might provide for an extension to the South. The City agreed to contribute on a thousand years' lease another strip of land on the lane to the North. Two new Palladian Courts were to replace the ancient, irregular buildings, where Wycliffe had lodged, where John of Gaunt had feasted, where, as some believed, the hero of Agincourt had dwelt. More than one plan was evidently considered. Sir Christopher Wren is stated to have designed a new Chapel in or before 1682.³ But it is to Nicholas Hawksmoor, once Wren's clerk and pupil, that the responsibility for the plan chosen belongs.⁴ Hawksmoor is of course a distinguished representative of the architects of the early eighteenth century. If influenced by Vanbrugh, he was trained by Wren. He was not blind to the loss involved in the wholesale destruction of the "antique." But he could not resist the temptation to embellish it or to replace it with something more massive in conception, more spectacular and grandiose in its effects. And

¹ See Magrath (*The Queen's College*, II, 69 sq.). It measured 123 ft. by 30, and cost £5,247. The city contributed a strip of ground on the lane. The old Library at the S.W. corner of the College was swept away and replaced by other buildings not destined to last long.

² The new courts covered a good deal of additional ground, both to the West and to the South. Dr. Magrath (II, 65 and 86 Pl.) points out that the size of the old quadrangle was not much more than half the size of the new front quadrangle.

³ "Capellam Collegii Regin: apud Oxon^a: extruxit" is a statement found in a list of Wren's works given in *Lansdowne MS.* 698 in the British Museum (pp. 143 to end), purporting to be made by Wren's son and initialled by Wren himself. This statement is inserted on the back of p. 143 and bears no date, but seems to be under 1678; the whole list is incomplete and incorrect. James Elmes printed it, not very exactly, in his volume *Sir Christopher Wren and his Times* (pp. 414 sq.). Wren of course may have drawn an early design for the Chapel, and his design may be embodied in Burghers' print. (See Magrath, II, 67 and Pl.)

⁴ The inconclusive evidence, I think, suggests that Hawksmoor built the Library. How much Hawksmoor owed to Wren's advice it is impossible to say, but I have not found any real evidence that Wren built any part of Queen's College. (See also Appendix A.)

had he been allowed to work his will, there would be many fewer courts and towers in Oxford to whisper to us the enchantment of the Middle Age to-day.

Still the new College at Queen's contains some of Hawksmoor's best work. Under Lancaster's vigorous guidance the great undertaking went forward. The West wing of the new front quadrangle was begun in 1710. The central block was begun in 1714. The Hall was finished and "dined in" on the 24th May 1715. It was a great day for the Provost: "old Smooth-Boots exerted himself according to his usual Pride." The Chapel, not quite completed in Lancaster's lifetime, was consecrated under Provost Gibson in 1719. Gibson had to take over heavy bills and the prospect of further large expenditure. In 1719 also the old buildings on the East and the old Chapel on the South had to come down. The new Provost set to work to appeal for subscriptions. Friends and members of the College made a generous response. The thirteen years of Gibson's administration saw the North quadrangle finished and the College out of debt. Williamson's building was adapted to fit into the scheme. Provost Smith, who succeeded Gibson—they had called him handsome Smith in Queen Anne's day—showed even greater energy in collecting funds. He was determined to complete the front quadrangle. The East and South sides had still to be built. The tenants in High Street had still to be removed. Queen Caroline gave a thousand pounds, on an appeal from the Provost who had been her Chaplain. She promised another thousand later—"unpaid as yet but not un-hoped for," adds the College Benefactors' Book. Five hundred pounds were procured from a bequest by Sir Francis Bridgeman, which Dr. Gibson had "given up for lost." A substantial sum for building purposes was received under the great bequest of John Michel.¹ Other useful contributions flowed in. The leases of the old houses remaining on the two street fronts were bought. The new walls rose. Queen Caroline's statue for the cupola over the gateway was ordered to be finished by "the ingenious Mr. Cheer of Westminster" by the end of May 1735.

"Ye façade towards ye Street is equally beautiful and magnificent," writes a gentleman from Oxford. "We have raised over a noble Archd. Gateway an open Temple, supported by Eight duplicated Columns . . . In ye Center of this Temple, upon a pedestal, we have placed a Royal Statue in marble of ye best of Queens, our present Gracious Patroness and Royal Benefactor." ²

¹ Michel's will, dated 21 Dec. 1736, provided funds for 8 Fellows and 4 Scholars, and proposed to build two staircases for them in the new East wing next the street. It was modified by an Act of 1751. (See Magrath, II, 104-8.)

² This letter is said to be in the *Daily Post* of February 12, 1736. But

"Thus it is finished," adds the same observer. The cupola, though it left some work and bills outstanding,¹ may be regarded as the crown of the whole great design. It is to be regretted that the statue of Queen Caroline was soon seen "publicly to dance a courant,"² probably by the convivial young Jacobites whose successors Pitt, watching from the windows of the Angel opposite, found determined not to listen to 'God save the King.'

Hawksmoor's design for rebuilding Queen's was only a part of his plans for rebuilding Oxford. He had probably a larger share than any man in the building schemes of the half-century which followed Charles II's death. There seems to be an irresistible temptation to ascribe to celebrated architects like Inigo Jones and Wren and even Vanbrugh the buildings built at Oxford in their day. Yet no evidence has so far been produced to show that either Inigo Jones or Vanbrugh was responsible for any University or College building,³ and, considering how closely Wren was associated with Oxford and how great a reputation he had won there, it is surprising to find how few of its buildings can be definitely attributed to him. We know that in certain cases his designs were rejected in favour of designs by lesser men.⁴ We know that capable amateurs like Dean Aldrich and George Clarke enjoyed experiments in building, perhaps all the more because they remembered that Wren and Hawksmoor were in the background to consult. Hawksmoor, Wren's pupil, may have frequently referred to him: he would have done better sometimes had he followed his master more closely. But by the end of the seventeenth century Wren, though wonderfully vigorous, was an old man, and for many years before that he must have been preoccupied—most men would have been overwhelmed—by his innumerable undertakings in London and elsewhere. Three buildings at Oxford are indubitably his, the

I have not been able to find it there. Dr. Magrath quotes it (II, 93, n.) apparently from Smith MS. 98. His account of the new buildings, with its full notes from the Smith MSS. and other College papers, and its many interesting and valuable details, is of course the foundation of this sketch.

¹ E.g. the completion of the Michel staircases. Dr. Magrath (II, 96) mentions the room above the Porter's Lodge, ordered in December 1758, as the last addition probably to the new buildings.

² See Richard West's letter to Horace Walpole, dated 1 June 1736, and quoted by Dr. Magrath (II, 94, n.).

³ I have not seen any definite evidence to connect the seventeenth century gate at Magdalen with Inigo Jones; and though tradition connects Vanbrugh with three well-known Oxford houses, one near Folly Bridge and one at the end of Broad Street, which have vanished, and one in St. Michael's Street, which remains, I doubt if the University ever employed his services.

⁴ E.g. Wren's screen for All Souls Chapel was rejected in favour of Thornhill's.

Sheldonian Theatre, the North block of the garden quadrangle at Trinity, and the Bell Tower over Christ Church gate. And two of these at least show Wren's great qualities, if none of them contain his finest work. On the evidence we possess it seems impossible to attribute the Ashmolean Museum to him; we have nothing to show that he was even consulted about its plan.¹ That he was consulted about Trinity Chapel we know, when the amateur architects fell into difficulties.² But Trinity Chapel is not his design. That he drew some plans for new buildings at Queen's is quite possible. But for the work done there Hawksmoor may fairly claim the chief credit. At All Souls Wren certainly did not in extreme old age plan Hawksmoor's towers. But evidence exists to show that the University authorities were ready enough on critical occasions to turn to him for help. When the walls of Duke Humphrey's Library began to swell and the foundations of the Divinity School gave trouble, it was to Wren that Dr. Gregory, the Savilian Professor, appealed for advice. And the veteran architect, who had tampered with the Divinity School before, and had dared in earlier days to introduce a beautiful doorway into one of the noble windows Orchard left, responded with a promptness and a wisdom which show how ready he always was to place his great experience at the disposal of the University he loved.³

Yet Hawksmoor has left in Oxford more of his work than Wren. Some of the Colleges indeed owe nothing to him. He had probably no share in the completion of the second quadrangle at Jesus in Queen Anne's day, or in the introduction twenty years later of battlements over the Principal's house. He was not apparently called in to repair the Library at Exeter, which was nearly destroyed by fire in 1709, or to build the new block which replaced Bentley's Nest. The Bristol Buildings at Balliol, put up at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the South-west corner of the garden court, were content to be known by the name of the city which contributed to their cost. President Turner's buildings at Corpus, begun in 1706 and known later as the Fellows' Buildings, are claimed as Aldrich's design. The new quadrangle at University, begun in 1716 with funds bequeathed by Dr. Radcliffe, reproduced as nearly as possible the fine, old court beside it. The buildings at Oriel, the two sides

¹ On this point see Appendix A.

² See *ante* (Chap. XX, p. 7, n.).

³ Wren's letters on the subject in 1700 are quoted in *Oxoniana* (III, pp. 16-21), and Mr. E. P. Warren has an interesting paper on it in the beautiful Bicentenary Memorial volume entitled *Sir Christopher Wren* (1923). Otherwise that volume does not throw much light upon Wren's architectural work at Oxford.

of a new quadrangle, which date from 1719 and 1729, are connected with Bishop Robinson and Provost Carter. The additions at Pembroke, the Tower erected in the corner in 1694, regardless of Loggan's premature design, the Master's House of 1695, the new Library built over the Hall some fifteen years later, and the Chapel at last completed in 1732, are not associated with Hawksmoor's name. The completion of the new court at New College, sometimes attributed to him,¹ may not be his. And as Aldrich is held responsible for Peckwater Quadrangle, so Clarke is held responsible—though even here Hawksmoor's influence may be traced²—for the grandiose and massive Library at Christ Church, begun about 1716 but long in building, which dominates the chambers round.³

But elsewhere Hawksmoor's activity was marked. His design for All Saints' Church may not have satisfied Aldrich, and his design for the Radcliffe Library was certainly rejected. But his design for the Clarendon Printing House is a fine example of his work. The new College at Queen's brought him a great reputation, and many an amateur architect in Oxford, George Clarke in particular, looked to him for advice. Hawksmoor for his part was never backward to respond. He produced more than one bold scheme for the enlargement of Brasenose. In 1720 there was to be an elaborate front upon the High Street, which apparently involved too heavy an expenditure in buying up houses. In 1734 a fresh plan was submitted to George Clarke.⁴ Fewer houses on High Street needed to be purchased, only enough to make an approach "in a direct vista" to a new "Atrium or

¹ Dallaway's note to Wornum's edition of Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, etc. (689, n.) vaguely attributes the whole garden quadrangle to Hawksmoor. It seems to have been laid out by Bird (Rashdall and Rait, *New College*, 87), and I do not know of any proof that Hawksmoor is responsible for the additions of 1700 and 1708, though I have made some search in the College Archives.

² E.g. in the thick columns, which exceed in diameter even those at the Clarendon Building. Did Vanbrugh's ponderosity affect both Hawksmoor and Clarke?

³ Three smaller changes of these years may be noted, with which Hawksmoor's name has not been connected. One is the removal in 1727 of the garden in Brasenose quadrangle, in order, as Hearne says, "to erect some Silly Statue there," viz. the Cain and Abel procured by Dr. Clarke. Another is the removal in 1733 of the fourteenth century entrance gate to Trinity College; the garden had been laid out and the limes planted some twenty years earlier. And the third is the opening by the Warden of New College in 1734 of a door from his Lodgings into the street, which Hearne criticises as a grave innovation.

⁴ Hawksmoor's sketches and letter are at Worcester College, where Mr. Wilkinson kindly helped me to consult them. There are other plans of Hawksmoor's at Brasenose, and some of these the *Quatercentenary Monographs* have reproduced. (See *Mon.* XIII, 47-51.)

Corinthian peristylum." The old Chapel and Library were to be preserved, and the old quadrangle beyond them.

"The Lines you sent me of your thoughts of Brazen Nose, I have put upon y^e scale, and tryed what it wou'd make, and I think it makes, and suits very well with the antique deposition, and I have the vanity to fancy it will equall in beauty ; tho' not in Largeness, any of the Buildings in Oxford or Cambridge."

He sketched a plan apparently for rebuilding Christ Church Hall, which suffered severely from fire in February 1720.¹ He probably had a large share in Clarke's plans for building at Worcester. He had magnificent projects for rebuilding Magdalen :

"this being a College Soe decrepit that Repairing any part (except ye hall and chapell) signify's but Little, so that ye whole must (or ought to be) new."

Waynflete's decrepit relics could not be permitted in days when architecture, as Horace Walpole put it, "resumed all her rights." A grand porch on the High Street was to lead through a passage between Hall and Chapel into a "Theatrum" adorned by an obelisk, which merged into the "Great Cloyster," a spacious rectangle with a "Loggia" at the end. Over the Loggia was to be a Library, and beyond it on the North side an "Atrium Corinthium" opening on the park. The Hall, the Chapel and the Bell Tower probably might be preserved,² with such modifications or embellishments as would make them fit into the classical design. The details Hawksmoor was sure would prove "intelligible" to so good a judge as Dr. Clarke.

How near these perilous projects came to consummation, how far their adoption was prevented by reserves of judgment or by want of means, it is now difficult to tell. Hawksmoor's schemes for Magdalen were indeed eclipsed in audacity by those of Edward Holdsworth, a Magdalen Non-juror who travelled much abroad. A vast conception of new courts and cloisters, piazzas and arcades, flanked by great avenues and occupying apparently the whole of the ground at the disposal of the College, a conception worse than "the worst design which ever proceeded from the splendidly confused fancy of Palladio," was to sweep the work of Orchard and his contemporaries away.³ The pro-

¹ The fire, caused by choristers burning Christmas decorations, is described in a letter to Charlett, dated February 18, in vol. XXXV of the *Ballard MSS.*

² In Hawksmoor's rough sketch at Worcester College neither Tower nor Chapel correspond exactly with the old buildings. His covering letter to Clarke is dated 21 October 1724. The bold scheme for rebuilding the whole area behind St. Mary's, now hung in the Bodleian, is probably his.

³ See Buckler's *Observations on the Original Architecture of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford* (97-100)

ject ended in nothing more ambitious than the New Buildings begun in 1733. But schemes of this kind enjoyed great popularity among the College Fellows of the time. And if Magdalen, Christ Church and Brasenose escaped transformation, at All Souls at any rate Hawksmoor had his fling. Warden Meredith's reign at All Souls had not passed without experiments in building. Chichele's beautiful tomb at Canterbury had undergone a tasteless restoration. And Chichele's noble Chapel in Oxford had been spoiled, its reredos buried in plaster and its fine roof concealed. In Queen Anne's reign, while Clarke began to build new Lodgings for the Warden,¹ Gardiner collected funds to restore the Chapel. Streater's fresco at the East end was replaced by a painting by Sir James Thornhill. Clarke erected a "marble entablature" below it. And Thornhill also contributed a handsome screen. But bolder schemes were now on foot. Gardiner's vigour and Clarke's liberality found a staunch supporter in Nathaniel Lloyd, a successful lawyer who became Master of Trinity Hall at Cambridge but never lost his interest in his Oxford College. All Souls men responded to appeals for help. Tanner, Talbot and Godolphin were among the subscribers, Dean Godolphin perhaps atoning for the difficulties which elsewhere he made for Wren. Sharp economies were instituted. Even the College horses disappeared. And Christopher Codrington's great bequests, ten thousand pounds in money and a library worth six thousand more, gave a powerful stimulus to architectural designs.

Codrington lies in the College Chapel after an interesting and adventurous career, in which the Christ Church undergraduate, poet, scholar, gentleman, the All Souls Fellow "vehement in learning" and not less vehement in action, proved himself as soldier and administrator in later and more difficult days. His bequest has provided him with a magnificent memorial. It provided also a great opportunity for the extension of the College. North of the Chapel the ground was cleared. The old cloister and graveyard vanished. Houses and tenements were bought in Cat Street. Land was secured by exchange with New College. And, backed by Clarke's co-operation, Hawksmoor set to work producing plans. He has been praised for his conservatism, and a letter exists in which he protested against "utterly destroying or barbarously altering" the old quadrangle.² But he allowed himself extraordinary freedoms. And in one sketch, initialled

¹ Completed in 1706; but the house was to be occupied by Clarke himself until his death (Grant Robertson, *All Souls*, 170).

² See Burrows (*Worthies of All Souls*, 394). But Hawksmoor did not always show the same self-restraint.

by him and dated 1714, intended to show how the College might be "rebuilt after ye Grecian Manner," he apparently proposed that everything except the Chapel should be swept away. There was to be a long Library on the High Street front, from which a colonnade was to lead across the inner quadrangle, between Chapel and Hall, to a large quadrangle beyond. At the end of the large quadrangle an elaborate "Grand Dormitory" was to fill the site of the present Library. And two gateways, North and South of the Chapel, were to give entrance from Cat Street to the two new courts. Another sketch, dated 1720, shows a cloister with a domed gate "after the Greek," and there are many sketches. But gradually the present scheme took shape. A beautiful Italian building for the Library,¹ eclipsing even in stateliness and dignity the fine new Library at Queen's, formed the North side of a new quadrangle. It ran parallel to the Chapel, but extended far beyond it to the East. To balance it and to make the South side of the new court, it was necessary to extend the line of Hall and Chapel Eastwards. So the Hall was turned, the old Hall pulled down, and a new one erected.² Clarke supplied the chimney-piece and panelling. The nineteenth century was one day to furnish windows commemorating the Worthies of the College. The rest of the quadrangle was completed in a style which has remained peculiar to All Souls. On the West a new cloister, flanking a new gateway, and on the East two striking and unprecedented Towers supplied remarkable examples of modern Gothic taste.³ Horace Walpole's judgment that the architect had "blundered into a picturesque scenery not void of grandeur" has by many critics been allowed to stand.⁴ Years later Blackstone's persistence extracted from the executors of the notorious Duke of Wharton a legacy which in a lucid moment he had promised, it may be, out of regard for

¹ It was not completed till 1756. The total cost was a little over £12,000 (Grant Robertson, 179): a library "to prance in," Dr. Johnson said (Boswell, ed. Hill, II, 68 n.).

² Hawksmoor and Townsend were discussing the plans for the new Hall in 1729. (See a letter from Clarke to Niblett, dated 25 March 1729, in the College Archives.) The Townsends, as builders, figure in many College documents.

³ Thought by one specialist, with their "poetry of conception" and "beauty of outline," to show such an "intimate appreciation of the essential qualities of Gothic Art" that they must be the work of Wren (Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, IV, 314), they are placed by another "among the very worst examples of new Gothic design to be found in this country" (Blomfield, *Hist. of Renaissance Architecture*, II, 206).

⁴ Walpole himself blundered in attributing them first to Gibbs (*Anecdotes*, ed. Wornum, 693). There are of course many published illustrations of Hawksmoor's designs for All Souls and other Colleges.

Edward Young the poet.¹ The Wharton Buildings find their place in the familiar fabric of the College, and it is probable that no part of the Duke's ill-starred and quickly-wasted fortune was more wisely spent.²

V

George Clarke figures generously in the story of All Souls. But another and a younger College has even stronger reasons to commemorate his name. The establishment of Worcester College is the only permanent achievement of the pious Founder at Oxford in the eighteenth century,³ and there were serious difficulties to be surmounted before even that achievement could be carried through. Few sites in Oxford had been longer dedicated to learning or romance.⁴ From the dim days of the thirteenth century foundation, specially associated with Gloucester and with Malmesbury Abbey, which grew into a Benedictine College of a unique and interesting type, to the melancholy picture which Wood drew four hundred years later of the half ruinous seventeenth-century Hall, a wealth of traditions had

¹ Dr. Stratford, writing in August 1720, represents the Duke as having already signed a promise to pay over the money (*Portland Papers*, VII, 279).

² A new Buttery with a fine ceiling was also added. It was decorated with an effigy of the Mallard in 1789 (Grant Robertson, 182).

³ For Dr. Newton's foundation (in 1739-40) of the Hertford College dissolved early in the nineteenth century, see later (Chap. XXII).

⁴ For references to Gloucester College in my earlier volumes see *ante* (I, 132-5 and II, 293-6). The whole story is admirably treated in the earlier chapters of the history of *Worcester College* by C. H. Daniel and W. R. Barker, to which, with its careful list of authorities, I am constantly indebted here. But recently fresh light has been thrown on the monastic foundation by the valuable *New Documents about Gloucester College* contributed by Mr. V. H. Galbraith to the volume which Mr. Salter entitles *Snappe's Formulary* (O.H.S., pp. 337 sq.). Mr. Galbraith's documents make it necessary to correct some details given in the first edition of my first volume. He dates the decision to found a Benedictine College at Oxford from the Chapter held at Reading in 1277. This decision, confirmed by the Abingdon Chapter of 1279 and revived by the Oxford Chapter of 1288, was followed by the transfer to the Benedictine community of the cell from St. Peter's, Gloucester, which Giffard had founded at Oxford in 1283. On this transfer the Abbey at Gloucester surrendered its special rights, and it is interesting to note that monks from Worcester were sent to the Oxford College in 1291. (See Leach, *Early Education in Worcester*, p. 26.) But its reconstitution on a broader basis was not completed till 1298-9, when Malmesbury Abbey supplied the nucleus of what was in effect a new foundation, and secured special rights over the College and its site. Mr. Galbraith deals also with the Basset MS. in the College Library, bearing on the back the name of St. Hieronymus, and containing entries suggesting that Gloucester College existed in 1277 (*Snappe's Formulary*, 386^a and 386^b).

gathered round the spot. Many a great Abbey had sent its scholars there to study, and had built lodgings to house them, which in some cases still survive.¹ Many an Abbot and Prior had added to the fame of the monastic College. And even when the Reformation broke its fortunes, its picturesque existence was prolonged. Bishops of Oxford claimed Gloucester Hall for a dwelling, till they found their claim too difficult to enforce. St. John's College secured it and allowed it to become a refuge for adherents of the old religion. Thomas Allen brought to it his mysterious learning. Kenelm Digby and Richard Lovelace contributed their charm. Pym sent his son there. Degory Wheare and Tobias Garbrand carried it through the troubles of the Civil War. But the Restoration found it in a critical condition. One Principal, John Maplett, "of a tender, brittle constitution," preferred to become a doctor at Bath. His successor, Byrom Eaton, failed in a long reign to revive its prosperity or to save its buildings from woeful disrepair. And it had fallen far from its ancient glories when Eaton's successor at length enabled it to enter on the last and greatest phase of its career.

Benjamin Woodroffe, appointed Principal in 1692, a man not without distinction as scholar, linguist and divine, but above all else an indefatigable schemer, had already made himself conspicuous in Oxford. In spite of "a magotty brain and a singular method of conduct,"² Woodroffe had attained to considerable preferments, including a Canonry of Christ Church in 1672. He had been Chaplain to Charles II and the Duke of York. On Massey's flight from Christ Church in 1688 James had appointed Woodroffe to the Deanery. But no-one in the University recognised the appointment, and before it could take effect James had ceased to reign. Woodroffe apparently faced the disappointment and accepted the much humbler post at Gloucester Hall. A man of some means—he married two ladies of fortune—he spent freely in repairing the ruinous Hall buildings. He set to work to secure undergraduates, and "by his great interest among the gentry" to make the old foundation flourish

¹ For the problems connected with these houses see the suggestions of Mr. Daniel, Mr. Barker and Sir T. W. Jackson (*Worcester College*, 27-34 and 255-6), and Mr. Galbraith's notes (*Snappé's Formulary*, 351-4). Documents printed by Mr. Galbraith (*Ib.*, 379-86) refer to the purchase in 1321 of the site of the original Carmelite settlement, represented probably by the small quadrangle on the South-east of Worcester College; the Carmelites had moved across Stockwell Street to Beaumont Palace. And they explain the position of the *camerae* belonging to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, which in the fifteenth century were an important element in the College.

² See Prideaux' sharp criticisms in his *Letters to John Ellis* (*passim*; see index under 'Woodroffe' there).

again with "hopeful sprouts." Four sprouts matriculated in 1694, nine in the next year and eleven in 1697. But Woodroffe was not satisfied with merely reviving the old Hall. He threw himself ardently into a project for establishing a College of the Greek Church there. Plans for bringing Greek students to Oxford, bred perhaps of dim ideas of reunion with the Eastern Church, had been heard of in the University before, and as early as 1692 Woodroffe began to agitate and probably to write upon the subject.¹ Traders in the Levant and in Turkey were appealed to. The Patriarch of Constantinople was approached. The Treasury was solicited. King William gave a hundred pounds. Queen Anne, touched by Woodroffe's verses comparing her to the Queen of Sheba, presented the College with a forfeited but impecunious estate. Before the end of the century Woodroffe collected a few Greek students—already in 1694 he had begun to style himself President of the Greek College—and he seems to have supported them largely out of his own purse. They were to talk ancient Greek for two years, to be habited "in the gravest sort of Habit worn in their own country," and to be trained on Aristotle, Plato and theology to become Patriarchs possibly in future. But the training wanted method, and the Doctor cannot be altogether acquitted of trying to undermine or modify their faith. One of them fled to Amsterdam and produced a tract denouncing Dr. Woodroffe and his doctrines.² Others took to wandering and fell unhappily into the hands of emissaries of the Pope. Rival Colleges were started abroad. In 1705 the Greek authorities at Constantinople forbade their students to go to Oxford: and by that time Dr. Woodroffe had already found another use for Gloucester Hall. Before the first decade of the eighteenth century was over, the Greek College was practically defunct. And within the century that followed, "Woodroffe's Folly" also, a flimsy building which the Doctor had set up for his Greek students opposite the Hall, ceased to recall the experiment associated with his name.³

¹ Woodroffe may well have written the paper *A Model of a College to be Settled in the University for the Education of some Youths of the Greek Church* preserved in the British Museum and described in Chapter VII of *Worcester College*.

² See 'Ο αἰρετικὸς διδασκαλὸς ὑπο τοῦ ὀρθοδοξοῦ καθητοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος, etc. This singular production, in two editions, of 1706 and of 1862, is in the British Museum. Dr. Woodroffe's Greek tract or dialogues of 1704, which immediately provoked it, is in the Bodleian. But see for the whole story Chapter VII of Daniel and Barker's *Worcester College*, and for their authorities pp. 252-3 of that volume.

³ The building stood at the end of what is now Beaumont Street: the street dates from 1820. The order for its demolition is in the College Register, dated May 15, 1806. "No Body," says Hearne (*Collections*, IV, 349), "ever since 'twas built hath presumed to lodge in it."

But if one scheme failed, Dr. Woodroffe always had another. About the year 1796 he had the good fortune to discover a pious Founder, whom he felt himself able to cajole or to coerce. Sir Thomas Cookes, a Worcestershire Baronet, had rashly allowed it to be known that he proposed to devote ten thousand pounds to the foundation of an Oxford College. Woodroffe, though still deeply committed to his Greek experiment, immediately adopted the idea for Gloucester Hall. Sir Thomas was besieged with letters. A "Model" for the new College was placed in his hands: it was quite a short time since the Model for the Greek College had appeared. A weak half-promise from the Baronet set Woodroffe to work buying land round Gloucester Hall. In 1697 the Doctor was already composing the Statutes. On the 22nd October 1698 a Charter was granted, appointing Woodroffe the first Provost, with twelve Fellows and eight Scholars. It was not thought necessary to mention Sir Thomas Cookes. But the Statutes issued the following month did recognise Cookes as Founder, and purported quite untruly to owe their origin to him.¹ Woodroffe had apparently carried all before him; but from the hour of his triumph his troubles began. Sir Thomas' money may not have been available. Or he may have made claims to patronage which the University would not allow. Or he may simply have changed his mind. At any rate in 1699 Dr. Baron, afterwards Master of Balliol, appeared upon the scene as a claimant. It was alleged that Cookes had resolved to settle his endowment on Balliol College. And Dr. Baron discovered that Balliol was so closely connected with Worcestershire as to be "commonly known as Worcester College." But Cookes, whose intentions were as stable as a weather-cock, veered again, and, perhaps annoyed by the importunities of Oxford claimants, began to talk of building workhouses in Worcestershire instead. Dr. Woodroffe's state of mind may be imagined. He tried to see Sir Thomas, but the Baronet knew his own weakness and declined. So Woodroffe vented his feelings in the pulpit, and the sermon apparently brought Sir Thomas to his side again. Dr. Baron could not forbear to comment on the indecency of such underhand proceedings. But on the 8th June 1701 Cookes incontinently died. His will left ten thousand pounds to be used either for a new foundation—"an ornamental pile"—or else for augmenting the endowments of some existing College or Hall.

¹ These Statutes are printed in the *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford* (III, Worcester, 19-32). They are remarkable chiefly for their ample provision for lectures and for their inadequate finance. Woodroffe was an early Fellow of the Royal Society and his scheme of instruction included not only theology, philosophy, philology and history, but mathematics, anatomy, chemistry and botany.

The trustees, the Heads of Houses in Oxford, reinforced by the Primate and a group of Bishops, were not men predisposed to listen to the claims of the Principal of Gloucester Hall. Woodroffe exerted himself actively to secure Parliamentary sanction for his project. But the Bill failed. Other claimants were forthcoming. Dr. Baron of Balliol seems to have abandoned hope.¹ But Magdalen Hall very nearly carried off the prize. Woodroffe became involved in litigation. Money difficulties gathered round him. Claims for debts which he could not satisfy ended in his committal to the Fleet. In August 1711 his "strange, unsettled, whimsical temper" ceased from troubling. But his death undoubtedly removed the chief obstacle to the fulfilment of his schemes. The new Principal of Gloucester Hall, Richard Blechynden of St. John's College, "good," says Hearne, "for nothing but drinking and keeping jolly Company,"² was a man far more popular with the Oxford of his day. The Archbishop and the Bishops of Worcester and Oxford had always been inclined towards Woodroffe's proposal, and the spacious ruins of Gloucester Hall, if not exactly an ornamental pile, were obviously suitable for a new College. The Worcester College plan revived, and just before Queen Anne gave place to her successor a new Charter and new Statutes received the assent of the Crown.

The Statutes of 1714 were fuller and more elaborate than those of 1698, which on many points they reproduced. The College was now to consist of a Provost, six Fellows and six Scholars. The Provost, chosen from present or past Fellows, was to be nominated by the Chancellor of the University, and with the assistance of the three senior Fellows was to be responsible for the government of the Society. The Vice-Provost, elected by his colleagues, was to exercise authority in the Provost's absence, but was not allowed to expel a member of the College. The Dean³ was to act as a censor of morals and to supervise the studies and disputations of the Scholars. The Bursar was responsible for College property, and for seeing that supplies were satisfactory, that servants did their duty,⁴ and that battels were punctually paid. Vacant Fellowships were to be filled by the Scholars, and the Scholars were to be chosen from the schools

¹ Dr. Baron is credited, it may be wrongly, with the pamphlet *The Case of Gloucester Hall*, published in answer to statements by Woodroffe. But here again see *Worcester College* (Chap. VIII).

² *Collections* (III, 155). Hearne adds (*Ib.* IV, 45) that Blechynden or Bletchindon was admitted Principal on Jan. 5, 1713.

³ No Dean was mentioned in the earlier Statutes. The Statutes of 1714 are also printed in the *Statutes of Colleges* (III, Worcester, 33-48).

⁴ "Ad officia sua juste ac diligenter exequenda quotidie adiget" (Sect. 6).

of Worcestershire, with a preference for Bromsgrove, Feckenham, Worcester, Hartlebury and Kidderminster, and with a preference also for Founder's kin. Four of the six Fellows were to take Orders: two might study medicine or Civil Law. Fellowships were limited to twenty-five years.¹ All Fellows and Scholars must be members of the Church of England, and must resign if they married or grew rich.² Each Fellow had thirty pounds a year, each Scholar thirteen pounds, six and eightpence, besides a daily allowance of fourpence for commons and twopence for bread and drink. The Provost drew eighty pounds a year but had no allowance for commons. The Vice-Provost, Dean and Bursar received for their duties five pounds apiece. But all official salaries were subject to reduction if the College revenues fell off. Fellows and Scholars were to have rooms free, and to sleep not more than two together. Other rooms were available for Commoners and were at the disposal of the Provost. College servants were provided for, and a Chaplain and a steward, with suitable pay. The Bishops of Worcester and Oxford and the Vice-Chancellor of the University were appointed Visitors. There were rules for discipline and morals, for closing the gates by ten o'clock, for the keeping of the College keys, the College Register, the College treasures and effects. There were rules for reading the Bible in Hall, for Latin talk, for the recitation of the Statutes. There were rules for disputations and for the dinners or payments which went hand in hand with degrees. The old ideas were still maintained, and very much of the old frugality. But the special provision for teaching, for courses in science in particular, which had given interest and distinction to Dr. Woodroffe's Statutes, was with his disappearance allowed to disappear.

Worcester College was founded at last. The ancient Hall from which it sprang endowed it with a nucleus of members, with a home of unusual picturesqueness, with a rich store of time-honoured traditions. And before many years were over the numbers and revenues of the little Society were enlarged. But the earliest bequests³ were exceeded in importance by two substantial legacies, which fell in respectively in 1736 and 1739. Dr. George Clarke, whose generous intentions were to some extent deflected by quarrels and litigation from All Souls, proved

¹ Counting from the holder's first admission to the College (Sect. 8).

² That is to say, a benefice worth more than £10 a year, or other income worth more than twice the value of a Fellowship, disqualified, except in the case of the Provost, whose position neither benefice nor inheritance could affect (Sect. 8).

³ For details of benefactions from 1717 onwards, culminating in the great Kay bequest of 1787, see *Worcester College* (Chap. X).

a valuable friend to the new College. He was keenly interested in its plans for building and was quite ready to find money for that purpose. But besides his contributions to the buildings, he founded six new Fellowships and three new Scholarships. And among other gifts to the Library he bequeathed it all his books and manuscripts, including the famous papers collected by his father and the famous drawings collected by himself. Mrs. Eaton, who died three years later, the widow of the old Principal of Gloucester Hall, founded seven additional Fellowships and five additional Scholarships, and made other provisions for the benefit of the College. These endowments called for a new Patent,¹ empowering the College to hold more property. An Act of Parliament followed in 1745. And thirty years later another Act was needed, to settle various outstanding questions, and to adjust competing interests among the nineteen Fellows and fourteen Scholars whom the Society was then well able to maintain.

Meanwhile new building schemes were taking shape. The relics of the mediaeval College and of the little old houses of the monks, the orchard ground and meadows of the Elizabethan survey, valued with their ancient but dilapidated tenements at sixty shillings a year, the later buildings of the seventeenth century, the Chapel for which Pym and Hales and Rouse and Samuel Fell had helped to pay, and which the next generation had neglected, supplied no adequate home for the new foundation. But some of the old work was permitted to remain, while Clarke, with the co-operation probably of Hawksmoor, planned a Palladian frontage for the College.² The new Chapel, begun in 1720, was not completed for over sixty years, and for a much longer period its internal decoration was unworthy of the architect's design. The new Hall shared the fine proportions and the plainness of the Chapel. The new Library covered the whole length of the cloister; it owed its dignity and nearly all its treasures to Dr. Clarke. The chambers on the North side of the College were begun in 1753. But even more important than the buildings were the purchases of ground. The College had been too long content to lease the site on which it stood. The water-meadow to the South was bought in 1741, the garden and meadow to the North and West in 1744. Other purchases of ground and

¹ Dated the 28th day of January in the 17th year of George II. Mr. H. V. F. Somerset kindly examined the Charter for me.

² Various drawings are in the College Library, in which probably Hawksmoor had a considerable share. But I do not think there are any for Worcester College initialled by him. An estimate of Townsend, the builder, of £2,200 "for the finishing the Hall and Chappell," dated 9 Jan. 173½, is there also. The College Register records help given by Clarke for the buildings.

houses followed. Worcester College became a considerable land-owner in that ancient territory beyond the city walls, where monks and friars had dwelt for generations, where Henry I had built his Palace and Richard Cœur de Lion had been born. The streams they sought still feed its pools and fountains. And the garden planted in the nineteenth century has not yet driven the water-fowl away.



WORCESTER COLLEGE
From the painting by J. M. W. Turner

CHAPTER XXII
THE AGE OF DR. JOHNSON
1728-1784

THE age of Dr. Johnson covers more than half a century of Oxford history, from his admission in 1728 to his last visit in 1784. It is the age not of Johnson only but of Butler and of Wesley, of Mansfield and of Chatham.¹ It includes the Oxford life of Adam Smith and Gibbon, of Stowell, of Eldon and of Charles James Fox. It can boast of many statesmen and of not a few Prime Ministers,² in days when Prime Ministers were not invariably the first of men. But of all these illustrious figures it was the famous and formidable Doctor, who, as years and honours gathered round him, took his old University most closely to his heart.

I

If the Church had lost its power in politics, its influence in the University remained. But the views of the Common Rooms of Oxford were by no means reflected in the Bench of Bishops. The fierce tide of High Church feeling which had made Dr. Sacheverell a momentary hero, with its passionate loyalty, its hatred of Dissenters, its sacerdotal claims, had died away. And a visible reaction had set in. The clergy and the country gentry might still bewail the loss of their ascendancy, might vent their feelings by describing the Archbishop as an atheist and the Bishops as Presbyterians and traitors to their caste. Convocation might flout its natural leaders and pass motions to discourage tolerance and freedom. The Whig Bishops had the Government behind them. The educated classes were largely on their side. Protestant opinions flourished. Scientific knowledge and freedom of inquiry gained ground. Deism became a

¹ Joseph Butler went up in 1715, John Wesley in 1720, William Murray (Mansfield) in 1723, William Pitt in 1727. But all as men, if not all as undergraduates, were essentially of Johnson's age.

² E.g. George Grenville, Lord North, Lord Shelburne, the Duke of Portland and Lord Grenville, who matriculated respectively in 1730, 1749, 1755, 1755 and 1776. Henry Pelham was at Hart Hall earlier, in 1710.

form of fashionable belief. As tempers cooled, enthusiasm abated. The emotional elements in religion were discounted. Its mysteries were freely canvassed. Its forms and dogmas lost some of their importance. Questions of conduct and of morals took a larger place in Church teaching. Sermons became passionless appeals to common sense. Excess of feeling became an offence against good taste. Bishop Butler could not speak with patience of the sensationalism which found a vent at Wesley's meetings. Bishop Berkeley, a born enthusiast—his enthusiasm for tar-water was one of the most innocent passions of a noble life—tempered even theological discussion with a philosopher's restraint. When Locke chose for his theme the reasonableness of Christianity, he set an example which the eighteenth century was quick to follow. But his contemporaries and successors declined to be embarrassed by the reserves which his moderation had imposed.

The growth of rationalism was directly strengthened by fear of the policy and doctrines of the High Church party. Whig prelates were anxious that Church principles should harmonise with the principles of government which the Revolution had laid down. Whig divines were determined to reduce sacerdotal pretensions. Whig moralists believed that practical morality was of far greater moment than contentious dogmas. Whig philosophers were fully prepared to examine the foundations of faith. Questions of Natural Religion, of the limits of the supernatural, of the credibility of miracles, of the true meaning of the Trinity, questions of prophecy, of history, of criticism, of inspiration, were eagerly debated in the pulpit and the press. Men of science were fascinated by them. Boyle established lectures on Christianity. Old Dr. Wallis at Oxford wrote *Letters on the Trinity*. Newton laboured to interpret prophecy and to identify the Apocalyptic Beast. Whiston, who succeeded to Newton's Chair at Cambridge, explained the Deluge by collision with a comet, and plunged so deeply into religious controversy that he was banished from the University and deprived. Reason became a watchword or catchword of theology. Deists of many varieties of opinion refused to place belief in miracle, revelation or tradition on the same footing as belief in God. They claimed the right to criticise, to doubt and to inquire. Dr. Bury of Exeter College, author of the *Naked Gospel*, speculated whether the doctrine of the Incarnation was a necessary part of Christianity. The great Trinitarian controversy discussed the question whether the Athanasian Creed was capable of explanation or belief. One divine claimed to have done service by proving that "Three Persons in the Godhead as distinct as Three Men, or Three Angels, is not only an Incomprehensible Notion, but an

Impossible Thing.”¹ Sherlock, who has been called “a lawyer in a cassock,” contended that the Trinity could be rationally interpreted. Burnet would not speak of three persons, only of “the Blessed Three.” Shaftesbury suggested that ridicule might be the test of truth. Bolingbroke discovered a confederacy between atheists and divines. Pope wrapped his theology in melodious verses. Hume brought to the examination of Natural Religion, of philosophy and history, politics and morals, the acutest intellect of his generation. Butler from a loftier standpoint invited a troubled generation to consider the *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the constitution and course of Nature*. Berkeley from the same high level endeavoured to lay down Principles of Human Knowledge, to explore the grounds of scepticism and irreligion, to find in reason, as the Schoolmen, whom he disdained, so long had laboured, a solid foundation for the faith which he professed.

In the outpouring of speculative discussion, which culminated in the first half of the eighteenth century, Oxford, though ready enough for political contentions, took on the whole a subordinate part. Toland indeed had worked for a short time at Oxford, and Locke’s views were strangely enough confused with those of the unstable and impulsive Irishman, whose criticism of the mysterious attributes of Christianity was an early incident in the new movement. Toland was a University Reformer. He had seen just enough of Oxford to denounce the narrowness and faction which he found there, the “proud, Popish, fierce, and unsociable spirit,” the drunken Fellows, the ignorant Scholars, the lazy and arbitrary Heads; and for these evils he suggested the remedy of a Visitation by the Crown. But his contemporaries listened with greater readiness to his advocacy of Deism, to his plea for a more natural religion, to his demand for liberality of thought.² Matthew Tindal knew his Oxford better. He was first a pupil of George Hickes at Lincoln, then a member of Exeter College, and afterwards for over half-a-century a Fellow of All Souls. Like Toland he had tried the Romanist religion, but he had returned to the Church of England before the fall of James II. As early as Toland he began to criticise the claims of sacerdotalism, to make the clergy, as he put it, especially the High Church clergy, mad. And he was equally successful in rousing animosities in the All Souls Common Room, where only Edward Young, he thought, had any original arguments

¹ See *Some Considerations concerning the Trinity*, one among many anonymous pamphlets on the subject.

² Toland published his *Christianity not Mysterious* in 1696. His criticisms of the University are to be found in *The State Anatomy of Great Britain*, 1717. (See especially pp. 71-2.)

to offer in reply. Tindal's morals were in Hearne's view on a par with his opinions. But his opinions were not without effect. Though he called himself a Christian Deist, he had as little respect for dogmas as for priests. His best known book, published in 1730, *Christianity as Old as the Creation*, was a landmark in the controversies of the day. The stir which it made, and the rejoinders it gave rise to, prove that it was regarded as a dangerous presentment of the rationalistic case.¹

Cambridge, as might have been expected, contributed more freely to the revolt against authority. But of the many Cambridge critics, Thomas Woolston, who had joined Sidney Sussex College in 1685, made perhaps the least permanent impression on the world. Disturbed by his study of the Fathers, and driven by his strong animus against the clergy, Woolston passed from allegorical interpretations of the Pentateuch to *Discourses on the Miracles of our Saviour*, which brought down a storm upon his head. Heresy, when accompanied by ill-directed humour and by pointed references to the hirelings in the Church, exhausted the patience even of a Whig Administration. Woolston was prosecuted for blasphemy and died under arrest. Anthony Collins of King's was a saner and cooler controversialist, as became Locke's favourite disciple.

"If I were now setting out in the world," wrote Locke to him the year before he died, "I should think it my greatest happiness to have such a companion as you, who had a true relish of truth, would in earnest seek it with me, from whom I might receive it undisguised, and to whom I might communicate what I thought, freely."²

Questions of criticism came into the forefront. Collins' *Discourse of Freethinking*, which Swift ironically "put into plain English," made a strong case for criticism and inquiry before the end of Queen Anne's reign. His *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* startled even Warburton's self-sufficiency in 1724. Conyers Middleton of Trinity, "fiddling Conyers," as Bentley's vigorous enmity described him, was ready enough in early days to drink the health of Dr. Sacheverell. But a visit to the Vatican, where he found an impression that Cambridge was a school which prepared boys for Oxford, changed his views of Church authority, and roused him to denounce the pagan ceremonies adopted by the Catholic Church. When Waterland in 1730 undertook to answer Tindal in a work which has been called the "most unlovely product of eighteenth-

¹ The main argument of Tindal's book is summed up by Sir Leslie Stephen in his *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (3rd ed., vol. I, 136 sq.), the finest survey of the whole subject.

² I quote from Hunt's *Religious Thought in England* (II, 369), which also gives an interesting account of these writers.

century speculation," Middleton came forward to criticise the Bible narrative from a historical point of view, and his use of the historical method made his argument unusually effective. Accused of "covert infidelity," he turned for a time to the study of Cicero, but he returned to theological controversy in 1747. His discussion of the credibility of miracles produced more stir than David Hume's, and had the singular result of converting Gibbon to the Roman Catholic faith. A less agreeable side of Middleton's wide-mindedness was his willingness to assent for the sake of preferment to doctrines which in his judgment "men of sense" could hardly approve.¹ But among this group of thinkers Samuel Clarke had the most solid reputation. Widely as he differed from Locke, he succeeded to Locke's place as the first of English metaphysicians, and in his own reserved and hesitating fashion he gave no small stimulus to speculative thought. Clarke took a middle course. Some of the Deists found his views too orthodox. But the orthodox accused him of being a Deist in disguise. The High Churchmen disliked both his politics and his theology. The Latitudinarians, Hoadly especially, gave him a warmer welcome than he probably desired. His *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, published in 1712, became a source of lively controversy. He continued all his life to be a friend of Newton, and in his later years he woke the interest of Voltaire.

Collins and Clarke were at Cambridge together, and Benjamin Hoadly, who went up in the same year as Clarke, proved as formidable a controversialist as either, and roused in Oxford an antagonism such as only Burnet had aroused before. Burnet had been so shocked by the "ill education" of the clergy in the Universities, and by the "vanity and insolence" they learned there, that he had resolved to found a nursery for Divinity students in his own diocese. The Oxford authorities not unnaturally "looked on this as a publique affront to them and to their way of education," and railed at the Bishop without mercy for it.² But apart from this small incident Burnet's whole career, his temperament, his character, his Low Churchmanship, his devotion to Dissenters, his eager partisanship for all that Oxford

¹ See Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes* (V, 421). See for these controversies, besides the treatises referred to, Leland's *View of the Principal Deistical Writers*, Leslie Stephen's sketches in *D.N.B.* and his *History of English Thought*, Hunt's *Religious Thought in England* and M. Pattison's *Tendencies of Religious Thought in England*, 1688-1750, in *Essays and Reviews*. Mr. Lecky has many interesting references in his *History of England*, and other authorities might be quoted. It is also obvious that other well-known speculative writers might be added to those mentioned here.

² See *A Supplement to Burnet's History of My Own Time* (ed. Foxcroft, p. 500).

Tories most abhorred, made him anathema to Hearne's generation. For all his generous and engaging qualities, he was pursued to the last days of his life by a ceaseless animosity rarely lavished on a Bishop in a stronghold of the English Church. To this notoriety Hoadly was destined to succeed. Already in Queen Anne's day he had come forward to write upon miracles and on the reasonableness of conforming to the Establishment. He had ventured to protest against the doctrine that rulers were of necessity ministers of God on earth, to urge that Christianity had not "utterly deprived men of the right of self-defense." Even before the Queen's death Hoadly was regarded as a champion of the Whigs, and his adulation of King George was hardly needed to secure his advancement to a Bishopric in 1715. Thenceforth his rise was very rapid. The new Bishop of Bangor boldly threw over Church authority. He denied that there was any visible Church in which men had the right to impose laws or penalties upon each other in matters relating to conscience or salvation. When Convocation began to protest against such doctrine, it found itself prorogued and silenced. The Bangorian controversy overflowed the pulpits. Tract after tract poured from the press.¹ Hoadly was ready for all assailants. He was hailed as the enemy of sacerdotalism and superstition. He was prepared to maintain that the Lord's Supper was no mystery, but a solemn commemorative rite. He defended Clarke's views and claimed to be his disciple. He stood for all that was most fearless and aggressive in the Latitudinarian creed. At Oxford, where he became the Visitor of five Colleges,² his opinions roused the most vehement antagonism. And of the four dioceses, to which he was in turn promoted, the busy and triumphant controversialist never found time to visit more than two.

Critics and sceptics were not left without rejoinder, as these important controversies went on. Waterland, the Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, undertook to answer Tindal and Hoadly, to vindicate Christ's Divinity and the authority of Scripture, the doctrine of the Eucharist and the Athanasian Creed. Bentley brought to bear on Collins all the powers of a trained scholar and debater and all the terse fierceness of his controversial style.³ Warburton, with insufficient knowledge but with an arrogant litigiousness which never failed him, plunged into the discussion of Old Testament prophecies. His *Divine*

¹ Seventy-four pamphlets appeared in July 1717 alone (Stephen, *English Thought*, II, 156).

² As Bishop of Winchester. The five are of course New College, Magdalen, Corpus, Trinity and St. John's.

³ See *Remarks upon a late Discourse of Freethinking*, by Phileleutherus Lipsiensis (1713).

Legation of Moses was meant to demonstrate the authority of the Jewish revelation, which Collins and other writers had impugned. Warburton had an angry contempt for all who differed from him. He dismissed Bolingbroke as the "essence of emptiness and nonentity," and Hume as nonsensical both in his scepticism and in his dogmas. But he was on stronger ground when he turned away from theology to examine the political advantages of the alliance between Church and State. Both Bishop Berkeley and Bishop Butler reflect the thought of their generation. They have been charged with using arguments which led to scepticism, and the suggestion is not without some grounds. The doctrine of probability as the guide of life suggests that all conclusions may be doubtful. Wesley was not alone in thinking the *Analogy* "too deep." But Berkeley's whole aim was to attack materialism. And Butler, who was to prove an inspiration to men like Mr. Gladstone and Cardinal Newman, has long taken rank as one of the most anxious and honourable defenders of the Christian creed.¹ William Law again, High Churchman and Non-juror, was ready to do battle with any rationalist opponent. He proved the most formidable antagonist whom Hoadly met with, on questions alike of Church government and of doctrine. And he did perhaps as much as any of his contemporaries to revive the spirit of religion in face of the critical attack. Law's *Serious Call* to Christians to live by Christian standards, to disregard the world and its allurements, to realise that "there is nothing wise or great or noble in a human spirit" except to know and worship God, appeared about the end of 1728,² and had a profound effect on the thought of his day. His mystical piety could not weaken the keenness of his logic or the clearness of his style. Even Gibbon, with whose family he had many associations, recognised the force of Law's devotional writings. Wesley and Johnson yielded to their spell.

As a whole, it may be, the Deistic and sceptical writers produced little of outstanding value, though one or two great names like Hume's and Gibbon's have survived. They were not in most cases men of great learning. Their influence did not endure. The destructive effect of their arguments, urged with more brilliancy among a more logical people, was destined to show itself more visibly in France. They rendered, no doubt, a real

¹ And yet, as Sir L. Stephen suggests, he may have made few converts (*English Thought*, I, 278 sq.). Among many writings on Bishop Butler, Mr. Matthew Arnold's essay in his *Last Essays on Church and Religion* and Mr. Bagehot's in his *Literary Studies* (vol. III) may perhaps be mentioned. I do not of course attempt to deal with the argument of these great writers. I only wish to recall briefly the controversies in which they took part.

² The earliest copy in the British Museum is dated 1729.

service to the cause of tolerance. They stimulated criticism and inquiry. They made men ask themselves again the never-ending question how far revelation could be reconciled with reason, how far the evidence for orthodox theology could be received. They checked the growth of superstition. They did something to secure the liberty of thinking which is essential to the vitality of any Church. But they helped at the same time to make educated Englishmen distrustful of orthodox beliefs. Many observers have recorded how widely in the eighteenth century indifference, if not irreligion, reigned. Addison found "less appearance of religion" in this country "than in any neighbouring state or kingdom." Bishop Butler took it for granted that Christianity was widely regarded as fictitious. Montesquieu bluntly declared that in England there was no religion at all.¹ At Oxford in 1729 the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses found it necessary to warn the undergraduates against the advocates of pretended human reason, and to urge on College Tutors the duty of explaining to their pupils their Christian duty and the Christian creed. In the following year *Fog's Weekly Journal* stated that one Oxford College was infested with Deists and that three Deistical students had been expelled.² In July 1745 Convocation banished George Augustus Selwyn for indulging with his boon companions in a blasphemous travesty of the Holy Sacrament at an unlicensed wine-shop near St. Martin's Church.³

II

In such conditions and to such a public the Oxford Movement of the eighteenth century made a strong appeal. As in the great movement of a century later, its impulse was a revival of enthusiasm, a demand for a deeper and more spiritual religion than the Churches seemed able to supply. The zeal and passion of Puritanism had abated, but its missionary fervour was not dead. Societies were being founded, under names now long familiar to us, for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and for the Propagation of the Gospel.⁴ Charity schools were springing up, "the glory," said Addison, "of the age we live in." Gram-

¹ Mr. Lecky summarises these opinions (*History of England*, II, 530-1).

² The College was Magdalen. (See Wilson's *Magdalen College* and Tyerman's *Life of John Wesley*, I, 65-6). Dr. Leger (*La Jeunesse de Wesley*, 135-7) refers to the case of Nicolas Stevens at Trinity, who took his B.A. in 1724.

³ See *Convocation Register BK* (129-35). But Selwyn's friends accused him of little worse at College than vanity, sprightliness and love of praise. (See Hamilton's *Hertford College*, 77.)

⁴ The S.P.C.K. dates from 1696: the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was separately organised in 1701.

mar schools were being multiplied as well as schools for the children of the poor. Berkeley insisted on leaving a rich Deanery—his heart would break, said Swift, if it were not taken from him—to found a missionary College in America. “So much understanding, so much innocence, and such humility,” said Atterbury, “I did not think had been the fashion of any but angels.” And something of Berkeley’s unworldly inspiration must have been stirring in the comfortable Colleges of Oxford even in Dr. Johnson’s early days. It was at Christ Church that the movement had its beginnings, and it was to one remarkable family that its rise was due. Samuel Wesley, the Rector of Epworth, came of a distinguished stock, destined to greater distinction in the future. His father, John, had been a member of New Inn Hall in the days of the Commonwealth, and an ejected Minister in later years. He himself had entered Exeter as a servitor, and after a gallant struggle with poverty at College, had passed on to a Lincolnshire living, to struggle with poverty for the rest of his life. But his courage and character never deserted him, and his wife had qualities at least equal to his own. Wesley’s literary efforts were considerable, his work on *Job* exhaustive. The vein of poetry, which had led him at Oxford to publish a volume entitled *Maggots*, on subjects never handled before, including “a Pindarique on the Grunting of a Hog,”¹ descended in ampler measure to his sons.² And those of his nineteen children who survived their difficult up-bringing gave many proofs of the abilities transmitted to their race.

Of these children Samuel, the eldest, trained under Busby at Westminster, went up to Christ Church in 1711, and passed on to masterships at Westminster and at Blundell’s school. His younger brothers, John and Charles, to whom Samuel often acted as tutor and protector, went up to the same College, John from Charterhouse and Charles from Westminster, in 1720 and 1726. John, brought up on argument and piety—there was little else of sustenance at home—a saint, says one of his biographers, when he entered Charterhouse and a sinner when he left it, but in spite of his sins hard-working, sparing, scholarly, and deeply interested already in predestination, in Jeremy Taylor and in the Imitation of Christ, had a sharp struggle to pay his way at Christ Church. “Let me hear,” writes his heroic mother to him in 1724, “whether you have any reasonable hopes of being out of debt.”

¹ This poem begins

“ Harmonious Hog draw near!
No bloody *Butchers* here.”

² And to at least one of his daughters.

"Dear Jack, be not discouraged; do your duty; keep close to your studies, and hope for better days. Perhaps, notwithstanding all, we shall pick up a few crumbs for you before the end of the year. Dear Jacky, I beseech Almighty God to bless thee!"

Happily John is able to assure her that fruit is cheap and plentiful. He is studying "the famous Dr. Cheyne's 'Book of Health and Long Life.' " He would like to hear more from his sisters. He is full of Jack Sheppard's escape from Newgate. There are a good many rogues about, but he need not fear them, for his "carcass" is all the property he has. Presently his father sends him five pounds, but he will not have the young man take Orders, as Eli's sons did, merely "to eat a piece of bread." John's sister, Emilia, begs him not to get engaged too soon: their family is an unhappy example of what imprudent marriages may mean. In 1725 there are already men at Oxford inclined to laugh at John's profession of religion. "Surely virtue can bear being laughed at," comments his father. "Does anybody think the devil is dead?" Doctrinal difficulties were overcome, even money was found for the occasion, and Bishop Potter of Oxford ordained John a deacon in September of that year. In March 1726, largely through the influence of the Rector Morley, John was elected to a Fellowship at Lincoln. He writes to his brother Samuel that he is delighted with the other Fellows. He finds them "both well-natured and well-bred." All debts have been paid and he has ten pounds over. But he cannot afford to have his hair trimmed by the barber at present. "Leisure and I have taken leave of one another. I propose to be busy as long as I live."

Recent researches have made known to us the earliest of John Wesley's Diaries, beginning in 1725 before his ordination, in which, jotted down among lists of pupils, tables of study, miscellaneous notes of all descriptions, are many entries laying bare the secrets of his heart.¹ He is always setting himself rules for conduct, first and foremost "to begin and end every day with God." He is always on his guard against waste of time and idleness. "Idleness slays," he impresses on himself. "Intemperance in sleep" is a sin scarcely more excusable. To avoid drunkards, busybodies, gossip, unclean thoughts and light behaviour, to eschew familiarity with women—"Have I loved women or company more than God?"—to be constant in prayer and self-examination—as time passes, the habit of introspection

¹ For these early Diaries see the first 77 pages of vol. I of Curnock's Standard Edition of *The Journal of John Wesley* (1909). This valuable work, Tyerman's careful *Life*, and Dr. J. S. Simon's recent volumes are perhaps the most important of the many books on the subject. Dr. Augustin Leger's study *La Jeunesse de Wesley* (1910) deals with Wesley in relation to the religious thought of the time.

grows—these are the daily communings which have possession of his soul. He was not at first always seriously occupied. He loved reading plays. He was inclined, he confessed later, to be “very angry at Kempis for being too strict.”¹ His friend Robert Kirkham had a delightful sister,² to whom his thoughts were often drawn.

“Your most deserving, queer character,” Kirkham writes to Wesley in February 1727, “your worthy personal accomplishments, your noble endowments of mind, your little and handsome person, and your obliging and desirable conversation, have been the pleasing subject of our discourse for some pleasant hours.”

In August 1727 John became his father’s curate at Wroot, where his sister Mehetabel found the people as dull as asses and as impervious as stones. It was not till November 1729, after the Rector of Lincoln had intimated that the younger Fellows who were chosen Moderators were expected to reside in College, that John returned to take up his duties as a Tutor for six memorable years.³

Meanwhile his brother Charles was making way. Charles had matriculated at Christ Church two or three months after John’s election at Lincoln. The brothers had a scheme by which he could chum with some “honest fellow” in a garret at Peckwater for fifty shillings a week, and so apparently make a profit out of the room allotted him elsewhere. There is something rather touching in the constant struggle against pecuniary odds. Charles, a born poet, was at first inclined to take life too easily. John’s discipline seemed to him too strenuous. “Would you have me to be a saint all at once?” But gradually, in his brother’s absence, Charles’ mind turned to religious issues. He began to study more closely, to think more seriously, to note his thoughts in a diary, to attend the sacrament every week. He persuaded two or three young scholars to join him, and to adopt a regular system or method. To lighter-hearted undergraduates such excess of method seemed a thing to mock at.⁴ But Charles was not to be deterred. When John came back to

¹ *Journal* (Standard Edition, I, 466).

² More than one. Betty Kirkham—“Varanese” in the fashion of the day—and her “sister Capoon” were friends of the lady best known as Mrs. Delany. Mr. Curnock suggests (*Journal*, I, 13–16) that Betty Kirkham was the “religious friend” who first led John Wesley to enter on “a new life.”

³ Wesley was an active College Tutor. But I find some difficulty in thinking that his pupils included two ladies from Christ Church, two ladies from Wadham, and one from Magdalen or Merton, as the Standard Edition of the *Journal* (I, 46 n.) says.

⁴ It seems probable, from Charles Wesley’s explanation, that the term Methodist at first meant little more than prig.

Lincoln, he became the natural leader of this little company. He had eagerly read Law's books, *Christian Perfection* and the *Serious Call*. He was "convinced more than ever of the impossibility of being half a Christian." Not only the busy young Tutor at Lincoln, but Charles and his friends at Christ Church and elsewhere, set themselves bravely to face the ordeal of being laughed at in Oxford as Methodists and saints.

Laughed at they were. The Holy Club, the Godly Club, the Enthusiasts, the Sacramentarians, soon excited interest and inquiry. But they went on their way. And from the first evenings in November 1729, when John and Charles Wesley, with William Morgan of Christ Church and Robert Kirkham of Merton, met to read the classics or some book of divinity together,¹ the new movement slowly gathered force. Kirkham took to reading Greek and Latin, struck off his drinking acquaintances, gave up tea and ale. Morgan, a delicate Irishman, began to visit prisoners in the Castle, breaking the ice, as old Mr. Wesley called it, for the active philanthropy of the future, trying ridiculously, Morgan's father told him, "to outdo" the good Bishops and clergy and pious men of the land. But surely they might be allowed, John Wesley pleaded, to visit the sick, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to help them with teaching and charity and religion, so far as their means and opportunities would go. With earnest-minded men the plea went home. When William Morgan broke down and died, his father showed his change of feeling by sending a younger son to Lincoln to be under Wesley's care. John Gambold was another Christ Church man, a servitor, who joined the little society in 1730. He was introduced, while still a boy of nineteen, by Charles Wesley to his brother John—"for he is somewhat older than I, and can resolve your doubts better." Gambold has left a very clear account of his companions in those early days.² John, he says, was always "the chief manager": his proposals charmed the others "because he was so much in earnest." They met in each other's rooms, and after prayers had supper together, and read some book, and talked over what they had done that day and what they ought to do on the morrow. Their plans were largely charitable, to call on the poor, to make friends of the prisoners at Bocardo and the Castle, to teach the children in the workhouse, to help in a school which Wesley had set up. It was the singularity of their behaviour, and especially these charitable practices, which gave most offence. They tried to make friends

¹ This is Wesley's own account in his famous letter to Mr. Richard Morgan, dated Oct. 18, 1732, which is given in full in the *Journal* (I, 87 sq.).

² It will be found in Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists* (157-62).

also among the undergraduates, particularly the younger men. They asked them to breakfast. They endeavoured "to fasten some good hint upon them" over a dish of tea. They helped them "in those parts of learning which they stuck at." They encouraged them "in a sober, studious life." They had their own views on ritual, frequent communions, fasts on Wednesdays and Fridays "after the custom of the Primitive Church." John Wesley strongly recommended method, regular reading, regular hours, beginning at four or five in the morning, "to correct the impotence of a mind that had been used to live by humour and chance, and prepare it by degrees to bear the other restraints of a holy life." He insisted on the need of reading Scripture. He laid much stress on self-examination. He advised meditation and ejaculatory prayers. He was singularly patient, gentle, humble-minded in advising or exhorting his companions. Gambold's sketch gives an attractive picture both of the little company and of the leader at its head.

Gambold took to reading the Fathers and the mystics. He was ordained and withdrew to Stanton Harcourt. Later on he wrote a tragedy on the Martyrdom of Ignatius, joined the Moravians, left his early friends. But other recruits came in. John Clayton of Brasenose brought a "little flock" of pupils with him, "true to their principles, and I hope to themselves too." But when Clayton went to Manchester, his pupils fell away. Clayton himself became more and more interested in the canons and Councils of the primitive Church. He fell much under the influence of High Churchmen and Non-jurors, of Mr. Spinckes' volume of Devotions, of sacerdotal views. Later on, in "the Forty-Five," he is found blessing the Pretender in the streets of Salford; he had long before that parted company from his Oxford friends. But among the early Methodists High Church opinions were by no means unknown. Emilia Wesley had to tell her brother that she would not submit to confession. There are more points of resemblance than has always been realised between the Oxford Movement of the eighteenth century and that of later days. Benjamin Ingham of Queen's, almost "too handsome for a man," was another early convert. "It is scarce possible," he writes to Wesley with the confident experience of twenty-one, "to imagine how wicked the world is. The generality are dead in trespasses and sin." He has "methodized" his time. He rises at five or sooner: Wesley rose at four. After that every hour is accounted for—at six Christian treatises, at seven breakfast, then the New Testament, a Collect, Common Prayer. Then forty-two children come to him for reading. From nine to eleven the Greek Testament occupies the field. At eleven he goes to teach

the rug-maker's children : the honest rug-maker himself was very slow : and so on through a busy and it may be hoped a profitable day. Ingham was ordained too. He had friends at Queen's in "a hopeful condition." He accompanied Wesley to Georgia, and would gladly have taken Matthew Salmon of Brasenose with him. Wesley once described Salmon as "in person, in natural temper, and in piety, one of the loveliest young men I ever knew." But Salmon's relations intervened. At twenty-eight Ingham became "intoxicated with the Moravian vanity" and was compelled to cast Wesley off. He was persuaded that there could be no true Christianity while the Church of England lasted. He married Lady Margaret Hastings and passed for a time into the Moravian camp. Happily this phase passed also : and in 1756 "dear Mr. Charles" was able to testify that Ingham was labouring in the true vineyard once again.

Other enthusiastic, serious-minded youths who fell under Wesley's influence at Oxford—an influence, some thought, too rigid and exacting to continue long—have left interesting memorials behind. James Hervey of Lincoln College, in whom Gambold found a "surprising greatness of soul," threw off his idleness and joined the Methodists at nineteen. He had a strong taste for literature, for poetry, above all for flowery and rhetorical prose. His *Meditations*, we are told, "evangelized the natural sciences, and embowered the old divinity." But the contents of his *Dialogues between Theron and Aspasio* are difficult to read without a smile.

"Dialogue II. Walk through the gardens.—The beautiful Frame and beneficial Ordination of Things . . .

Dialogue III. Walk through a Meadow.—Doctrine of CHRIST'S Satisfaction stated . . .

Dialogue IV. Park and romantic Mount.—CHRIST'S death further considered. . . .

Dialogue IX. Curious Summer-house. No Relaxation of the Divine Law . . .

Dialogue XIII.—Walk upon the Terrace.—Depravity of human Nature laid open, etc., etc."¹

Wesley unhappily, when pressed to revise the manuscript, seems to have used a friend's prerogative so freely, especially on points of doctrine, as to offend a sensitive invalid : and recriminations followed which embittered an old acquaintance at the end. It is curious to notice that what attracted Bentham in *Theron and Aspasio* was its slang.² Thomas Broughton of

¹ See the Contents (*Theron and Aspasio*, vol. I).

² See Bowring's edition of Bentham's *Works* (X, 21-3), where, however, *Aspasio* figures unhappily as *Aspasia*.

Exeter College joined the Oxford company a year earlier. But we know little of his early service, only enough to recognise his devotion to his leader. "If I should say, that I have not shrunk from under the cross, I should be a liar," he writes to him in 1735. But devotion was followed in his case, as in others, by serious differences of opinion. In 1738 Charles Wesley lamented that Broughton was making unbelievers as easy as Satan could desire. Broughton became Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and seems in that capacity to have done very useful work. William Chapman of Pembroke may have joined the Methodists a little later. In 1736 he writes to John Wesley from Oxford that he is sitting every evening with Hervey—"that great champion of the Lord of Hosts"—and reading five times a week to a Religious Society in St. Ebbe's. Charles Kinchin was a Fellow of Corpus, who took spiritual charge of the prisoners in Oxford when the Wesleys left. He became "a courageous soldier of Christ." We hear of him in 1738 travelling with John to Manchester, and "expounding" in Oxford to an audience which included forty gownsmen. He died prematurely in 1742.

Nor do these names exhaust the tale. William Smith was a Fellow of Lincoln—"poor languid Smith," Charles calls him—who in 1733 began to live more carefully in College, to cut down his expenses, to avoid his irreligious friends, and was immediately set upon by other members of the University "as if he had entered into a conspiracy to cut all their throats." Richard Hutchins, afterwards Rector of Lincoln, was Hervey's Tutor and is claimed as at least a sympathetic friend. John Whitelamb, "poor, starveling Johnny," acted as amanuensis to Mr. Wesley, till the Rector of Epworth somehow or other found means of getting him to Lincoln College, where John looked after his Latin and Greek, raised money to buy him a gown, and naturally became the director of his soul. Whitelamb married Mary Wesley, though she was eleven years older than himself, and Mary's father resigned the wretched little living of Wroot in his favour. Westley Hall, destined also to marry a Wesley, was another of John's pupils at Lincoln. Mrs. Wesley bore witness to his "extraordinary piety, and love to souls." But Hall's love-adventures became far more conspicuous than his piety.

"Many years ago," writes John later, "Mr. Hall, then strong in faith, believed God called him to marry my youngest sister. He told her so. She fully believed him, and none could convince one or the other to the contrary. I talked with her about it; but she had 'so often made it a matter of prayer, that, she could not be

deceived.' In a week he dropped her, courted her elder sister, and, as soon as was convenient, married her."¹

But that is only a part of the story. Hall was already engaged to the elder sister, Martha, when he came courting the younger, Kezziah. He had moreover convinced John that he intended to be an "eunuch for the kingdom of heaven's sake." When Kezziah was jilted, Charles Wesley wrote to Martha "a poetical epistle full of terrible invective." But neither Martha nor Kezziah seems to have been to blame. Oddly enough, after Hall married Martha, Kezziah took up her quarters with them. "Serpentes avibus gementur, tigribus agnae,"² commented Charles. Later still Westley Hall became "Moravianized," and proved in other respects a rascal. He deserted his wife. He took to preaching and practising polygamy. He became "a settled Deist." And Martha bore with him and forgave him with unwearied charity to the end. Not for nothing had "her brothers and sisters nick-named her the patient *Grisele*." She became a friend of Dr. Johnson, a friend indeed of all who knew her, idolised by children, loving, generous, composed. There is a delightful picture of her drawn by her niece in her old age. "A little before her departure, she called me to her bedside, and said, 'You have heard me wish for assurance,' (of happiness, she meant), 'I have it now. Shout!'—and so she died."³

Other details could be given of the early Methodists at Oxford. Several Colleges were represented among them, and Chapman was not the only nor the most famous Pembroke man. George Whitefield, the struggling, uncouth servitor, who came up in 1732 from the Bell tavern at Gloucester, and so hated going round to call the Commoners in the morning, was destined to be after the two Wesleys the most conspicuous of them all. His story has been told at length and is familiar to every student of the movement. His boyhood seems, at any rate in retrospect, to have been a strange mixture of mischief, piety and sin. At Oxford he was shy at first of attaching himself to the Methodist leaders. But he was already their admirer and disciple, praying and fasting and imitating their ways. He too had responded to Law's *Serious Call*. And when after a year or so chance gave him an opportunity of communicating with Charles Wesley—he sent him word that a poor woman in the workhouse had tried to cut her throat—he was inevitably drawn into the Methodist ranks. He adopted all their rules with severity, multiplied his

¹ See Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists* (387).

² *Ib.* (392). Charles Wesley may have quoted the words so.

³ *Ib.* (411). I have ventured in these sketches to draw rather freely on the materials in Mr. Tyerman's valuable and interesting book.

fasts and his communions, cut down his food to the coarsest and slenderest fare, dressed himself in the shabbiest of clothing—"wollen Gloves, patched Gown, and dirty Shoes"—lay prostrate on the ground in Christ Church meadows, wrestling with evil or meditating upon doom. His health and his work of course suffered. Satan "sadly imposed on" him in the matter of his College exercises.¹ Pembroke undergraduates had no sympathy with his failures or excesses, still less with his attempts to evangelise among the poor. They mocked. They threw dirt. They expressed their feelings plainly. Even the Master talked about expulsion. Only a kindly Tutor made allowances for a man whom he thought "really mad." But the Methodists drew closer to him, and when the Wesleys went to Georgia Whitefield became a leader among those who remained.¹ In 1736 he took Orders. In 1737 he too started for Georgia, and after his return from America his active association with the two Wesleys began. Even among those memorable preachers Whitefield proved himself the greatest pulpit orator of his day. A man of boundless enthusiasm and energy, moving, persuasive, simple-minded and sincere, as void of littleness, jealousy, self-seeking as he was void of literary taste, he became a field-preacher of extraordinary power. To John Wesley's gift of statesmanship and Charles Wesley's gift of poetry he contributed a gift of eloquence which no popular audience could withstand. He drove men out of their right senses, says one account which Franklin was fond of repeating. Hume declared that it was worth going twenty miles to hear him. Garrick insisted that by merely uttering the word Mesopotamia he could reduce a congregation to tears.

The numbers of the Oxford Methodists were never large. Wesley speaks of fourteen or fifteen only in 1735. They rose at times as high as twenty-seven. But whenever John was away from Oxford, they were apt to sink to very few. John Clayton in 1732 notes it as "an extraordinary providence" that, when Wesley is absent, all opposition in Oxford disappears. Nobody thinks it worth while to attack even poor Mr. Smith at Lincoln. But Clayton's Methodist pupils tend to disappear as well, and the little flock at Bocardo begins to quarrel. In 1738, when the Wesleys returned from Georgia, they found all the original company dispersed, and "only three gentlemen who trod in their steps." Everything in fact depended on the leader, the "Curator," mockers called him, "of the Holy Club." John Wesley had his faults. He was sometimes harsh, dogmatic, dictatorial. He could be credulous and inconsiderate, sharp of

¹ The authority for Whitefield's Oxford life is his *Short Account of God's Dealings with the Reverend George Whitefield*, first published in 1740. See also Tyerman's *Life of him*.

tongue, indifferent to the feelings and the claims of others. He could write to William Law, once his venerated teacher :

“ Once more, sir, let me beg you to consider whether your extreme roughness, and morose and sour behaviour, at least on many occasions, can possibly be the fruit of a living faith in Christ.”¹

His published views on celibacy did not prevent the most unfortunate matrimonial adventures, in which he suffered for his want of judgment and made others suffer too.² As Charles said of him, he was “ naturally and habitually a tutor,” and he treated men perhaps too often as a severe schoolmaster would. But it was John’s power and energy, the force of his character and the depth of his conviction, which chiefly held his followers together, which secured for them their first success in Oxford and their later triumphs in the world outside.

The “ two young men, without a name, without friends, without either power or fortune ” who had set out from College “ to oppose all the world ”—so Wesley many years after described their effort—made no such mark upon the University of their day as the Tractarian leaders later on. Even at Lincoln they can hardly be said to have proved a lasting influence in College life. Their direct converts in Oxford were few. Their critics and opponents were always many. In 1732 the London press began to attack them as “ sons of sorrow,” doomed to “ absurd and perpetual melancholy,” and to suggest that hypocrisy, madness, superstition, worst of all enthusiasm, were contributory causes of their mental disease.³ The attack produced a defence of their character, principles and practices, which is interesting as attributing to the Rector of Epworth no small influence in directing their conduct.⁴ They had sympathisers in the University. Bishop Potter was well-disposed. Two Rectors of Lincoln, Morley and Hutchins, were friends—though Morley thought that John Wesley frightened some men from religion by his strictness. Sir John Philipps, the father of two Gentlemen Commoners at Pembroke, offered generous assistance to George Whitefield. Wesley, for his part, never truckled to opponents. “ He that was born after the flesh,” he told them boldly in 1735 in a sermon at St. Mary’s, “ persecuted him that was born after the Spirit.” But before that year was over, he had left all persecutors in Oxford behind him and had sailed with his

¹ See Tyerman’s *Life of Wesley* (I, 186).

² But it is not necessary to go so far as one chronicler who described the wives of Wesley and of Whitefield as “ a brace of ferrets ” (Gledstone’s *Life and Travels of Whitefield*, 500), or to believe with another that Mrs. Wesley tore out her husband’s hair (Hampson’s *Memoirs of Wesley*, II, 127).

³ See Tyerman (*Life of Wesley*, I, 85–6).

⁴ *Ib.* (I, 86–8).

brother for the West. John Burton of Corpus, just settling down to a delightful living, persuaded the two young men to join in the mission to Georgia. General Oglethorpe, the prime mover in the enterprise, was another Corpus man, whose noble-minded schemes their father had supported from the first. Their mother, even in the first months of her widowhood, bade them go. "Had I twenty sons, I should rejoice if they were all so employed." The trustees of the Settlement needed men inured to austerity and serious thoughts, to "contempt of the ornaments and conveniences of life." There were few fitter instruments to be found for such a purpose. But when the Wesleys started to convert the Indians, the movement which they had founded in Oxford lost its chief stimulus and dwindled away.

The later history of that astonishing revival of religion has been told in many chronicles—the strange experiences and differences which marked it, the Wesleys' conversion or new birth in 1738, their reluctant severance from the Church of England, which excluded from its pulpits men devoted by training and tradition to the Church, the growth of an organisation, neither Anglican, nor Moravian, nor Calvinist, which was to embrace no small part of the world, the wonderful journeys in which the leaders passed through the length and breadth of the United Kingdom, rousing the consciences, the fears, the deepest feelings of a people drifting, as it seemed, to indifference before. But that story has little part in the history of Oxford after the Wesleys left it in 1735. John indeed revisited his old quarters often. He preached at St. Mary's, in Lincoln Chapel and in Oxford Castle in 1738. Oxford preachers in their turn began to denounce from the University pulpit the absurd, new-fangled doctrines, the "spiritual sleight, and canting craftiness" of the new sect. Wesley met Gambold at Oxford in 1741, who told him he was ashamed of his company: so far already had misunderstanding gone. He preached a great sermon in the same year at St. Mary's on the text "almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." His alternative text—"how is the faithful city become an harlot"—he decided at the last moment in a flash of prudence to lay aside.¹ His last University sermon was delivered in August 1744. He had a crowded congregation, but he gave unnecessary offence. Kennicott, then a young man at Wadham, went to hear him and liked "some of his freedom," such as calling the generality of young gownsmen "a generation of triflers." But he disliked other passages as "too flaming and strong." It was not in Wesley's nature to be compliant. Fully deliver his soul he must. "I am now clear," he

¹ See Tyerman (*Oxford Methodists*, 177).

notes with a certain relish, "of the blood of these men." He held his Fellowship till 1751, when his marriage obliged him to resign it. But for forty years more he lived and laboured. In a letter to Charles in 1772 he writes :

"I often cry out, *Vitae me redde priori* ! Let me be again an Oxford Methodist ! I am often in doubt whether it would not be best for me to resume all my Oxford rules, great and small. I did then walk closely with God, and redeem the time. But what have I been doing these thirty years ?" ¹

His authority grew. His vigour seemed exhaustless. At seventy-one he found it the most healthy of exercises to preach at five in the morning. A missionary tour in Holland was a recreation of his eightieth year. As time passed, his views mellowed and his political Conservatism perhaps increased. "I am become," he writes in 1785, "I know not how, an honourable man." Bishops might still shudder at his methods of rousing emotion, fine ladies protest that it was monstrous to tell them that they had hearts "as sinful as the common wretches that crawl on the earth." But Johnson bowed to Wesley's arguments and introduced him to Boswell. Scott went to hear him preach. Even his old University may have been more impressed than it admitted by the fearlessness of his enthusiasm and the force of his spiritual appeal. But it continued to look askance at any disciples he had left behind. Candidates for degrees were expected to keep clear of Methodist practices. The small group of religious enthusiasts who after the middle of the century still met to hold prayer-meetings at Oxford, found the authorities unfriendly, from the Bishop downwards. The Proctors were accused of dragging young gownsmen away from the preaching of Thomas Haweis.² And in 1768 the Vice-Principal of St. Edmund Hall, a man of weak judgment, precipitated a small crisis. He complained that a group of students there, youths much too fond of religion and mostly of humble birth, objected to his lectures on the Thirty-Nine Articles. When his complaint was disregarded by the Principal, he appealed to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Durell. The Vice-Chancellor, influenced perhaps by prejudiced advisers, among whom Dr. Nowell of St. Mary Hall was prominent, was induced to hold an inquiry into the subject. And finally six students were expelled from the Hall, on pretexts which made it evident that their objectionable piety

¹ See the *Journal* (Standard Edition, I, 33).

² Haweis of Christ Church, afterwards curate of St. Mary Magdalen's, James Stillingfleet of Merton and Richard Hill of Magdalen were prominent Oxford Methodists in the middle of the century or a little later ; and Thomas Coke, who became a Wesleyan Bishop, was a Gentleman Commoner at Jesus in 1764.

and their Methodist doctrines were principally to blame. A flood of pamphlets followed, in which the Methodists more than held their own.¹ The Vice-Chancellor's action brought him little credit, but it probably brought him some local popularity. Horace Walpole had no pity for the sanctimonious rascals. Dr. Johnson thought the sentence "extremely just and proper."

"BOSWELL. 'But, was it not hard, Sir, to expel them, for I am told they were good beings?'

JOHNSON. 'I believe they might be good beings; but they were not fit to be in the University of Oxford. A cow is a very good animal in the field; but we turn her out of a garden.'"²

So religious enthusiasm was driven out of the gardens of Oxford for half-a-century to come.

III

Theology, politics, conviviality were absorbing interests in the eighteenth century. "Learning," Hearne notes in 1729, "is at so low an ebb at present, that hardly anything of that kind is sought after, except it be English, Scotch, or Irish history." Yet classical and antiquarian learning were not forgotten even in the dullest days. And if larger proposals for reform were ineffectual, critics did not cease to urge the need of maintaining University studies. The suggestions put forward by Dean Prideaux and Lord Macclesfield in 1715 and 1718 would have tightened College discipline all round. They would have remodelled the rules for Fellowships, limiting their tenure to twenty years: elderly Fellows were so apt to be overtaken by sottishness or spleen. Fellows who in twenty years' time had proved themselves fitted for no other employment might be maintained, Prideaux indicated, in an asylum called Drone Hall. Statutory powers might be created for revising College Statutes and elections, a board of arbitration to settle College quarrels, an organised body of Tutors with definite duties to perform. Rules could be framed to cure political disaffection, to keep down expenditure, to help poor scholars, to check illiteracy in candidates for ordination, incompetence in those who wore "the Lawyer's Gown." Prideaux as a clergyman was concerned with the danger from "Atheists, Deists, Socinians, Arians, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and other Adversaries and Sectaries . . . set, as in

¹ The most important were Whitefield's *Letter to Dr. Durell*, Hill's *Pietas Oxoniensis* and *Goliath Slain*, and Nowell's attempts to answer both. The episode is fully and admirably treated in S. L. Ollard's *Six Students of St. Edmund Hall*.

² See Hill's *Boswell* (II, 187).

battle-array, against us." Macclesfield as a lawyer ¹ was more interested to secure support in the University for the Government of the day. Prideaux would insist on the better teaching of Divinity, on the study of the Scriptures in Greek and Hebrew, on Divinity examiners whose expenses could be paid by reducing expenditure on Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic. Macclesfield's scheme urged the development of teaching in science, in mathematics, and in the Law of Nature and of Nations. For classics and philosophy College Tutors were probably expected to provide. The cost of College life was going up. Forty pounds a year for a Commoner had been thought enough before the Revolution. In George I's day sixty pounds was not too much. Some Fellowships were worth about sixty pounds a year, and an additional thirty pounds or so, thought Lord Macclesfield, would make a Fellow fairly comfortable. But other Fellowships were not worth more than forty pounds and some were not worth that. In his *Rules and Statutes* for Hertford College ² Dr. Newton insisted that seven shillings and sixpence a week ought to cover a Commoner's expenses for food and fines and wages, and four shillings and sixpence those of a servitor. Rents should be six pounds a year for the best rooms and three pounds only for a single garret. If he took his meals in Hall, Newton found that they did not cost him more than tenpence a day. John James at Queen's forty years later regarded a shilling a day as sufficient. Newton actually dared to suggest that ale was not necessary in a College cellar.³ There were voices pleading for frugality at Oxford even in Dr. Johnson's hospitable age.

But for a change in the curriculum there was no such vigorous demand. Few voices within the University at any rate seem to have suggested any reconsideration of the teaching of the past. In science, while Cambridge was learning to understand the genius of a greater Newton, Oxford had allowed herself to fall behind. David Gregory, Savilian Professor of Astronomy from 1691 to 1708, exerted himself indeed to give life to mathematical studies. He brought out a noble edition of Euclid. His efforts to elucidate practical geometry by a lecture on "the five orders of pillars and pilasters" are still illustrated by an interesting model in the Picture Gallery of the Bodleian.⁴ Gregory had

¹ I treat the Memorial as his. It was at least put forward by his authority. See Gutch (*Collectanea Curiosa*, II, 53-75), and for Prideaux' Articles see his *Life* (199 sq.).

² They were published in 1739, and may be found bound up with other pamphlets by Newton at the British Museum.

³ See *The Expence of University Education Reduced*.

⁴ His prospectus of the year 1700 is referred to in *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (III, 219-20). In the *Mercurius Oxoniensis* or *Oxford Intelligencer* of 1707 there is an advertisement of his teaching, and a notice also of

brought Newtonian ideas from Scotland. But they were not too graciously received, though Hearne thought Sir Isaac owed them largely to Oxford men. John Keill, who followed Gregory from Edinburgh, and was attached like him to Balliol, did even more to make Newton's philosophy known. He succeeded to Gregory's Chair in 1712, and was followed by James Bradley of Balliol, "the best astronomer in Europe," in 1721. Oxford astronomers were not idle. Their efforts to observe the transit of Venus from the Tower of New College, the Tower of the Schools and other unsuitable places showed the need for the Radcliffe Observatory, which was founded in 1772. In chemistry John Freind's lectures as Reader roused considerable interest,¹ though Uffenbach found the University Laboratory miserably kept. Freind, a pupil of Atterbury and physician to Ormonde, passed through some years of troubled politics, and spent a few months in the Tower of London, before he bequeathed his *History of Physic* to the world. But anatomy in Oxford would have fared ill without help from an outsider. Nathan Alcock took a degree at Leyden in 1737, and then, regardless of vested interests, began to give lectures in Oxford on anatomy, chemistry and medicine, finding that nobody else was anxious to undertake the task. The University, moved by jealousy if not by science, was driven to appoint a Chemistry Reader and to summon an Anatomy Lecturer hastily from London. But Alcock continued to draw crowded audiences, and academic prejudice was roused. Tacticians like Dr. Shippen suggested that Alcock, who had lived in Holland, must be tainted with Dissent. Strong efforts were made to prevent his receiving a degree, till public opinion put the obstructionists to shame.² Later on, when the Lee Readerships in anatomy had been founded, John Parsons of Christ Church gave regular lectures, and superintended the founding of the anatomical theatre in 1776.³ The study of botany also seemed to need some stimulus to rouse it. Young Joseph Banks, a Gentleman Commoner of Christ Church in 1760, is said to have asked the Professor's leave to import a Botanical Lecturer from Cambridge. Dillenius indeed, appointed to the Chair which Sherard endowed in 1728, had published volumes of botanical learning and scattered his seeds through the country-side. But

a course on Mechanical and Experimental Philosophy by John Keill at Christ Church.

¹ In 1704. They were published a few years later (Wordsworth, *Scholae Academicae*, 176). I owe several details to Mr. Wordsworth's book.

² See the *Memoir of Dr. Nathan Alcock*.

³ Parsons became first Clinical Professor on Lord Lichfield's foundation in 1780.

his successor Humphry Sibthorp held the Chair for thirty-six or thirty-seven years,¹ and is reported to have delivered only one lecture. The days when Oxford gave a lead to science seemed in the eighteenth century unlikely to return.

Oriental studies made more progress. Even Cambridge admits a pre-eminence there. Thomas Hyde of the Bodleian had left a substantial reputation: "decessit Hydius, stupor mundi," a Dutch Professor announced in 1703. Thomas Shaw of Queen's, traveller, naturalist and Greek Professor, delighted the world with his *Travels* in Barbary, and left enduring recollections of his generosity at St. Edmund Hall.

"When *Gaby* Possession had got of the Hall,
He took a Survey of the Chapel and All,
Since that, like the rest, was just ready to fall." ²

Robert Lowth as Professor of Poetry chose Hebrew compositions for his theme. Benjamin Kennicott, who entered Wadham as a servitor in 1744 and became a Fellow of Exeter in 1747, noted for industry rather than for genius, was the most famous of Biblical and Hebrew scholars. In a later generation Joseph White of Wadham, Professor of Arabic and afterwards of Hebrew too, devoted himself to the textual study of the New Testament, and among other labours transcribed and edited the Institutes of Timour. And William Jones brought from Harrow to University College the genius for languages which was to make him the greatest Orientalist of his day. For modern languages and history a new provision had been made by the Professorship founded by the Crown in 1724. Joseph Spence, who held it from 1742, enjoyed both inside and outside the University, in which, it is alleged, he hardly ever lectured, considerable popularity and fame.³ Anglo-Saxon studies had made progress since Franciscus Junius in the seventeenth century brought his type and bequeathed his manuscripts to the Bodleian. At Lincoln Marshall and Hickes had followed in his footsteps. Queen's had become "a nest of Saxonists" by Edmund Gibson's day. And in the middle of the eighteenth century Dr. Richard

¹ He then passed it on, in 1784, to his son John, a great botanist and collector. The Sherardian Chair may be said to have replaced the older Professorship of Botany. George III provided some additional endowment in 1793. (See the *Historical Register of the University*, 1900, pp. 59-60.)

² See 'The Cushion Plot' in *The Oxford Sausage* (105). It is to be feared that *Gaby* was meant for Dr. Shaw, who restored the Hall buildings.

³ Spence held the Chair of Poetry from 1728 to 1738, and in that capacity gave an inaugural lecture in 1729. (See Sir C. H. Firth's pamphlet on *The School of English Language and Literature*, p. 17).

Rawlinson left funds for an Anglo-Saxon Professorship, which was not, however, established until 1795.¹ To the study of the Common Law Blackstone, as first Vinerian Professor, contributed in 1758 some memorable lectures. They delighted those who thought that the University had permitted Canonists and Civilians to occupy its Law Schools far too long.² "I daresay," the Duke of Newcastle had observed characteristically to Blackstone, when Murray put him forward as a candidate for the Civil Law Professorship some years before, "I daresay that . . . whenever anything in the political hemisphere is agitated in that university, you will, sir, exert yourself in our behalf." The political assurance had not been forthcoming, and Blackstone never received the offer of the Chair.³

But classics, logic and philosophy were still the favourite studies of Oxford, and it cannot be said that they showed much vigorous development as the eighteenth century went on. Dr. Waterland's *Advice to a Young Student*, which, though the work of a Cambridge Tutor, was republished at Oxford in 1755, recommended most of the old teachers and the familiar arrangements of the old Arts course. Locke indeed appears in his curriculum, and Newton and Gregory and Keill. In Divinity—"the generality of students are intended to be Clergymen"—Sprat and South and Atterbury are included, with Tillotson and Hoadly and Clarke and other theologians to whom Oxford Tutors may have demurred. But the classical authors stand unchallenged—Terence and Xenophon, Cicero and Virgil, Homer, Euripides, Horace, many more. Logic is still supreme at Oxford. Aristotle is undethroned. Young John James, going to Queen's in 1778, begins at once with lectures upon logic. Sanderson, he finds, "is the great oracle next to Aristotle." Duncan and Watts are also important.⁴ But *Smiglecius*, the best book after the Bible, was in Amhurst's day in even greater demand. James turned with relief from the mysteries of logic, "a kind of free masonry" among his contemporaries, to take up his

¹ An admirable sketch of the rise of Anglo-Saxon studies is given in Sir C. H. Firth's pamphlet (*Ib.* 3-10). Franciscus Junius was known to his family as François Du Jon.

² See *Some Thoughts concerning the Study of the Laws of England*, etc., by Thomas Wood, formerly of New College, published anonymously in 1708, and *Scholae Academicæ* (138-9).

³ See Holliday's *Life of Mansfield* (89). Disappointed of this Professorship in 1752, Blackstone, by Murray's advice, began to lecture on English law in Oxford, and these lectures led to the Vinerian foundation.

⁴ Sanderson's *Compendium of Logic* dated from 1615, Isaac Watts' from 1725: Duncan's (1748) was largely an abridgement of Locke. (See *Letters of Radcliffe and James*, O.H.S., p. 50 n., and for young James' reading, pp. 49 sq.)

classics once again. He was "in raptures" over Sanadon's translation of Horace,¹ thought Herodotus a little cloying, failed to appreciate his old wives' tales. It may be added, that James' entrance examination at Queen's had consisted only of the ninth chapter of Acts and the second Epistle of Horace.² James, a schoolmaster's son, was, no doubt, an exceptional student; but the course he followed was probably the usual course. Westminster and Winchester were still sending good scholars to Oxford. Latin was still a familiar and necessary tongue. Lady Elizabeth Hastings in 1739 required her Scholars at Queen's to write brief Latin notes upon the Catechism, as well as to translate passages from Cicero, Demosthenes and the Vulgate.³ Latin verse was the subject of one of the earliest University prizes.⁴ New editions of Cicero, of Euripides, of Homer, were under preparation in the Oxford Press.⁵ The classical tradition was unbroken. In ethics Aristotle had no serious rival, though it may be doubted whether the study of Aristotle was really comprehensive or profound. Locke was read with caution and reserve. The Code which Archbishop Laud had revised and handed on from the Middle Ages was still supposed to govern Oxford education in Dr. Johnson's day.

IV

Dr. Richard Newton has been already mentioned as one of the most vigorous of early eighteenth-century reformers. An old Christ Church man, he came back to Oxford in 1710 from a country living, to be Principal of Hart Hall and afterwards Founder of Hertford College. He set to work at once to re-organise the Hall, to pay off debt, to build new buildings. And before long he was agitating for a Royal Charter and planning to convert the Hall into a College. Unhappily these large ideas roused opposition. Exeter College had ancient rights over the Hall, and though Rector Hole was ready enough to assent to Newton's proposals, the Fellows, led by Conybeare who succeeded Hole as Rector, took a very different line. They fought the project step by step. They

¹ Into French, published at Paris in 1728 (*Letters of Radcliffe and James*, O.H.S., p. 110 n.)

² *Ib.* (45).

³ This was for their entrance examination. See the codicil to her will printed in Poulson's *Beverlac* or History of Beverley (I, 461-7). I reserve till later a discussion of the whole examination system.

⁴ Founded by Lord Lichfield, the Chancellor, in 1769. But his prizes for English verse and for an English Essay were founded in 1768 (*Bodleian Quarterly Record*, II, 209).

⁵ *Letters of Radcliffe and James* (91-2).



DR. NEWTON'S ANGLE AT HERTFORD COLLEGE

" got their Visitor (Horrid Disrespect !) relying on *their* Representation for the *Merits* of their Cause (Deceitful Bottom !) to interpose *His* Interest with Men in Power to stop the Progress of the Charter." ¹

For nearly twenty years the Principal's schemes were held at bay. But the grounds of opposition were far from strong. The perseverance and the pamphlets of Dr. Newton wore down his critics. In 1739 he secured his Charter. Hertford College was founded, with Newton as autocratic Principal and Bursar, with four Tutors and with a wholly inadequate endowment. Newton's Statutes embodied the scheme which he had established in the Hall already. Education was to be a reality. Principal and Tutors were to lecture regularly. Disputations, genuine exercises in philosophy and theology, were fixed for certain days each week. Collections were to check the students' progress every year. In a day when University requirements were singularly easy, Dr. Newton was free to vary his system and to make it very much what he pleased. In theory his scheme required that each of his four Tutors should train eight undergraduates and one servitor or scholar for a degree in Arts : and most of them were intended to take Orders. But in fact the College came to consist chiefly of Gentlemen Commoners. Henry Pelham, afterwards Prime Minister, was one of Newton's earliest pupils, and George Selwyn and Charles James Fox were perhaps the most celebrated members of the College. Newton's death in 1753 removed its strongest supporter. It continued for a time to flourish, but the lack of endowment proved a grave weakness. When Gentlemen Commoners with their means fell off, numbers declined and the prospect grew gloomy. Dean Jackson of Christ Church made up his mind that there was no sufficient reason for prolonging its existence. In 1816 a Commission under the Great Seal reported that Hertford College had already been dissolved.²

Dr. Newton had the fine faith of a reformer. He would have stimulated work at Oxford, have regulated undergraduate expenses, have insisted on more discipline and simplicity of life. And even in the eighteenth century his counsels were not without effect. Conybeare, who stood out against Newton's ambition, did not disdain to incorporate in his rule at Exeter a good many of Newton's ideas. The principle that no Fellow should draw

¹ See on this controversy Newton's pamphlets, *The Expence of University Education Reduced*, the *Letter to Dr. Holmes, Vice-Chancellor*, and *The Grounds of the Complaint of the Principal of Hart Hall*, and Conybeare's *Calumny Refuted*. See also Mr. Boase's *Register of Exeter College* (cxxxvi and 284-8) and Mr. Hamilton's article in *Collectanea* (III, Pt. VI).

² See S. G. Hamilton's *Hertford College* (Chaps. III, IV and V) ; and see also *later* (Chap. XXVI).

pay without working for it, that no Fellow should accumulate too many College offices, that lectures should be regularly given in logic, philosophy and rhetoric—Aristotle in each case holding the field—that tutorial fees should be pooled and equalised—each undergraduate paying five shillings a quarter to the fund—that College servants should be properly appointed and not allowed to buy or sell their places—"there is not a greater Slave in *Turkey* than a College *Porter*," Newton once incidentally remarked—all these points, which Conybeare adopted, had their origin possibly in Newton's reforms.¹ Well-wishers to the University alleged that luxury at Oxford was increasing, that Fellowships went by family interest and rarely fell to the poorer scholars. To which it was retorted that the extravagant tastes of many undergraduates were often brought with them from school, and that merit did count for something at Oxford in spite of exceptions which could, no doubt, be found.² Stronger voices, keener critics of the prevailing system, were heard within the University itself. Butler at Oriel could not forgive the lifeless and unintelligent teaching. Johnson at Pembroke declared, rudely enough, that his Tutor's lecture on logic was not worth half the twopenny fine imposed for missing it. Blackstone at the same College, still devoted to his verses, does not seem to have complained of his opportunities for study. But Adam Smith, who was exactly his contemporary, though he rode up to Balliol from Glasgow two years later,³ had little mercy for an educational system which seemed to him to consider the benefit of the students much less than the ease of the masters. He thought the teaching given poor, though he became a good Greek scholar at Oxford. He suspected that endowments tended to diminish the need of application in the teachers. He declared in the *Wealth of Nations* that for many years past most Oxford Professors had "given up altogether even the pretence of teaching."⁴ He carried away no bitterness from Oxford, but he must have been a disappointed and a lonely student. We know that he was apt to fall into reveries even over his dinner in Hall. Scotsmen at Balliol had not yet come into their inheritance, nor begun to secure, as they were destined to do later, more than their share of honours and affection.

¹ See Mr. Stride's summary of the entry in the College Register (*Exeter College*, 101-4).

² *A Series of Papers*, which appeared in the *Evening Post* in 1750, were reprinted among the Newton tracts.

³ In 1740: he was a Snell Exhibitioner. Blackstone went up to Pembroke in 1738 at fifteen.

⁴ See *The Wealth of Nations* (ed. Cannan, II, 249 sq.). But even Mr. Rae in his *Life of Adam Smith* has not been able to gather much information in regard to the six years spent at Oxford.

Two other famous sons of Oxford in the same period repeated these complaints. Jeremy Bentham, coming up to Queen's twenty years later¹ as a child of twelve, a strange, dwarfed, sensitive little figure, fresh from his struggles at school, his precocious reading of Swift and Locke and Tindal, his terror of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, his weeping over *Clarissa*—and ever haunted by the question 'what is genius?'—found Oxford a place where genius was not understood. Westminster had been a "wretched place for instruction." Queen's College, it seemed, was not much better. The men there were stupid. His Tutor Jefferson was gloomy—"a sort of Protestant monk." Another Tutor, Fothergill, afterwards Provost, seemed to him insipid. The new-comer had to read logic, Watts' "old woman's logic," and the Greek Testament, which he had studied already, and Tully's Orations, which he knew by heart. His difficulties over the Thirty-Nine Articles were dismissed with contempt or evasion. To a boy of exceptional powers and ambitions, hungry for every kind of knowledge, keenly alive to the joys of literature, of Greek and Latin, French and English, and passionately fond of music and of flowers, eighteenth century Oxford offered little beyond the friendship of a gardener in the Physic Garden. He carried from it only embittered recollections. "Mendacity and insincerity," he wrote years after, "in these I found the effects—the sure and only sure effects of an English university education."²

Edward Gibbon's brief academic career falls between those of Adam Smith and Bentham, and was even less fortunate than theirs. It covers also the few months when Bishop Berkeley came to live and die in Holywell Street near by.³ A delicate boy, barely fifteen, bringing from his irregular school-days "a stock of erudition that might have puzzled a doctor, and a degree of ignorance of which a schoolboy would have been ashamed," he was entered at Magdalen as a Gentleman Commoner in April 1752. The boy was a born reader. He has told us with his own peculiar pomp how Pope's *Homer* and the *Arabian Nights* delighted him, how his "imperfect and transient enjoyment of the Latin poets" yielded to an "indiscriminate appetite" in the "historic line," and how before sixteen he had "exhausted all that could be learned in English of the Arabs and Persians, the Tartars and Turks." Installed in three elegant and well-furnished rooms in the Magdalen New Buildings, with a silk

¹ He matriculated in June 1760.

² See Bowring's *Life* in vol. X of his edition of Bentham's *Works* (21 sq.), and Bentham's pamphlet *Church of Englandism* (xxi).

³ Berkeley is buried in the Cathedral. Archbishop Markham wrote his epitaph. His birth is wrongly dated there.

gown and a velvet cap to wear, and more money than a school-boy had ever seen before, he spent there fourteen months which he afterwards regarded as "the most idle and unprofitable" of his whole life. His indictment has been repeatedly quoted. The Fellows, "decent easy men," followed the daily round of Chapel and Hall, coffee-house, Common Room and sleep, their consciences absolved "from the toil of reading, or thinking, or writing." College business, Tory politics, personal anecdotes and private scandal formed the staple talk of the Common Room, and doubtless the young Gentleman Commoner found it dull enough. Of study and discipline he discovered none. He asserts that public exercises and examinations were unknown in the College. His first Tutor, Dr. Waldegrave, "one of the best of the tribe," proposed to read Terence with him for an hour a day. But when Gibbon missed the lesson, an apology was readily accepted instead.

"No plan of study was recommended for my use; no exercises were prescribed for his inspection; and, at the most precious season of youth, whole days and weeks were suffered to elapse without labour or amusement, without advice or account."

Dr. Waldegrave was kindly, took young Gibbon for country walks, and let him talk about Oriental learning, though he discouraged his wish to study Arabic. But Gibbon's next Tutor "only forgot that he had a duty to perform." He never summoned his pupil to a lecture. For eight months they were practically strangers to each other. And the boy, left without sufficient interests or supervision, took to spending his money too freely, to foolish excursions to London or Bath. His religious education was equally neglected. He was as precocious in theology as in everything else.

"The blind activity of idleness urged me to advance without armour into the dangerous mazes of controversy; and, at the age of sixteen, I bewildered myself in the errors of the church of Rome."

It is not necessary to dwell on the familiar and sententious charges. Gibbon, still very young, was, no doubt, vain and egotistical. Old Daniel Parker, the bookseller, remembered him afterwards as "a singular character," who seemed to have little in common with either undergraduates or Fellows. But the fact remains that a highly intelligent boy found the system of teaching discouraging and barren. Those to whom he looked for guidance made little effort to direct "the ardour of a curious mind." And there could have been little left in Oxford of the spirit which once made John Wesley declare that he would have thought himself "little better than a highwayman" if he had not lectured on every week-day in the year.

Butler and Adam Smith, Gibbon and Bentham constitute a formidable group of critics. And Sir William Jones may be added to the list.¹ But the Oxford system was not without defenders even in its weakest hour. Bishop Lowth took an opportunity, in reproving the impertinence of Warburton, to defend the "illustrious society" in which he had been trained, the advantages of a famous seat of learning, the atmosphere which Hooker and Chillingworth and Locke had breathed before. He dwelt in finely-rounded periods on the "well-regulated course of useful discipline and studies," on the "agreeable and improving commerce of gentlemen and of scholars." But it is difficult to reconcile what we know of Jacobite Oxford with his claim that the pursuit of knowledge there was "pushed forward by example, by commendation, and by authority."² Dr. Johnson, forgetting his own treatment of his Tutor, indulged in the same sonorous generalities about the "progressive emulation" of students, Tutors and Colleges alike, and would not admit that the system was defective because rules were sometimes ill-observed or individuals unmindful of their duty.³ And at the end of the century James Hurdis of Magdalen, a minor poet and Professor of Poetry in 1793, whose poem upon *The Village Curate* has many of the qualities associated with curates by popular tradition, undertook to answer Gibbon's criticisms in detail. But, apart from the fact that Hurdis wrote long after the days of Gibbon's adolescence, and at a time when the improvement in University standards had begun, he cannot be said to have made a strong defence. Gibbon, he pleads, went to Oxford too young. "What could his ill-judging parent expect from committing so shallow a novice to the boisterous element of a public University?" He was an infant, destitute of knowledge, a gay, young libertine, an incompetent idler—all charges wide of the mark. He was so small that his absence from College might not even have been noticed. Yet his expulsion was a "spirited measure," which no genuine Christian or philosopher could resent. His ingratitude to his College was unfilial and unmanly. And the "majestic foppery of the well-turned period"—for once perhaps Hurdis gets home—would not prevent "the more liberal part of mankind" from discerning the opaque spots "even within the luminous disc of Gibbon."⁴

¹ Jones complained so strongly about 1764 of the dullness and bad Latin of the Oxford Lecturers that he was excused attendance. (See his *Life* by Lord Teignmouth, 31.)

² See *A Letter to the Rt. Rev. Author of The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated*. By a late Professor of the University of Oxford, 1765.

³ *Boswell* (ed. Hill, II, 52).

⁴ See *A Word or Two in Vindication of the University of Oxford and of Magdalen College in particular from the Posthumous Aspersions of Mr.*

Hurdis' irony is on a level with his poetry. But his specific defence of the studies of Oxford has more point. He asserts that the practice of declamation was at the end of the century in full force at Magdalen: but that does not prove that the practice had not fallen into disuse fifty years before. He dwells on the terminal exercises and examinations. He recites the authors read in the course of four years, Sallust, Xenophon, Virgil, Homer, Caesar, Cicero, Livy and Horace, Tacitus, Sophocles, Demosthenes, Plato, the four Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul. He insists on the activity and competence of College Tutors: at the time when he wrote this was increasingly true. But he rashly lays it down that "when young men appear in an English University, it is presumed that they are in the habit of application." As for Oxford learning, he observes that "the Colossus Kennicott"—unsurpassed even by Gibbon in diligence or researches—"literally *bestrides the world*." And as for the Oxford Professors, he proceeds to calculate that, half-a-century after Gibbon's day, nine of the twenty Professors were lecturing regularly, five others might be, for aught he knew, three were lecturing once a term, two others would lecture if they had any audiences, and one was shortly going to begin. That was perhaps as much as either University in the eighteenth century could expect. It is satisfactory to learn, on Dr. Parr's authority, that few men appointed to Professorships at Cambridge "disgraced them by notorious incapacity or criminal negligence" at the date when Hurdis wrote.¹

Dr. Parr supplies the best answer to strictures passed upon Professors for not lecturing, when he urges that Professorial learning was not always specially adapted for the task. Lectures on the Oriental languages might not have been well attended at Oxford. And at Cambridge even Porson's philosophy might have had few attractions for "the eagerness of curiosity, or the sprightliness of youth." The truth is, neither the seventeenth nor the eighteenth century solved the difficult problem which later centuries have been called upon to face—under what conditions can Professors at Oxford give public lectures suitable for students, and to what extent is it necessary or desirable that they should? There is no need to accuse the Colleges of selfish action in the matter. The growth of College Lecturers was a gain to education. The development of the College Tutor was a natural development of the College system. And both encroached to some extent on the Professor's ground. When the

Gibbon. It is reprinted in *Reminiscences of Oxford*, O.H.S., by L. M. Quiller-Couch.

¹ See Wordsworth (*Social Life at English Universities*, 83). Parr's *Spital Sermon* was published in 1800, the same year as Hurdis' tract.

old Regent Masters ceased to lecture and the earliest Praelectorships and Professorships were founded, the system of College teaching began to fill the field. And the exact spheres which ought to be assigned to the College Lecturer or Tutor and to the University Professor have never since been settled to the satisfaction of everyone concerned. In the middle of the eighteenth century learning was often generously treated. At Oxford the study of scholarship, of languages, antiquities, theology, went on. Erudition always had its devotees. But it is doubtful whether their devotion was always as deep or thorough as was needed, whether, in the easy round of convivial living, party politics, College interests, College feuds, Professors worked hard enough at their own subjects, or produced original work of a quality to justify their aloofness from the ordinary studies of the Schools.

Exceptions of course to the general rule there were. Blackstone's is a great name among them. But Blackstone only began to lecture upon English law because no one else was lecturing on the subject, and it was his personal initiative and ability which led to the foundation of the Vinerian Chair. A competent knowledge of the laws, he told his hearers, was "the proper accomplishment of every gentleman and scholar." Bentham went in both capacities to listen, a diminutive figure in short breeches and a skirted coat. He found the lecturer affected and frigid: but others like Fitzmaurice were more easily pleased. Blackstone also rendered conspicuous service as a Fellow of All Souls. He superintended the College estates. He watched over the Library and the other College buildings. He wrote a well-known *Essay on Collateral Consanguinity*, pleading for some reasonable limit to the claims of Chichele's connections, which were becoming a serious abuse. He tried to reform the Clarendon Press. He became in 1761 Principal of New Inn Hall. And for years he found a way to reconcile the pursuit of his profession with University duties which he was the last man to neglect. Even Bentham, attacking the famous *Commentaries* later, particularly for their "antipathy to reformation," found himself speaking with rare humility of the charm and dignity of Blackstone's prose. Nor did Blackstone stand alone. Dr. Newton and Dr. Conybeare, though Heads of Colleges and not Professors, were reformers who worked for their educational ideals, and their activities relieve the record of Heads like Hole or Shippen, Huddesford or Leigh. Dean Conybeare's reign at Christ Church from 1733 to 1755 seems to have been a period of good administration. The College buildings were improved. Discipline was not forgotten. Prayers were fixed at six in summer and seven in winter, with no indulgence for "sleepy mornings" or any other questionable excuses. The Canons' table on Fridays was

limited to "two Bottels of Wine." Railings were set up "to keep the Catle out of the long Walk." Students suspected of getting privately married were brought to book.¹ A Jacobite undergraduate who threatened to kill the porter was expelled. Conybeare passed, but Dean Gregory, son of the Scottish Savilian Professor, maintained the same creditable tradition.² And Dean Markham proved in many ways a conspicuous Head. He filled imposingly many important positions. His "glory" as Headmaster of Westminster had awed even Bentham. He was made Preceptor to the Prince of Wales. He became Archbishop of York—"Archbishop Turpin"—in 1777.³ He was a figure in the world, a courtier, a man of affairs, a politician of more temperament perhaps than judgment. But he kept up the reputation of the House, and Dr. Parr bore witness to his scholarship and learning.⁴ Meanwhile at Magdalen George Horne was proving himself a successful ruler.⁵ He was, no doubt, a divine of his age. He could not quite assimilate the science of Sir Isaac Newton or Kennicott's revision of the Bible text. He saw no objection to the President of Magdalen being also Dean of Canterbury, and spending a good deal of his time on the road between the two places. But he was an earnest Churchman who could respect the Methodists and tolerate differences of opinion. And all his life he was a student and a worker, whose example had some influence on the standards of his day.

One Professorial family in particular filled a large place in eighteenth-century Oxford, and contributed to the University three well-known men. Thomas Warton of the older generation was first a Demy and then a Fellow of Magdalen between 1706 and 1724. He was appointed Professor of Poetry in 1718. But he was tempted to leave Oxford for the living of Basingstoke, which he combined with the mastership of the Grammar School there and with any other living that came his way. He had the honour of training Gilbert White, whom he sent up to matriculate at Oriel in 1739, and who afterwards held an Oriel Fellowship

¹ See entries in the *Chapter Book*, 1713-54 (under Jan. 11, 1747, July 26, 1737, Dec. 14, 1738, etc.).

² He completed the Library and built the Anatomy School (Thompson, *Christ Church*, 158-9).

³ It appears from an entry in the *Chapter Minute Books* under April 9, 1796, that he carried to his Archbishopric a pension from Christ Church.

⁴ One little incident marked the year of Markham's withdrawal, a duel between two Gentlemen Commoners. They do not seem to have been punished, but a Student who acted as second to one of them was sentenced to recite a declamation in Hall and to translate sermons into Latin. (See *Chapter Minutes* under Jan. 7, 1777.)

⁵ Fellow 1750, President 1768, Dean of Canterbury 1781, Bishop of Norwich 1790. Dr. Horne knew Johnson and wrote a sketch of him in *Olla Podrida*, an issue of weekly essays. (See No. 13, for June 9, 1787.)

for half-a-century with no undue absorption in the duties of the post. Warton caused some stir in the University by writing Jacobite verse and preaching Jacobite sermons. Amhurst, reviewing the Professors of his time in his accustomed manner—noting the debauchee chosen to profess moral philosophy and the astronomy teacher who never in his life looked soberly upon the stars—found Thomas Warton's charms "invisible" except to ladies, and his verses impudent and treasonable, venomous and dull.¹ Joseph Warton, who was born in 1722, while his father was Professor of Poetry, was a close friend at Winchester of William Collins, and went up with him to Oxford in 1740, Warton to Oriel, Collins to Queen's and afterwards to Magdalen. In 1746 both of the young men published volumes of odes, and Gray commented loftily upon them.

"Each is the half of a considerable man, and one the counterpart of the other. The first (Warton) has but little invention, very poetical choice of expression, and a good ear. The second a fine fancy, modelled upon the antique, a bad ear, great variety of words, and images with no choice at all."²

Warton, the worse poet of the two, proved the more successful. He made way, while Collins fell into bad health. He edited and translated Virgil. He wrote essays in the *Adventurer* on Shakespeare and other subjects. He became second master and then Headmaster at Winchester and remained there nearly forty years, though his boys mutinied more than once against him. He won fame by his writings upon Pope. He undertook to edit Dryden. He had many literary projects and many friends, to whom he talked in raptures. But "rapturist" or not, Warton was a discriminating critic. He realised that form was not the truest test of poetry, that imagination mattered more than correctness, that the inspiration of Elizabethan England was a nobler thing than the fine finish of the age of Anne. His praise delighted Cowper. His candour sometimes irritated Johnson. "Sir, I am not used to be contradicted," said the over-bearing sage one day to his companion. "Better for yourself and friends, Sir, if you were," Warton retorted. "Our admiration could not be encreased, but our love might."³ Letters of Warton's are published in which he confides to "dearest Tom" that Johnson hardly spoke to him at dinner, that Garrick was "intirely off from" the Doctor, that Goldsmith was a solemn coxcomb, though a man of sense. Gibbon writes to him, asking for Sir Isaac Newton's remarks on Athanasius. The Duke of Grafton

¹ See *Terrae-Filius* (1726, Numbers X, XV and XVI).

² See Gosse's edition of Gray's *Works* (II, 160).

³ See Wooll's *Biographical Memoirs of Joseph Warton* (98 n.). Wooll gives the letters referred to here.

regrets that he cannot make him Professor of Modern History : the King had another gentleman in view. But the other gentleman, Warburton assures him, was suffering from a fatal ulcer, and it was also possible that he might refuse to do the work required. In 1768 the King would not have the Professorship held as a sinecure any more. Fate after all did not make Joseph Warton a Professor like his father and his brother. But he must have found a good deal of interest and enjoyment in his work, his friends, his pupils and his bustling literary life.

Thomas, the younger of the two brothers, eclipsed both Joseph and his father in repute. He entered Trinity as a boy of sixteen in 1744, and practically died in its Common Room forty-six years later.¹ A precocious poet, a devoted archæologist, a College Tutor who pretended that his tutorial duties left him little time for literary work, but who took the precaution at the beginning of each term of asking his pupils if they *wished* to attend any lectures, Warton grew into a celebrated critic and became one of the most representative figures in the Oxford of his day. A Tory of Tories, he made his mark, as a young man of twenty-one, with *The Triumph of Isis*, a heroic poem. William Mason of Cambridge had attacked in his *Isis* the "infernal orgies" of Jacobite Oxford, and Warton's verse with equal vigour retorted on "the venal sons of slavish Cam."² He followed this up with other successes. He wrote poetry for the *Student*, an Oxford miscellany of 1750 and 1751. He wrote a mocking *Companion* to the guide-books on Oxford. He contributed to the skits in the *Idler* on the easy leisure of University life. He wrote lives of Thomas Pope and of Ralph Bathurst, two heroes of his College. He edited *The Oxford Sausage*, the product of the most celebrated Oxford wits. Verses on Oxford Ale, which consoled even the student of *Smiglecius*, on the joys of pipes and of tobacco, on Ben Tyrrell's Mutton-Pies, mingle there with imitations of Young or Swift or Pope.

"Blest Leaf! whose aromattick Gales dispense
To Templars Modesty, to Parsons Sense."

The Song of the Mallard of All Souls and the Song of the Boar's Head at Queen's and an Ode to an Eagle in a College Court appear side by side with epigrams, epistles, parodies after the manner of Horace or of Gray.

¹ He had a stroke in the Common Room on 20 May 1790 and died next day.

² "Still sing, O Cam, your fav'rite freedom's cause;
Still boast of freedom, while you break her laws."

“Within those Walls, where thro’ the glimm’ring Shade
 Appear the Pamphlets in a mould’ring Heap,
 Each in his narrow Bed till Morning laid,
 The peaceful Fellows of the College sleep.”

Whatever its weaknesses the little volume keeps to its motto “Laugh and be fat.” Poet or not—Christopher North once said of him that the Gods had made him poetical but not a poet—Warton interested and amused his contemporaries. He won their hearts. He held their attention. He was “the finest fellow,” adds North, “that ever breathed.”

Thomas Warton was appointed Poet Laureate as well as Professor of Poetry and Camden Professor of History. His Birthday Odes to the Hanoverian dynasty must have given cynical pleasure to Jacobites of taste. He lectured in Latin on classical subjects for the Poetical Chair. He set to work to revive the sonnet, to rekindle interest in the great poetry of earlier ages. The Chair of Poetry was essentially a chair of literary criticism, and Warton proved himself a fine critic of other men’s poems. His *Observations on the Faerie Queene*, published as early as 1754, showed the knowledge and perception which thirty years later distinguished his edition of Milton’s early poems. And his famous *History of English Poetry*, with its comprehensive learning, its errors, its digressions, and its genuine intellectual power, was at last recognised as one of the great literary achievements of the day.¹ Its author was made welcome among the kings of literature. But for nearly half a century Oxford was his home. A “little, thick, squat, red-faced man,” with an utterance not unlike the gobble of a turkey-cock, untidy in his ways and simple in his habits, he was happiest joking in his College Common Room, or drinking beer with his cronies in a tavern, or smoking his pipe among the riverside watermen, or even playing pranks among his brother’s boys, than in the more formal gatherings of literary London, where, Miss Burney tells us, his manners seemed “unformed.” He may have spent too much time in trifling. His energies may sometimes have needed a spur. Even on a Tutor who took his duties lightly the convivial sittings of the eighteenth century must have made a considerable demand.

“Why does my dear Mr. Warton tell me nothing of himself? Where hangs the new volume? Can I help? . . . Snatch what time you can from the Hall, and the pupils, and the coffee-house, and the parks, and complete your design.”

So wrote Johnson, genially, affectionately, in February 1755.

¹ But it met with a good deal of criticism first. See Walpole’s *Letters* (ed. Cunningham, VI, 72, and elsewhere).

V

Some six or seven months earlier Johnson had come up to finish his Dictionary and had stayed for some weeks with Walton at Kettell Hall. It was his first visit to Oxford since his undergraduate days, and the first of many happy visits which were to recur for thirty years. Warton took him to Pembroke, where the butler, whom he had mocked with a Latin epigram in boyhood, remembered him well, but where the Master, Dr. Radcliffe, received him coldly and omitted either to order the Dictionary or to ask him to dine. Later Warton took him to call on Wise, the Radcliffe Librarian, who talked much of the Cabiri, and to see Oseney and Rewley, where Johnson stared at the ruins in silent indignation. "Poor dear Collins" was also a guest of Warton's about that time. But the Professor was not a good correspondent.

"Dear Mr. Warton, let me hear from you, and tell me something, I care not what.

"Though not to write, when a man can write so well, is an offence sufficiently heinous, yet I shall pass it by."

The Dictionary at this time was getting bound. Lord Arran had just proposed Johnson for a Master's degree, and the new Master was determined not to lose sight of his University again. He wore his gown there ostentatiously on his visit in 1759, and joined in the procession when Lord Westmoreland was installed as Chancellor. He read and bathed and swam and drank tea, and even proposed to climb over a wall, and clearly enjoyed the deference paid him. Warton looked up papers for him in the Bodleian and sent him notes for his edition of Shakespeare. But Johnson was always asking for more letters:

"You might write to me now and then, if you were good for anything."

He got to know young Langton of Trinity, one of Warton's pupils, described as a very tall, long-visaged, stork-like man of polished conversation. "His mind," said Johnson, "is as exalted as his stature."¹ But we hear that the young man was rather startled when he first set eyes on the "huge uncouth figure, with a little dark wig which scarce covered his head,"²

¹ For these familiar references, which I do not like to omit, see Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (ed. Hill, I, 271-90, 322, 335-9, 347-8, etc.). Johnson's honorary M.A. was conferred in February 1755. For Lord North's letter suggesting the D.C.L. in March 1775 see *Convocation Register B1*, 1766-76 (p. 339).

² Miss Hawkins tells us that Johnson's wig "in common was cut and bushy," but that he had another, "dressed in separate curls," in which he looked his worst. (*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Hill, II, 139.)



THE RADCLIFFE CAMERA, FROM THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY

and his clothes hanging loose about him." He became, however, a close friend and correspondent, and even recommended the Doctor to practise more mildness of speech. Johnson got to know Topham Beauclerk at Trinity also, a cheerful and impudent young man of fashion, not the less interesting because he was a great-grandson of Charles II. "Thy body," the Doctor once told him, "is all vice, and thy mind all virtue." Beauclerk retorted by quoting or misquoting Falstaff, when the Doctor got his pension :

"I hope you'll now purge and live cleanly like a gentleman."¹

The two young Oxonians visited Johnson in London. They knocked him up in the Temple at three in the morning, and the old sage appeared poker in hand in his doorway, to relax into laughter when he saw who his visitors were. "What is it you, you dogs! I'll have a frisk with you." And frisk they did forthwith to Covent Garden and to Billingsgate with a gaiety of spirit which not only young men loved.² There were moments in many of Johnson's friendships when misunderstandings intervened. He once parodied Warton's poems. The Professor showed resentment. And Johnson, who was really fond of him, complained of Warton's want of heart. But these clouds passed and the friendship continued. In 1769 Johnson sent Warton "a Baskerville's *Virgil*" for Trinity College Library. In 1776 he was again with him at Oxford, talking over Gibbon's first volume and deploring its infidelity of tone. To Boswell Gibbon seemed no better than a venomous insect or infidel wasp. In the small world of that day the *genus irritabile* was by no means free from asperities or foibles. But between Johnson and Warton there was always room for kindness in two large and generous minds.

The Oxford of Johnson's youth had altered little by the time of Adam Smith or Gibbon. Jacobitism, it is true, was dying. Even Dr. King's devotion could not keep it alive. The Radcliffe, where he had tried to create a political demonstration, was already becoming a familiar feature in Oxford. Gibbs' design had been preferred to Hawksmoor's, and the Camera, begun in 1737 and opened twelve years later, had added dignity and beauty to a well-loved scene. Some critics, however, complained that the new building lacked proportion, and seemed to be making a curtsy to the street.³ Dr. Radcliffe's magnificent

¹ See Boswell (ed. Hill, I, 250) and *The First Part of King Henry IV* (Act v, Sc. 4).

² See Boswell (ed. Hill, I, 247-51) and *Miscellanies* (II, 390).

³ On the Camera see Gibbs' book *Bibliotheca Radcliviana* (1747), Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, etc. (ed. Wornum, II, 307-8), Cunningham's

bequests to the University, recognised by an imposing funeral, had not only built the fine domed Library where the last relics of the ancient Schools had disappeared. They had provided funds which were to found the Radcliffe Infirmary in 1759 and the Radcliffe Observatory in 1772.¹ Dr. King followed up his famous speech on the opening of the Radcliffe by another pointed oration in 1759, when Lord Westmoreland, who passed for a Jacobite Chancellor, was installed. But the events of that great year went far to destroy disaffection. Convocation declared itself, in an address to the Crown, eager to join in the "Acclamations of a joyful and united People."² George III's dislike of the Whigs rallied the Jacobites to the new Sovereign. Dr. King was induced to make his bow at Court. Dr. Nowell, who succeeded him as Principal of St. Mary Hall, went further, and presently roused a storm of criticism by a sermon preached to members of the House of Commons, in which he revived in honour of George III the high-flown doctrines associated with the memory of Charles I.³ Johnson and Boswell were delighted to drink toasts with so convinced a Tory when they visited him in his pretty house by Iffley Lock. They drank to King George now, and not to King James. Horace Walpole noted that even the University of Oxford had almost ceased to toast the Pretender by 1771.⁴

But before the elder Pitt taught Englishmen once again to believe in their country, the Jacobite spirit was always astir. It broke out in the famous Oxfordshire election of 1754, and provoked one of those epidemics of pamphlets in which the eighteenth century rejoiced. The Blue Mob, representing the Old Interest, had, it was said, made their arrangements to guard the polling-booths twenty men deep, and it may not be uncharitable to conjecture that their object was to prevent the New Interest from reaching the polls. But by some tactical error the booths had been transferred from their old site in St. Giles' to a new position inside the City walls against the North front of Exeter

Lives of British Architects, *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1749, pp. 164-5), and *The Bodleian Quarterly Record* (IV, 255-6). The younger Townsend was responsible for much of the fine work.

¹ The buildings were not of course completed till later. For details of these bequests, and of the uses to which they were put, see *Dr. John Radcliffe* by J. B. Nias (1918).

² See *Univ. Arch. Oxon. Convocation Register BH*, 1757-66 (pp. 133-6).

³ Dr. King died in 1763. Nowell's sermon was preached on the 30th January 1772.

⁴ *Letters* (ed. Cunningham, V, 341). But Wilkes found occasion in 1768 to review in a scathing speech in the House of Commons the disloyal record of the University of Oxford for many years past. (See *Studies in Oxford History*, O.H.S., 293 'sq.)

College. Exeter was exuberantly Whig. And the perfidious voters, creeping through the College from the gate in Turl Street to the gate upon the Northern lane, were able to mock at the Tory guard which defended all the other approaches. For six days an "unlettered hungry mob," as the angry Tory Vice-Chancellor called them, poured into the College at one gate and passed out to vote at the other. Supporters cheered them with refreshment on the way. The College Hall, said the disgusted Blues, was filled with "a smoking, drinking, expectorating crowd": and their disgust was not assuaged when the Rector of Exeter suggested that many of the voters had attended Chapel as they passed through. The Vice-Chancellor's comments were injudiciously worded: Dr. Huddesford, though he ruled Trinity for nearly half-a-century,¹ was not one of the wisest of men.

"Not only the Hall and Courts of the College had been compurcated and defiled with Filth and Nastiness, Drunkenness and Gluttony; but even the very Bed-chambers likewise made the Scenes of Riot and Debauchery."²

The Exeter Fellows would not rest under such charges. They demanded a copy of the Vice-Chancellor's speech. They denounced his partiality and unfairness. They denied his right to interfere with what went on inside their College. Scholars like Kennicott stepped into the fray and scourged the Head of the University with Scriptural allusions. Dr. King and his friends plunged into personalities, glanced at Kennicott's humble birth and the love-affairs of the Exeter Fellows. The London press took up the cry, and the little world of wits and politicians made the most of an opportunity not likely to recur.³

Other wits gathered in academic circles, and the records of some of their meetings remain. The Poetical Club at the Three Tuns flourished under the elder Warton. Dr. Evans of St. John's entertained them with his Fables, "masterly," thought Erasmus Philipps, "in their kind." The Nonsense Club and the Jelly-bag Club and the Arcadian Society are heard of later. The Freecynics of 1737 were a species of Philosophical Club, with formulas, it was suggested, unintelligible to anybody else.⁴

¹ From 1731 to 1776.

² *The Conduct of — Coll. Consider'd* discusses this among other charges. Mr. Stride describes the whole incident (*Exeter College*, 118-25).

³ There was a crop of pamphlets on this subject: a list of them is given by Mr. Stride (*Exeter College*, 118, n.). The most important vindication of Exeter College was the Rector Webber's *Defence of the Rector and Fellows*.

⁴ On these Societies see Wordsworth (*Social Life*, 149-53) and Green (*Oxford Studies*, 64-7).

Of the Red Herring Club we know a little more. The Red Herrings met weekly and sat until Tom tolled. They seem to have been founded in 1694. Edward Lhuyd of the Ashmolean, Edmund Gibson of Queen's and other well-known men were among the earliest members. The list has a certain Welsh flavour but includes many Saxon names. Any member absenting himself paid sixpence. Dr. King apparently paid a sixpenny fine for four successive weeks in May 1737, and contributions of this kind helped to supply resources for the entertainment of the Club. The eighteenth century entries in the minute-books surviving¹ show that most of the meetings were held at the King's Head Tavern or at Langford's later in the Turl. In November 1765 it was found necessary to pass a resolution that the porter of Pembroke College was not the *Custos Archivorum* of the Club. The latest entry is dated 21 March 1775, when Mr. Price, the High Steward, paid two pounds, nine shillings and sixpence for a dinner, consisting of eels and skate and lamb and pigeons and asparagus and suet and other delights, the chief item being sixteen shillings for port-wine. The minute-books contain a note of elections, but tell us little of the discussions of the Club. In the same period the Mallard of All Souls found defenders. Convivial institutions would not have their history or their characters attacked.² And, in an age when every episode led to pamphleteering, a more serious flow of pamphlets marked an academic quarrel in which Dr. Newton played a conspicuous part. The Principal of Hart Hall had trouble with some of his students, who proposed to transfer themselves to other Houses. One in particular made arrangements to be taken in at Balliol before securing from the Principal the formal permission required. Dr. Carter of Oriel, or a subordinate in his absence, agreed to admit another Hart Hall student without Newton's leave. The Doctor rushed into print to defend his rights and also to deny that living at Hart Hall was dearer than elsewhere. The discussion caused some stir in University circles, and Mr. Jones of Balliol and other poetasters were loth to let the subject drop.³

¹ Mr. F. Madan kindly lent me one or two old Minute-Books of the Club, which he possesses.

² See the pamphlet entitled *A Complete Vindication of the Mallard of All Souls*, written by B. Buckler, Blackstone's friend and afterwards Keeper of the Archives. It led to other publications. (See article on Buckler in *D.N.B.*)

³ See Newton's pamphlet *University Education* (1726), Hearne's *Collections* (VIII, 296-7), the Letter to Dr. Newton printed in the Appendix to Amhurst's *Terrae-Filius*, and Mr. Hamilton's paper on Newton in *Collectanea*, III.

"Newton with open mouth demands a Stray;
 Carter looks wisely and will nothing say:
 Newton remonstrates; Carter's wondrous shy:
 Newton then prints; but Carter won't reply."

The same issue, the right of migration, which the Laudian Code had definitely discouraged, arose at Queen's, in 1748. A number of young gentlemen, required to dine in Hall—the Vice-Chancellor was anxious to check the growth of private entertainments—found fault with the food provided for the College. "The Boiled Meat at the Commoners Table" was formally complained of. The Dean's only answer was that it had been worse in the late cook's time. The Commoners, "despairing of meeting with any thing fit to eat," absented themselves on boiled meat days, but reappeared when the meat was roasted—a compliance which, their apologist pleaded, must clear them from the charge of rebellion. But the trouble grew. Petitions on the one side were met with charges of insolence on the other. College gates were guarded to keep supplies from cook-shops out. Mr. Robert Smith, "the first sacrifice," was deprived of his Exhibition for contumacy. Smith's friends demanded his re-admission, and when the authorities refused took their own names off the books.¹ They proposed to join other Houses. The Provost refused his *licet migrare*.² Some left the University. Some obtained admission to St. Alban Hall. Some in the end were re-admitted to their old College. The war of pamphlets gradually subsided. And it may be hoped that the boiled meats of the College were improved.

Meanwhile the City changed, though it changed slowly. New buildings rose and old landmarks disappeared. The Music Room in Holywell, which claims to be the oldest Music Room in Europe, was opened in 1748. It proved to be a well-proportioned and successful building. Hopes were expressed that the civilising influence of music would tempt gentlemen from "midnight Drinkings" and "Bacchanalian routs":

"cantus
 Quos juvat, argutaeque lyrae modulamen, et aer
 Suave tremens."³

¹ "To the number of Twenty-one Commoners, and Five Gentlemen-Commoners." I have quoted from the *Apology* issued by the seceders, but the reply of the authorities is worth attention. Dr. Magrath reprints the papers (*The Queen's College*, II, 207 sq.).

² *Ib.* (III): otherwise "a Benè discessit or Liceat migrare" (*Ib.* 213).

³ See *Odeum Oxoniense*, a Latin poem printed in *The Student*, a Monthly Miscellany of 1750-51 (II, 197-200), Wordsworth's *Social Life at the Universities* (201-2), and *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (III, 222). The

As the century proceeded the Music Room concerts grew in popularity. The *Messiah* and other oratorios were produced. The streets which led to the Music Room, and not those only, saw improvements. Narrow places were widened, dirty places paved, sheds, shambles, obstructions, removed. The old conduit at Carfax, which stood on the site of the older Bull-ring, was becoming a nuisance. It was presently carted away to Nuneham.¹ In 1772 the ancient City Gates which still remained were taken down. Bocardo vanished with all its rich and grim associations. Under the Mileways Act for the improvement of the City the new Market was laid out.² Old Magdalen Bridge was soon replaced by a new one, and questions arose over the buildings in the Physic Gardens close by. At Lincoln the College Devil was dispensed with, after losing his head in a storm: a new Library was fitted up and a new block of buildings built in the Grove.³ At Christ Church Wyatt was called in to remodel the remains of Canterbury College. Archbishop Robinson of Armagh, an old Westminster Student, contributed two thousand pounds, and his generosity is recorded over the new gateway finished in 1778.⁴ At Balliol in 1772 the enclosure which separated the College from the street was swept away. Fisher's Buildings had been added to the College frontage.⁵ But the old buildings were declared to be in a "ruinous condition," and the Visitor was asked to allow the suppression of a Fellowship in order to provide funds for repairs.⁶ At Exeter gables were condemned, Hell Quad was altered and a new Library begun. At Trinity the College front had been thrown open, after the old gateway was removed in 1733. At St. John's the Chapel was restored, the Hall enlarged and provided with a ceiling. At Jesus, soon after the middle of the century, the whole East front of the College was transformed. At Wadham there was some work of restoration, and changes were made in the Library, the windows, the cocklofts and the garden. At Magdalen too there were changes, in the Chapel and elsewhere. A third storey was added to the Lodgings in 1768. The old Election Chamber

story of *The Oldest Music Room in Europe* has been fully told by Dr. J. H. Mee.

¹ In 1787. See also *Gentleman's Magazine* (1771, pp. 533-4).

² On this important Act of 1771—"the end of the Middle Ages"—see *Surveys and Tokens*, O.H.S. (pp. 3-10). See also Mr. Roberson's papers in *Oxford Studies*, O.H.S.

³ In 1739.

⁴ Archbishop Robinson also gave £4,000 in 1783, for a block of buildings for Noblemen and Gentlemen Commoners in the new quadrangle (Thompson's *Christ Church*, 165-6).

⁵ Mr. Fisher paid down £3,000 in 1767 (Davis, *Balliol College*, 171).

⁶ See the *College Register* for the year 1775.



OLD MAGDALEN BRIDGE

From the painting by J. B. Malchair

disappeared in 1770. West's building rose near the Cherwell in 1783. In Brasenose Hall a chimney was built and a stucco ceiling inserted. "Sign of Whiggery" though it might be, the old brasiers in the centre of the high-roofed Halls yielded to modern needs. Gables more and more gave way to battlements. Sash windows replaced the older casements. The eighteenth century was never unwilling to improve on the taste of a less enlightened age.

But with these changes happier efforts sometimes mingled. Wykeham's stained glass had been rescued at New College when Bishop Horne set to work to destroy the beauty of the Chapel. It was brought back now and placed in the Ante-Chapel windows. As a contrast Reynolds' "glorious" Nativity was set up in 1783. Horace Walpole came over from Nuneham to see it. He protested that he had a "passion" for Oxford, though he sometimes wrote coldly of the "wretched oafs" who lived there, and of the "old fellows stealing to their pleasures" by night. He climbed up into the organ-loft to view the great window, and deplored the ineffectiveness of Jarvis' colours and the faintness of the "washy Virtues" round.¹ Meanwhile the College gardens were growing every year in beauty. We hear in 1761 of the outer and inner Groves at St. John's, where, except water, there is "all that could be wished," of the Terras, Pavilion and Bowling Green and of the grand Perspective View at New College, of the lovely Magdalen "Out-let" and its unparalleled effect.² From time to time the College buildings suffered from fire. Queen's in that respect had an unfortunate pre-eminence. And we have a lively account by one contemporary undergraduate of the serious fire at Queen's in 1778. The Provost, escaping singed from his Lodgings, called on everyone present to join him first in prayer and then in pumping water. Young John James and other undergraduates leaped out of bed at four in the morning, and beheld "one of the most terrible spectacles in nature." The flames had attacked the Provost's nursery. "His nursery! His children rushed upon my mind." The children were saved, but the furniture was soon ablaze. The floors on all sides sank "with a horrid uproar." As young James remarked,³ "it was no time for punctilio," and everyone set to work saving what they could. "But all that yesterday was, in point of elegance superiour to any building in Oxford, is now smoking, and in ashes."

¹ See his *Letters* (ed. Cunningham, VIII, 406, 574 and II, 351). But everyone did not agree with Walpole.

² Quoted by Wordsworth (*Social Life*, 394-6) from *A Pocket Companion for Oxford*. The "Founder's Oak" at Magdalen lasted until 1789.

³ See *The Letters of Radcliffe and James* (56-8, and Appendix E).

VI

The reign of George II and the early years of George III include some of the most languid years in Oxford history. But there were still distinguished names in every College, with prelates, politicians and eccentric characters represented in the lists. The disreputable frolics of young Gentlemen Commoners like George Selwyn of Hertford and Charles Duncombe of Lincoln are solemnly recorded in the Registers of Convocation.¹ Samuel Foote displayed at Worcester as early as 1737 the ready wit and even readier extravagance which distinguished him through life. He plunged into ridiculous adventures, mocked at the Provost of his College, and brought his offences to a climax by dashing through Oxford in a coach-and-six. And "having by a long-continued course of ill behaviour rendered himself obnoxious to frequent censures of the Society,"² he lost his Scholarship and left the University without taking a degree. The world, which disliked Foote's bitter tongue, thought him hard to trust but harder to resist. Johnson, when first he met him, tried to be stiff and unresponsive, but he found "the dog" so very comical that he was forced to "fairly laugh it out."³ The accomplishments and oddities of young John Henderson of Pembroke, whom Wesley declared to have "as great talents as most men in England," and who was living in Johnson's old rooms when the Doctor visited the College in 1782, were noted by Boswell and deplored by Hannah More. More serious and dignified types of Oxonians were represented by John Moore, a Pembroke Scholar of 1745, reputed like Wolsey the son of a grazier, who, by dint of tutoring the Duke of Marlborough's sons and declining the hand of the Duke's widow,⁴ rose from preferment to preferment till he reached the Primate's throne, and by the Norths, three generations of whom succeeded each other at Trinity between 1721 and 1777. The most famous of the family, a Minister as favoured as he was unfortunate, a shrewd, agreeable, witty, ugly man, had only a brief undergraduate career.⁵ But as the chief representative of the new Toryism gathered round the King, Lord North must for years have been a popular figure at Oxford, and his unwillingness to relax tests in favour of Dis-

¹ See *Acta Convocat: Univ: Oxon: Arch. BF* (pp. 129 sq. and 187).

² See the entry in the *College Register* under Feb. 25, 1748.

³ See Boswell's *Johnson* (ed. Hill, III, 69-70. See also vol. II, 95).

⁴ The story seems to be well-founded. (See Maclean's *History of Pembroke College*, 384.)

⁵ Frederick, Lord North, matriculated in October 1749 and was created M.A. in March 1750 (Foster's *Alumni*). His father, his half-brother, the well-known Bishop of Winchester, and his eldest son were at Trinity too.

senters must have warmed the hearts of his clerical friends. When North was installed as Chancellor in 1773, in succession to Lord Lichfield, Johnson does not seem to have been present as a Master to applaud, but another famous Englishman, Joshua Reynolds, received an honorary degree. Two years later, on the new Chancellor's initiative, Johnson was received into the company of Doctors by a University which had come to regard him as one of its favourite and familiar sons.

Another politician, James Harris, afterwards the first Lord Malmesbury, went up to Merton as a Gentleman Commoner in 1763. He was the son of "Hermes Harris," the Aristotelian student of Wadham, and like Gibbon he looked back on his Oxford days as most unprofitably spent.

"The set of men with whom I lived were very pleasant, but very idle fellows. Our life was an imitation of High Life in London; luckily drinking was not the fashion, but what we did drink was claret, and we had our regular round of evening card parties, to the great annoyance of our finances."¹

"Single-speech Hamilton" was older. He matriculated from Oriel in 1745, and "spoke for the first time and was at once perfection" in the great debate on the Address in 1755. Sir Roger Newdigate played a greater part in Oxford, if not a larger part in the House of Commons. He joined University College in 1736, and became in 1750 one of the University Burgesses or Members. A great country gentleman, with a scholar's love for Italy and learning, he gave more than one generous gift to his old University and College. The prize he founded has brought him immortality. But it is to be feared that his thirty years in Parliament brought him little but disillusion. "A half-converted Jacobite," his opinions must have corresponded very happily with those of his constituents. But the letter which he wrote on his retirement, and which is preserved in the Registers of Convocation,² spoke in melancholy terms of public life. In five successive Parliaments he had found "a wretched abuse of talents, and a dearth of public virtue." Oxford alone offered an example of "true Constitutional Independency." For the rest the People at large were "more corrupt than their representative Body; and that Body more corrupt than even the Minister himself." The half-converted Jacobite had swung round very nearly to the Whigs. But one regrets to remember that the Minister must have been Lord North.

Two other statesmen destined to great prominence were

¹ See Miss Quiller-Couch's quotation from Lord Malmesbury's *Diaries (Reminiscences of Oxford, 158)*.

² See *Convocation Register BK (103-5)*, under 1780.

members of Christ Church in 1755. William Cavendish Bentinck, soon to succeed as Duke of Portland, left Oxford to become a loyal public servant, whose two Premierships were only the least successful episodes in a long and honourable life. He became also Chancellor of the University on Lord North's death in 1792.¹ And the able and unpopular Whig leader known for so many years as Lord Shelburne, the heir of many of Chatham's ideas and an object of unconquerable distrust to almost all of Chatham's successors, went up in the same year to a College which he thought for the most part "very low."² He read Macchiavelli, perhaps too assiduously. He read also "a great deal of religion." He attended Blackstone's lectures. He liked the Dean of Christ Church, Dr. Gregory. He made friends with the Jacobite Dr. King. But he complained of the narrow-mindedness of his Tutor :

"It has by one or other accident been my fate through life always to fall in with clever but unpopular connections."³

William Grenville, another future Prime Minister and Chancellor of Oxford, was at Christ Church later, from 1776 to 1780,⁴ and became Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1782. His father, George Grenville, an earlier Prime Minister, had joined the House in 1730. Henry Flood took his Master's degree there in 1752, and another remarkable Irishman, John Fitzgibbon, followed his example in 1770. William Windham, a brilliant and popular figure, who is said to have been offered the Irish Secretaryship before he left Oxford—it seems to have been regarded as an encouraging occupation for fresh young Oxford men—was a Gentleman Commoner at University in 1767 and a close friend of Johnson in the Doctor's latest days. Henry Addington—not yet linked immortally with Paddington—was a hard-working Commoner of Brasenose in 1775; his father, Chatham's doctor, had been at Trinity forty years before. Charles Abbot, a distinguished successor of Addington in the Speakership, was at Christ Church in 1776. Wellesley, who had done well at Eton after his expulsion from Harrow, matriculated at Christ Church in 1778, and proved his quality by winning a prize for a Latin poem on Captain Cook. A contemporary disliked his habit of declaiming speeches through a lath and plaster wall. But of all the budding politicians at Oxford in those days

¹ *Convocation Register BK* (509-10).

² He is entered in the Dean's Admission Book, the Dean kindly tells me, as Gulielmus Vicecomes de Fitzmaurice under 11 March 1755.

³ See Lord Fitzmaurice's *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne* (I, 17).

⁴ He was one of several Grenvilles at Christ Church and Brasenose in the 18th century, and there were of course other well-known politicians at Oxford in these years. Canning came up a little later.

the first in charm and attraction was Charles Fox. He was an Etonian too, older than either Windham or Wellesley. He went up to Hertford College in 1764 at the age of fifteen. "Ininitely engaging" as a child, full of life and vigour as an undergraduate—there was a story of a memorable leap from a window, which his figure would hardly have permitted in later days¹—his black curls and swarthy face perhaps recalling some strain inherited from Charles II or Henry of Navarre, and brought up with as little regard as they for money or morality, Charles Fox was from the first delighted with Oxford life. But he delighted most in its opportunities for study. He read hard, even in the Long Vacation, "as if his bread depended on a fellowship." He really thought for a reading man there could not be a more agreeable place. He enjoyed mathematics "vastly." He revelled in the English dramatists. He got to know and to love his classics. He haunted the book-shops when not reading in his rooms. Even his Tutor remonstrated with him.

"Application like yours requires some intermission; and you are the only person, with whom I have ever had connexion, to whom I could say this."

Dr. Newcome might well be bewildered by such behaviour among the Gentlemen Commoners of 1764.²

But there were Fellows in Oxford Colleges, young and old, who shared Fox's love of industry even in the most lethargic days. Samuel Kilner, elected a Fellow of Merton in 1753, held his place until the year of Waterloo, and devoted himself wholeheartedly to studying the annals of his College.³ John Gutch, who joined All Souls in 1765 and was Chaplain there and at Corpus later, lived on as Rector of St. Clement's to see the great Reform Bill. He rendered a real service to Oxford letters by editing and publishing Anthony Wood's histories in their original English dress. But he roused more criticism in 1781 by his *Collectanea Curiosa*, which trespassed on the dangerous ground of University reform.

"One paper, a memorial concerning the Universities, has given great offence to our grandees. It proposes the means of a reformation in those establishments, chiefly to correct the Jacobitish principles prevailing at the time when it was written. One proposition, the most obnoxious to my tutor, is to limit the term of every fellow-

¹ But I know of no authority for it except Lockhart's note in *Reginald Dalton* (I, 277, n.).

² Dr. Newcome of course was a Tutor at Hertford, not the Principal, as Sir G. O. Trevelyan suggests in the delightful *Early Life* of Fox, from which I borrow here.

³ As the Merton Archives show.

ship to twenty years ; for that by a longer possession *they are over-run with the spleen and get sottish.*"¹

Gutch nevertheless became a considerable figure, a well-loved, long-remembered figure, at Oxford, and was appointed University Registrar in 1797.² Martin Routh, a still greater master of longevity, and a descendant of Dr. Baylie, the old Cavalier Head of St. John's, was already at work as a Magdalen Tutor in 1775. And as the reign of George III proceeded, Oxford teaching grew more vigorous³ and a new race of young and active Tutors began to make their influence felt.

University College had a happy pre-eminence here. Robert Chambers, the son of a Newcastle attorney and an Exhibitioner of Lincoln in 1754, became a Fellow and Tutor at University in 1761. He proved a valuable teacher. He succeeded Blackstone both as Vinerian Professor and as Principal of New Inn Hall. He had the gift of making friends, though Mrs. Thrale could not understand how he did it. He had young men of genius among his pupils and companions, the two Scotts, Windham, William Jones. And he enjoyed Johnson's friendship for several years in Oxford, before going out to India as a judge in stormy days, to act first as Impey's assistant and then as Impey's successor. In 1768 Johnson stayed with Chambers and was ill in his house, and yet did not love him the less for it. Boswell joined him there, and they discussed the morality of lawyers and the novels of Richardson and Fielding, and every subject under the sun.⁴ In 1773, Lord Eldon tells us, Johnson walked with him and Chambers in the garden, and rebuked the Principal for picking up snails and tossing them over his neighbour's wall.

" ' Sir,' said Sir Robert, ' my neighbour is a Dissenter.' ' Oh ! ' said the Doctor, ' if so, Chambers, toss away, toss away, as hard as you can.' " ⁵

Chambers introduced Johnson to William Scott, another Newcastle lad of rare promise, who became at the age of nineteen a Fellow and Tutor of University also.⁶ William Scott was as

¹ So wrote young James in January 1782 (*Letters of Radcliffe and James*, 191). The reference is to the paper ascribed to Lord Macclesfield, No. IX in vol. II of Gutch's book.

² There were other distinguished resident Fellows of All Souls, like Benjamin Buckler (1718-80), the friend and ally of Blackstone, and Thomas Wenman (1745-96) who worked at the College history. Both served as Keepers of the University Archives.

³ In 1779 James speaks of lectures being read " in different sciences . . . and many with great *éclat* " (*Letters*, 93).

⁴ Boswell's *Johnson* (ed. Hill, II, 46-7).

⁵ Twiss (*Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon*, I, 87-8).

⁶ William Scott was first a Scholar of Corpus, in 1761.

successful as Chambers in teaching and was destined to be a far greater judge. The son of a coal-fitter or coal-factor on the Tyne, he made his own way and launched his celebrated brother. A Fellow of University in 1765, he became Camden Professor of Ancient History in 1773, and young James speaks of his lectures as "perhaps superiour to anything of the kind in point of elegance and erudition." But Scott was accused of imitating Johnson with his rounded periods and his stilted style. His care to avoid mentioning "anything mean or familiar by its common name" became a source of burlesque.¹

"Describing the houses of the Athenians, he acquainted his audience 'that they had no convenience by which the volatile parts of fire could be conveyed into the open air'. How would a bricklayer stare at being told that he meant no more than that the Athenians had no chimneys! One great inconvenience attended this constant and studied elevation, for whenever he popped out a familiar word, for which it was impossible to substitute a synonyme, it came from him with as ill a grace as an oath would from a bishop, or the language of Billingsgate from a fine lady. Take him however 'all in all', and I am afraid this university will seldom 'look upon his like again'."

Gibbon, in a style not less elevated than Johnson's, admitted that William Scott's abilities had inspired him "with a just esteem."

John Scott was intended for his father's calling. But William wrote from Oxford that he could do better for him: "Send Jack up to me." So Jack came up in 1766, to be tutored by his brother and by Robert Chambers, and to prove not less efficient and hard-working than they. If romance were needed in Oxford history, there is romance enough in the story of the two determined young Northumbrians, as full of life as they were full of brains, who took rank by sheer hard work in the front line of their contemporaries and left behind them two of the greatest names in English law. And John Scott especially had a romantic youth. The handsome young Fellow of University was as successful at Oxford as his brother. In 1771 he won the Chancellor's Prize with an essay on the Advantages and Disadvantages of Travelling into Foreign Countries, of which he apparently knew nothing at all. John too could sometimes walk on stilts. He feared that "by an early expulsion of prepossessions in favour of our own country" we might "form an opening for the admission of opinions detrimental to it."² But when not engaged in academic literature, the natural man came

¹ *Letters of Radcliffe and James* (92-3).

² See *The Oxford Prize Essays* (vol. I).

out. In 1772 he eloped with a beautiful young lady of Newcastle, who crept down a ladder into his arms and was married to him over the Border. And resigning his Fellowship and all thought of taking Orders, he settled down with his wife at Oxford, to live by coaching and lecturing, and to train for the Bar as best he could. His friends put work in his way. He resisted the temptation to become a grocer. He gave law lectures as deputy for Chambers, and it is difficult to believe that accident only arranged that his first lecture should be "upon the Statute of young men running away with maidens," which drew an audience of a hundred and forty giggling boys.¹ When reproached for working too hard, Scott replied "I must, or starve." For a time he rose habitually at four and worked at night as well. His maxim was that a lawyer should live like a hermit and work like a horse. But neither then nor later did his courage ever fail him. Nor did his hard work ever diminish the hermit's enjoyment in the companionship of friends.

Stowell's and Eldon's statues stand together in the College whose fame they so signally revived, and in the Common Room of that venerable Society Johnson learned to know and love them both. He became as intimate with the two brothers as he was with Chambers or with Warton, and the young men were, no doubt, quick to appreciate the honour done them. He stayed with both brothers, and Mrs. John Scott would pour out fifteen cups of tea for him without demur. But she was tried by the Doctor's irregular hours and by his habit of dropping grease upon her carpets. And she thought he had too much influence over her husband. "I have seen many a bear led by a man; but I never before saw a man led by a bear." Johnson had several hosts at Oxford, though he would sometimes stay at the Angel, or pass through on his way to Lichfield as part of a holiday in the Midlands. He was the guest of Dr. Edwards at Jesus and of Dr. Adams latterly at Pembroke. But he was most often perhaps in the Common Room of University, in those its greatest days, with Chambers or the Scotts, or with Dr. Wetherell, the Master, or with Mr. Coulson, who complained that the Doctor too often turned the laugh against him. It was in the Common Room of University that he drank his three bottles of port, that he laid down the law till some of his hearers could bear it no longer, and that Dr. Mortimer, the Rector of Lincoln, was reduced to incessantly denying what he said. Johnson retorted in the same kind.

¹ For this story, and for John Scott's early days, see the first 70 pages of Twiss' *Life of Eldon* and Surtees' *Sketch of the Lives of Lords Stowell and Eldon*.

"Plus negabit unus asinus in una hora quam centum philosophi probaverint in centum annis." ¹

Dr. Mortimer might have been comforted to hear Horace Walpole describe his great antagonist. "In behaviour an ill-natured bear," in opinions a senseless bigot, who read the ancients only to pilfer polysyllables—"Hurlothrumbo talked plain English in comparison of this wight on stilts." ² Walpole was sometimes savage, but Johnson for all his genuine tenderness could be very brusque with those who differed from him. He scouted the impiety of contradicting Bishops, but it is on record that he was uncommonly rude to a Dean. ³ He once deliberately expatiated to five Cambridge men on the superiority of Oxford, and when his hostess remonstrated with him, stubbornly answered, "the wolf don't count the sheep." ⁴ Talk with him was generally a contest for supremacy. He braced himself to conquer in it. He loved to "down" his adversaries. He confessed that he would "wish to know a day before" he met Lord Thurlow, and that it would kill him to meet Burke when he was tired. Goldsmith was justified in saying that Johnson tried to make into a monarchy what ought to be a republic. Johnson himself would at times admit his failing. But Burke spoke the final word. "It is well, if, when a man comes to die, he has nothing heavier upon his conscience than having been a little rough in conversation." ⁵

Conversation was the glory of the Common Rooms of Oxford in days which old men still remember. It is not likely to have failed, though it may sometimes have dropped to monologue, when Johnson took his leisure in those hospitable rooms. If the Doctor loved to dominate, he loved also to give freely of himself, and the talk ranged widely over every subject. Oxford education was often to the front. Oxford discipline was admitted to be failing: "subordination is sadly broken down." Tests, it is true, were stubbornly defended. "Our Universities were founded to bring up members for the Church of England." And as for the want of lectures, "lectures are unnecessary now, when all can read." But it was not denied that at Oxford, as in other things and other places, some "labefactation" of principle had set in. Literary topics were prominent. Johnson was keenly interested in the Press at Oxford, and in the question "why

¹ See Boswell's *Johnson* (ed. Hill, II, 269 n.). Johnson was in Oxford in 1754, 1759, 1762, and about a dozen times after that. His last two visits were in June and November 1784. (See App. B to vol. III of Hill's *Boswell*.)

² See Walpole's *Letters* (ed. Cunningham, IX, 46 and VIII, 27).

³ *Johnsonian Miscellanies* (ed. Hill, II, 262-3). But he soon apologised.

⁴ *Ib.* (I, 168-9).

⁵ See Boswell's *Johnson*, ed. Hill (IV, 280 and 327).

books printed in Oxford should be particularly dear.”¹ Gibbon’s new volumes must have caused discussion, though there is nothing in Johnson’s brusqueness to equal the Duke of Gloucester’s observation on his own presentation copy: “Another d—mn’d thick, square book! Always scribble, scribble, scribble! Eh! Mr. Gibbon.”² The poverty of Milton’s sonnets was insisted on, the unfitness perhaps of *Macbeth* for the stage. There was talk, no doubt, of Garrick and of Burke: Johnson never failed to do justice to Burke’s perpetual “stream of mind.” There was talk of Warren Hastings, and some idea of his encouraging the study of Persian in Oxford.³ Johnson gave Chambers an introduction to Hastings when he went out to India in 1774. And sometimes there was talk on graver topics, not indeed on the speculations of philosophy, for which the great Doctor cared nothing at all, but on some of the larger problems of life and of religion, or on the overshadowing necessity of death.⁴

Johnson’s talk with Oxford men was not confined to Oxford Common Rooms. They came and visited him in London. And occasionally he met there an old acquaintance of his undergraduate days. Boswell reminds us of an encounter with Mr. Edwards, once of Pembroke, a solicitor who had tried to be a philosopher but had found that “cheerfulness was always breaking in.” Edwards would harp on the question of age and would quote Young’s verse at Johnson:

“O my Coevals! remnants of yourselves!”

And Boswell of course gives details of the latest visits to Oxford, which, though they are very familiar, it may be just permissible to recall once more. In March 1776 Johnson, Boswell and “Mr. Gwyn,” the architect of the new Magdalen Bridge, “a fine lively rattling fellow,” travelled up on the coach together. Johnson and Boswell went first to University, but found that William Scott was away. So they put up at the Angel Inn. They visited Dr. Wetherell and Dr. Adams and Dr. Bentham, a Canon of Christ Church, who asked them to dine. “Sir, it is a great thing to dine with the Canons of Christ Church.” But they

¹ Johnson discussed this in his Letter to Dr. Wetherell of 12 March 1776 (Boswell’s *Johnson*, ed. Hill, II, 424–6).

² See H. D. Best (*Memorials*, 68).

³ A little tract at the British Museum, dated about 1770, Bishop Lowth’s presentation copy of *A Proposal for establishing a Professorship of the Persian Language in the University of Oxford*, contains a MS. note by Kennicott, suggesting that writers in the Company’s service should be allowed time for study before going out.

⁴ See, for these references to Boswell, Hill’s edition (III, 262; II, 151; IV, 92, etc.; II, 92, 450; IV, 68 and 299–300).

were already engaged to dine at University, for it was St. Cuthbert's day. It was on this visit that they had tea with Dr. Horne of Magdalen and talked of Walton's *Lives*. In June 1782, when Johnson was staying with Dr. Edwards at Jesus, Hannah More was asked to meet him, and Thomas Warton "and whatever else is most learned and famous in this University." And Miss Adams speaks of "a delightful blue-stocking party" at Pembroke, where Dr. and Mrs. Kennicott were present, and where Johnson, though obviously in poor health, exerted himself to please his favourite, Miss More. Hannah More writes of this visit :

"Who do you think is my principal Cicerone at Oxford? Only Dr. Johnson! and we do so gallant it about! You cannot imagine with what delight he showed me every part of his own College."¹

Two years later, though he missed Hannah More, who came up to "flirt with" him and found he had deserted, Johnson spent a part of June with the Adamses at Pembroke. He liked staying in the Master's house. He had driven from London in the coach with Boswell and two American ladies. "How he does talk!" whispered one of the Americans. "Every sentence is an essay." But there was ill-cooked mutton at an inn on the way, where the Doctor scolded the waiter, and perhaps for a moment the style of the essayist sagged. He "seemed to feel himself elevated as he approached Oxford." He talked as freely as usual at Pembroke, upon all sorts of subjects. He praised Fox stoutly, not for his politics but as a friend. He was very gallant to Miss Adams. He looked up old acquaintances, Dr. Wetherell at University, Dr. Nowell at Iffley, Sackville Parker, the bookseller, who had married his serving-maid.² He drank tea as voraciously as ever. But his infirmities were growing hard to bear. He came again for a last visit in November, and was a guest again in his old College. His talk was grave. He did not stay long. But he seemed to be happy. It was within a few weeks of the end. In December Hannah More wrote that her old friend was "past all hope." His love of Oxford had not forsaken him. He had almost conquered his dread of dying. "And now he says 'the bitterness of death is past.'"

¹ Dr. Birkbeck Hill reprints portions of Hannah More's *Memoirs* in his *Johnsonian Miscellanies* (II, 197 sq.). For the rest see his edition of Boswell (III, 305; II, 438 sq.; IV, 151-2, 283-311, and 376).

² "Poor Sack," who, Johnson thought, was dying, outlived him by twelve years. His shop was at the corner of Logic Lane. His mother was a daughter of Henry Clements, a successful bookseller in London, who had been apprenticed in Oxford to Richard Davis, a bookseller of Wood's day. From Sackville's brother John the well-known Oxford family of Parker descends. (See the *Oxford Magazine* for Dec. 3, 1925.)

CHAPTER XXIII

THE BEGINNINGS OF REFORM

1785-1825

THE years which followed the death of Dr. Johnson saw the University turning with affection to a Hanoverian King. In the General Election of 1784, when the country rose against an unhappy Coalition, Fox's followers were indeed returned for Oxford City and Lord North retained his seat at Banbury. But Oxford Tories protested their belief in the "constitutional exercise" of all the Royal prerogatives and their reliance on the Ministers chosen by the Crown. Before long Horace Walpole felt bound to admit that "our raw boy of a Minister"—the only Member in the House of Commons out of a Cabinet of seven—was showing "amazing Parliamentary abilities."¹ The name of Mr. Pitt became the watchword of a rising party. In September 1785 the King and Queen appeared at Oxford. They drove in from Nuneham, accompanied by young Princes and Princesses—"the Queen in a plain lilac silk, the Princess Royal and Princess Elizabeth in pale blue, and Princess Augusta in light green."² There had been no Sovereign seen in Oxford since Queen Anne. The Royal party attended prayers at the Cathedral. They heard an organ recital in the Theatre. And they visited the Bodleian, the Observatory and half-a-dozen Colleges amid an enthusiasm which hourly increased. Next year they were again in Oxford, to receive the University's congratulations on the King's escape from an assassin.³ Political reasons may have made it difficult for Lord North, the Chancellor, to attend. But Miss Burney was in attendance, new to her exalted duties and dressed in a "new Chamberry gauze." She found it all "highly entertaining." But she confessed to a little confusion about the Colleges she saw, and to a certain strain of weariness and hunger as she watched "the royal collationers"

¹ *Letters* (ed. Cunningham, VIII, 545).

² Mr. Green quotes many interesting extracts from the *Oxford Journal* of these years (*Oxford Studies*, 211 sq.).

³ See *Convocation Register Bk* (263). The Royal party passed through Oxford again in 1788.

at work in Christ Church Hall.¹ Royal Dukes began to be frequent visitors. Pitt's administration won support from City and University alike. The King's recovery from his "indisposition" in 1789 was hailed with addresses and loyal rejoicings.² And when Pitt passed through Oxford that autumn, the bells rang incessantly during his stay. There was nothing taught there now, Horace Walpole peevishly told Madame de Genlis, "but drunkenness and prerogative, or in their language Church and King."³

Darker days were in store. The French Revolution was breaking over Europe. To men bred in Jacobite traditions Jacobinism seemed an accursed thing. Fox found half his followers afraid to listen to his pleas for freedom. Burke, for whom the glory of the old order was extinguished, but whom the University declined to honour with the diploma which his friends desired,⁴ carried them into the Tory camp. Pitt, setting his face against war as long as possible, saw his high hopes and expectations die. Sober English opinion took alarm. In 1792 the Corporation of Oxford protested that "kingly Power, wisely limited" was the surest Safeguard of the nation.⁵ Loyal Associations declared that "the happy Constitution of this country" must at all costs be preserved. In January 1793 Tom Paine was burnt in effigy at Carfax, "the Rights of Man in his Left Hand and a Pair of Stays under his Right Arm."⁶ Subscriptions were raised for French refugees. French prisoners were marched through the country-side under guard of the Oxfordshire militia. War scares, followed by war prices, by days of fasting and humiliation, by the activities of the recruiting-serjeant and the press-gang, began to trouble the peace of the land. Two troops of Fencibles were organised in the county. Before the end of the century in University and City Volunteers were being enrolled. The military fervour steadily rose. Lord Howe's great naval victory in June 1794 was welcomed with a grand illumination, to which Queen's, with lights on its parapet and cupola, contributed a magnificent display. Yet the University kept up its customs. The Commemoration which saw the Duke of Portland's appearance as Chancellor in July 1793 proved to be a brilliant ceremony. Oxford was crowded with visitors. Beds were

¹ See the *Diary of Madame D'Arblay* (ed. 1904, II, 457-76).

² See *Convocation Register BK* (370-1).

³ *Letters* (ed. Cunningham, VIII, 574).

⁴ See Cox (*Recollections of Oxford*, 5-6).

⁵ *Oxford Journal* (June 9, 1792).

⁶ *Ib.* (Jan. 12, 1793). Cox (*Recollections*, 11) explains that this was really "a town business." Paine had for a time been a stay-maker, like his father,

fabulously dear. "It was all joy, all festivity, all delirium," cries one enthusiast later.¹ "The heart as well as the body seemed to be abroad." The heat in the Theatre was so stifling that the undergraduates smashed every pane of glass within reach. And the Professor of Music, who had a new composition to produce, and who had nailed down the windows to enhance its effectiveness, was heard protesting above the disturbance, "For God's sake, gentlemen, for mercy's sake, for music's sake, for my sake, don't ruin me."²

I

But before war confounded the plans of political reformers, University reformers were at work. The demand for a real examination system was slowly gaining ground. The Laudian Code, with its provisions for lectures, disputations, studies, its system of government, its rules of discipline, still dominated University life.³ And time had done little to modify its processes, though the right to alter and amend the Laudian Statutes was asserted after a struggle in 1760.⁴ Meanwhile the power to explain and supplement them had been tacitly admitted. From 1652 onwards certain modifications had crept in.⁵ But the Statute proposed in 1759, vetoed at first by the Proctors and finally passed in 1760, defining the persons entitled to belong to Convocation,⁶ and affecting both the academical and the Parlia-

¹ T. F. Dibdin. (See Quiller-Couch, *Reminiscences of Oxford*, 222).

² See Cox (*Recollections*, 13-14) and the *Oxford Journal* for July 6, 1793. Portland was elected Chancellor in September 1792, soon after Lord Guilford's (North's) death (*Convocation Register BK*, 509-10).

³ For a summary of its principal provisions see *ante* (vol. II, pp. 320 sq.).

⁴ The question came up again in 1836. The controversy of 1759-60 over two new Statutes, one defining the members of Convocation, the other explaining the prohibition against simultaneous enjoyment of privileges in University and City, is described in Mr. Shadwell's Preface to Dr. Griffiths' edition of the Laudian Code, 1888 (pp. xii-xix), where the legal opinions of that date, including one attributed to Blackstone, are quoted.

⁵ See the *Addenda ad Corpus Statutorum*, up to 1767, in Dr. Griffiths' edition of the *Statutes* (297 sq.).

⁶ By the Statute of 1760 *Tit. X, S. i* of the Code was amended, and *Magna Congregatio* (Convocation) was defined as consisting of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, Doctors in Theology, Medicine or Civil Law (*necessario regentes*), Masters in the first year of their necessary regency, Heads of Houses, Regents in Arts or Civil Law on any foundation, Doctors who are householders, Professors and Public Lecturers, all Regents (*Convictores*) in Arts or Civil Law with their names on the books of a College or Hall. (See *Corpus Stat. Univ. Oxon.* 1768, pp. 115-17, and Griffiths' *Statutes*, 1888, pp. 310-12; also the valuable paper by Mr. S. Gibson—*Bodleian Quarterly Record*, IV, pp. 296 sq.—in which the history and powers of the University Congregations are described.) For the earlier history of the Oxford Congregations see Appendix B to this volume.

mentary franchise, proved a more serious and controversial matter. Under the operation of the Laudian Code, the Hebdomadal Board, the Vice-Chancellor, Proctors and Heads of Houses, had become more and more the ruling influence in the University. Congregation, the old Congregation of Regents, with no power to control the decisions of the Board, had become principally concerned with the granting of dispensations and degrees. And Convocation, though depending for its initiative on the Hebdomadal Board, had become more than ever the supreme authority. Its reserves of voters included all Regents in Arts whose names were on the books of any College or Hall, and they could always be called in to determine large issues. The interference of non-resident voters is no modern innovation in Oxford life.

"Tis so! . . . some horrid Plot is brewing . . .

No less than *Alma Mater's* ruin.

Now fly to ev'ry Whig and Tory

The hast'ning Letters circ'latory:

'Come up by such a Day *per fidem*,

'And shew that you are *semper idem*'.

Each honest Parson leaves his Hay,
And whips in e're the voting Day."¹

The Code itself, when ratified and sealed, had been deposited in the University Archives in 1636. But no printed edition of it was issued until 1768; and this edition, kept up to date by the publication of subsequent Addenda, is perhaps the only example of a book which can show a century and a half of continuous growth.² This edition contained the amendments adopted up to 1767. But the University caused some confusion by inserting in it later without notice certain changes which were not actually made till a much later date.³ The printed Code may have helped to revive the memory of Laud's educational system, the old rules insisting upon disputations as the test of learning, and the rules, new in Laud's day, for a genuine *viva voce* examination, conducted by the Regent Masters, particularly for candidates for Arts degrees.⁴ But it must have helped also to remind Oxford teachers under King George III

¹ *Bodl. Quart. Record* (p. 305).

² See Mr. Gibson's detailed comments (*Bodl. Quart. Record*, IV, 271-4). The supplements issued from time to time were published in 1800 as *Addenda ad Corpus Stat. Univ. Oxon.* And again in 1825 a comprehensive supplement of all Statutes adopted between 1768 and 1825 appeared (*Ib.* p. 227).

³ Certain sheets merely were reprinted and substituted for the old. Compare, for instance, *Tit.* VII, S. ii, *Tit.* X, S. i, and *Tit.* XV in the Laudian Code and in the Code of 1768.

⁴ See *ante* (vol. II, pp. 327-8).

how far the system in existence had deteriorated from the old ideals. And more than one voice was raised, as the eighteenth century proceeded, to expose the "futility" of the exercises still maintained and the "distressing somnolency" into which the University had fallen.

John Napleton was a vigorous Tutor of Brasenose, determined to raise the standard of University education, and in 1773 he published anonymously some interesting *Considerations on the Public Exercises for the First and Second Degrees*.¹ Napleton set out the formal conditions which Bachelors and Masters still had to comply with. For the Bachelor there were three principal requirements, first, *Disputationes in Parviso*, secondly, *Answering under Bachelor*, and, thirdly, *Examination*. The first consisted of disputations in grammar or logic three days a week in full term. Every student had to take part in these "generals" twice, and to listen to other students doing so. In his third year he was created a "Senior Soph." After that he went into the Schools each term and proposed one syllogism *juramenti gratia*: "doing juraments" was the popular term. The fact that, in the absence of Proctors and Regents, no one superintended the proceedings added to their unsatisfactory nature. *Answering under Bachelor* meant more disputations, in which a Bachelor acted as Moderator—three questions in logic, or else in grammar, rhetoric, politics or ethics—which were taken twice in the third or fourth year. And the old public *viva voce Examination*, in grammar, in knowledge of Latin, in rhetoric, logic, ethics, geometry, and in the classics of Greece, by three Regent Masters nominated in rotation by the Senior Proctor, had come to mean practically a private examination by three examiners chosen often by the candidate himself.

For the Master's degree the statutory requirements were more serious at Oxford than at Cambridge. There was, first, *Determination*, a great ceremony on Ash Wednesday, when the Dean of every College, after service at St. Mary's, walked in procession with his Determining Bachelors to the Schools and held a disputation lasting for four hours. During the Lenten days which followed every Determiner had to hold two disputations, generally in logic, and to show what his knowledge of Aristotle was worth. For the Master's degree, again, there were *Disputationes apud Augustinenses*—"doing Austins"—held for two hours once a week in full term. Every Bachelor had to take part in these at least once after Determination. Thirdly, there were *Disputationes Quodlibeticae*, also necessary once after Determination.

¹ Mr. Wordsworth comments on this pamphlet (*Scholae Academicæ*, 215 sq.).

They involved responding to some Regent Master on three questions presumably arranged beforehand, and responding to any other disputant on any question whatsoever. Fourthly, there were six *Solennes Lectiones*, once original dissertations in Natural and Moral Philosophy, long since deteriorated into Wall Lectures and read to empty rooms. Fifthly, there were the *Binae Declamationes*, delivered from memory in presence of the Proctor.¹ And lastly, there was an *Examination* for the Mastership as for the Bachelorship, but on a larger scale, embracing not only the subjects of the earlier examination, but such subjects as philosophy and history, astronomy and Hebrew in its scope.

Napleton was not content to rehearse the requirements of this venerable system. He pointed out its inadequacy and its decay. He found the questions trite, the disputations languid, the examinations robbed of their old publicity and degenerating into farce. Supervision was often entirely wanting. Some of the old conditions were habitually neglected. Some of the old exercises had "sunk into lifeless unedifying formalities." He did not complain of the subjects studied, though he would have added a much larger share of mathematics, some portions of Scripture, and the Thirty-Nine Articles to the list. But he would have gone to the root of the matter, and have made the examinations real. He would have fixed dates for them. He would have insisted on publicity. He would have held them in the presence of Congregation in the Theatre or the Schools. And he would have arranged the successful candidates in three classes, publishing the names in the first and the second class alone.

Napleton was no solitary critic. Vicesimus Knox, a well-known and popular essayist, who joined St. John's College two years before Napleton's pamphlet appeared, and who was an active Fellow there till he became Headmaster of Tonbridge School in 1778, has painted in stronger and livelier colours a system which he looked on as disgraceful. Disputations, he declared, in the public Schools might sound like a formidable ordeal. "But, on attention, the fear will vanish, and contempt supply its place."

"Two boys or men, as they call themselves, agree to *do generals* together. The first step in this mighty work is to procure arguments. These are always handed down, from generation to generation, on

¹ Efforts had been made in 1652 and again in 1662 to substitute these two declamations, as I understand, for the six lectures mentioned above. (See *Addenda to Statutes*, Griffiths' edition, 299, and my earlier volume, II, 324.) But it is evident from the statements of Napleton, Knox and Ayliffe that both, in form at least, survived. One of Napleton's suggestions was to introduce declamations in the Theatre, either Latin or English, for the Bachelor's degree.

long slips of paper, and consist of foolish syllogisms on foolish subjects, of the formation or the signification of which the respondent and opponent seldom know more than an infant in swaddling clothes. . . . When the important day arrives, the two doubtful disputants go into a large dusty room, full of dirt and cobwebs, with walls and wainscot decorated with the names of former disputants, who, to divert the tedious hours, cut out their names with their penknives, or wrote verses with a pencil. Here they sit in mean desks, opposite to each other, from one o'clock till three. Not once in a hundred times, does any officer enter; and, if he does, he hears one syllogism or two, and then makes a bow, and departs, as he came and remained, in solemn silence. The disputants then return to the amusement of cutting the desks, carving their names, or reading Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, or some other edifying novel."¹

There is much more of the same description: and it must be remembered that these are not the random shafts of a *Terrae Filius*, but the sober reflections of a scholar and Headmaster, who did not hesitate to address the Chancellor of the University on the subject. The greatest dunce, we are told, competing for a Bachelor's degree, could get "his *testimonium* signed with as much ease and credit as the finest genius." The candidates provided themselves with *schemes* or little books of stock questions: and the examiners, having done the same thing in their day, knew just what questions they were expected to ask. When it came to translating English into Latin, the Masters showed their wit and jocularly. "I have known the questions on this occasion to consist of an inquiry into the pedigree of a racehorse." Familiarities of this nature were commonest when the examiners were "pot companions of the candidate," which was not unusual, for it was thought good management to supply some of the jolly young Masters with port-wine. Then, if no official happened to interrupt them—that would be "reckoned very *ungenteel*"—examiners and candidates betook themselves to gossip, to the newspapers or to a novel, till the clock struck and the farce came to an end. The declamations, Knox admitted, would have been useful, if they had not always been carelessly performed. But *determining*, *doing quodlibets* and *doing austins* had become merely "contemptible *minutiae*," eked out with formalities too tedious to explain. And the examination for the Mastership was in reality no more serious than the examination for the Bachelor's degree. The majority of candidates were not residents but *term-trotters*,² men who spent just enough weeks in the University

¹ After this exercise, Knox adds, they have a right to the title of *Sophs*. I quote from Knox's *Essay On some Parts of the Discipline in our English Universities*, published in 1778, and reprinted in Miss Quiller-Couch's *Reminiscences of Oxford*.

² Possibly this and some other of Knox's statements should be taken with a little reserve. Cox speaks of "term-trotting" as a practice confined to the Halls and in his day never heard of (*Recollections*, 27, n.).

during the year to qualify them according to the letter of the Statutes. The exercises required were in many respects the same as those done before. They raised no emulation. They conferred no honour. They promoted no improvement. They only wasted time and lowered the University in the respect of its own members. Knox boldly begged the Prime Minister to call in Parliament to revise the Statutes and customs of the University, to abolish useless and antiquated forms, to alter and diminish the oaths required, to insist on longer residence, more discipline, less luxury, to put down the privileges of Gentlemen Commoners, to increase the duties and the pay of College Tutors, to make the education offered at Oxford worthy of the name.¹

Knox's slashing attack on the examination system was echoed by others entitled to a hearing. Lord Eldon's succinct and surprising account of his own experience in 1770 has been accepted by high authority.²

"An examination for a degree at Oxford was a farce in my time. I was examined in Hebrew and in History. 'What is the Hebrew for the place of a skull?'—I replied 'Golgotha.'—'Who founded University College?'—I stated, (though, by the way, the point is sometimes doubted), 'that King Alfred founded it.'—'Very well, sir,' said the Examiner, 'you are competent for your degree.'"

Twenty years later George Cox, a future Bedel of the University, found nothing but a formal repetition of threadbare questions and answers, transmitted in manuscript from man to man, and admitted unblushingly by the Masters of the Schools. Scrupulous men "hung back from the farce" and demanded a new Examination Statute. But each year a few Masters were found ready for the function, and ready enough to dine with the candidates whom they so easily passed.

"Now, good Regent-Master, the tables are turn'd
Many thanks for your friendly Testamur;
After such a day's work we our dinner have earn'd,
And what honest fellow need say more?"³

Thomas Dibdin of St. John's College, a studious lad, with Hume for his "sofa companion," with Boswell to pore over in the College garden and D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature* to read far into the night, complained that his College exercises were "trite, dull, and un instructive," and that beyond the College borders the University was asleep. The Statutes were a sort

¹ See Knox's *Letter to the Rt. Hon. Lord North*.

² *Oxford University Commission Report*, 1852 (p. 59). Cox, more sceptical, treats the story as "a *post prandium* joke" (*Recollections*, 34, n.).
Ib. (36-7).

of *caput mortuum*, and yet a sacred boundary beyond which it was sacrilege to pass. There was plenty of individual energy but no real life in the system. The laws of the University "only encumbered exertion and darkened hope."¹ And Daniel Wilson, a future Bishop, so fond of study as an undergraduate that he would rise at five in the morning and dedicate to multifarious reading almost every hour of an unusually long day, bore the same testimony to the uselessness of the old examinations. A man chose not only his own books, but his own examiners. The easiest books and the most easy-going teachers were naturally preferred. No audience was present. Masters and candidates were quickly satisfied and lost no time in adjourning for a hospitable meal.²

But for years before the century ended this system had become intolerable to all who cared for education. Three notable Heads of Colleges were determined to reform it, and the lead which they gave at Oriel, Christ Church and Balliol, proved too strong for the most conservative or lethargic to resist. In 1781 John Eveleigh was elected Provost of Oriel. In 1783 Cyril Jackson, already a Canon and in his earlier days a Student of Christ Church, was appointed Dean of his old College. And in 1785 John Parsons became a Fellow of Balliol, destined to pass on to the Mastership in 1798. Eveleigh and Parsons had both been Scholars of Wadham. Eveleigh had matriculated in 1766, a Devonshire boy, gentle, intelligent and good-looking. Thomas Mozley asserted later³ that the neighbourhood of Plymptree was full of Eveleighs, all, like the Provost of Oriel, fair-haired and fair-complexioned, all "mild, inoffensive, and unambitious," and all, in their eyes or their hose or their neck-cloths, "strangely fond of light blue." Parsons, several years younger than Eveleigh, was the son of a butler of Corpus, and had been educated principally at Magdalen College School. His sturdy Toryism, which won Lord Eldon's friendship but did not detract from his vigour as an educational reformer, may have helped to make him a Bishop. But his own merits and his hard work made him for years a strong influence in Oxford. And Jackson, once the Prince of Wales' Tutor,⁴ and the friend and adviser of many well-known public men, filled for long a distinguished and conspicuous position in the most conspicuous

¹ See *Reminiscences of Oxford*, O.H.S. (216-18).

² See Bateman's *Life of Daniel Wilson* (I, 49). Wilson went up to St. Edmund Hall in 1798, and found able and interesting men there. He looked back "with fond delight" to the influence of the Vice-Principal, Isaac Crouch (*Ib.* 51).

³ *Reminiscences* (I, 80).

⁴ Sub-preceptor under Dr. Markham to the two eldest sons of George III.

and distinguished way. With such leaders the cause of reform found powerful support. Opposition of course there was from men of vigorous prejudice like Dr. Tatham. But Tutors of character like Henry Kett of Trinity¹ threw their weight into the reformers' scale. Even New College began to talk of an examination for degrees. And in the year 1800 the long-debated New Examination Statute received the assent of Congregation.

"To the end that the learning and progress in polite literature of all persons respectively who take degrees in arts, or who become inceptors in civil law before they do so in arts, may be more certainly ascertained by the Congregation of Regents, it is enacted that each individual shall undergo an examination before he is admitted to supplicate for his grace; but seeing that from various reasons the old practice of examination by the masters necessarily regent is very ill adapted to the present times, the University hath willed and decreed that six public examiners shall be appointed out of the number of those who have previously become inceptors in arts or in civil law."²

An examination was imposed on Masters as well as Bachelors of Arts. The examiners were sworn to take their duties very seriously, to set aside all fear or favour, to give no testimonial to an unworthy candidate and to refuse none to a worthy. Three of them at least were to be present at every examination. The utmost publicity was invited. "It is a most desirable and momentous object," the Statute declared, "that as many members of the University as possible, of all orders and degrees, should be present at the examinations." Every candidate who applied for examination for himself must previously have been present at the examination of others. The thirteenth term from matriculation was the earliest date allowed for the test. The process was to occupy at least three hours, from ten to one. Only six undergraduates were to be examined in one day. The language used might be either Latin or English. The old familiar subjects, grammar, rhetoric and logic, the old sciences and philosophies, still held the field. But stress was laid on a knowledge of Latin and Greek. Facility of expression in Latin was essential. Humane Literature and at least three of the best Greek and Roman writers were required for every degree. The Elements of Religion and the Doctrinal Articles of 1562 were

¹ On "Horse" Kett, a well-known figure, see Mr. Tuckwell's *Reminiscences of Oxford* (15-16) and *D.N.B.*

² Two were to be nominated by the Vice-Chancellor and two by each Proctor, and approved by both Convocation and Congregation: but no two examiners might belong to the same College or Hall. I quote from Mr. G. R. M. Ward's translation of *Tit. IX, S. ii, c. 1* (*Oxford University Statutes*, II, 29).

not less necessary.¹ But the examiners intended nothing harsh or severe :

“We would study mildness in every particular, provided it be not of a kind to give the appearance of encouragement to the idleness of young men.”²

Side by side with this public Pass Examination certain Extraordinary Examinations were also to be held, opportunities of “giving distinctions to Persons approving themselves to the Examiners in a superior way to the rest.” The subject matter in that case was to be the same. All six examiners were to be present. And candidates thought worthy of being reported to the venerable House of Congregation, as having made the most laudable progress in the elements of religion, in the arts and sciences required and in humane literature, were to have their names—provided they were not more than twelve in number—entered on a paper in due order, “so that an opinion of their merits may be formed at once, on sight of the paper, from the very places which the individuals occupy.”³

The Honours Examination at Oxford was established. But it seemed at first superfluous to have limited the number of candidates to twelve. In 1802, when the new Statute came into operation, only two applicants appeared to “challenge the Honours.” Provost Copleston has left an account of “little Hendy,” afterwards a Fellow of Oriel, who delighted the examiners with his prowess.

“He was tried for two days successively and during four hours each day, before a most crowded audience in Divinity, Ethics, Rhetoric, Logic, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and the chief Latin and Greek classics.”⁴

For a nervous man it must have been a severe ordeal. In 1803 there were four candidates, in 1804 only three, and in 1805 only one.⁵ The raising of the standard for Pass men also caused some falling-off in candidates. In the years which followed it was thought advisable to revise the arrangements. In 1803 the Statute was remodelled—“as we already find that several points may be altered for the better.” Four public examiners

¹ The regulations occupy *Tit. IX, S. ii* of the Statutes. For the M.A. degree the examination was fuller than for the B.A. It included metaphysics, history and Hebrew.

² Ward (II, 33).

³ Ward (II, 37). The elements of religion were an essential part of both examinations.

⁴ See Copleston's letter printed long afterwards in the *Oxford Magazine* for Nov. 2, 1887. Hendy died prematurely.

⁵ Cox (*Recollections*, 46)

were substituted for six.¹ Certain periods of the year were assigned for the examinations. Special emphasis was laid on the elements of religion as claiming the first place among the subjects dealt with. The definition of Humane Literature was expanded. It was decreed that every candidate should as far as possible "be dispatched at one spell." Several other points were amplified and modifications of detail introduced. In 1807 more important changes were effected. The examination for the Master's degree dropped out. A School of Mathematics and Physics, separated from the School of *Literae Humaniores*, appeared. And in both Schools the system of Classes was introduced. The names in each Class were to be in alphabetical order, those "worthy of some eminent commendation" in the First, and those who showed "laudable progress" in the Second. The others who satisfied the examiners fell into a third category, hardly worthy of the name of Class at all.

The changes went on. In 1808 Responsions in the modern sense came in. An elementary examination was established, in Greek and Latin, logic and geometry, to be passed generally in the second year;² and the old scholastic exercises known for so long as Responsions ceased. In 1809 the Second Class in the Final Schools was divided into two by "an arbitrary line," and a Third Class virtually created. Academic wits commiserated the candidates below the line.

"Your case, Sir, is hard, neither leo nor pard;
But how would you have yourself reckon'd?
To call you a 'Third' would be false and absurd,
But indeed I can't call you a 'Second'." ³

The division into classes was proving popular. In 1808 Robert Peel established a record with his Double First, while Richard Whately took a Double Second. At one examination in 1809 Brasenose monopolised the only three places in the First Class.⁴ The examination was still principally oral: construing played an important part. In 1825 a new Statute, premising that the number of candidates was so great that undue labour was thrown on the examiners, introduced further alterations of substance. Separate examiners were appointed for the two Schools, the total number being raised to nine, six for *Literae Humaniores*

¹ This number was increased in 1825. Cox notes that in 1803 for the first time the Honours men were admitted Bachelors without having to determine (*Ib.* 47-8).

² But till 1850 this amounted only to parts of one Greek and one Latin author, a little ill-performed translation, and three books of Euclid or a part of Aldrich's Compendium of Logic. (See *Report of Commission* of 1852, p. 65.)

³ Cox (*Recollections*, 107).

⁴ *Ib.* (58).

and three for Mathematics and Physical Science. Three separate Classes were now clearly established for the successful candidates in alphabetical order, with a fourth for those who satisfied the examiners but were not found worthy of more definite distinction. As the number of candidates grew, as subjects like history, philosophy, composition came to count for more, and construing to count for less, the importance attaching to paper-work increased, though the old preference for oral examination lingered. And finally, in 1830, a Fourth Class in Honours was provided, and the Honours examination was separated from the examination for the ordinary Pass degree. The School of *Literae Humaniores* now included a good deal besides classics. It covered ancient history, rhetoric and poetry. It covered moral and political philosophy. It allowed the ancient writers to be illustrated by modern works.¹ But with every change that tightened or improved the system, the authorities, remembering the mildness of mediaeval days, reminded the young community of candidates that a spirit of indulgence would always be present in their hearts. Daniel Wilson, one of the first to take a Master's degree under the new system, is a witness that the promise of indulgence was kept. He could not help smiling afterwards at his friends' anxiety for him.² And it is clear that, if any severity was shown at the outset, it very quickly disappeared.

II

The men who raised the standard of University education raised the standard in their own Colleges as well. Of the great Dean, Cyril Jackson, we have many glimpses, though his diaries seem to have been destroyed. The fame of Christ Church then stood high: Dean Markham had enjoyed a wide reputation: and the College was not unaware of its claims. Christ Church pride, like London pride, was said *regnante Cyrillo* to be classified as a growth apart.³ Jackson's credit in Oxford was enhanced by his credit in the world outside. He took pleasure in training statesmen. Canning and Peel were among his pupils. Politicians of an older day were among his confidants.⁴ The Dean had a great company of high-spirited young men to deal with. "He had a wonderful tact," says Cox, "in managing that most

¹ Other modifications were adopted in 1826, 1833-4, 1840 and 1849, before the important new Statute of 1850 came in.

² Though six candidates were rejected that year. (See Bateman's *Life of Daniel Wilson* (I, 65-7). ³ Cox (163).

⁴ See, for example, the references in the *Diaries of the first Earl of Malmesbury* (IV, 255-6), in Dean Pellew's *Life of the first Viscount Sidmouth* (II, 302-4) and in the *Diary of Charles Abbot, Lord Colchester* (III, 3-4).

unmanageable class of Undergraduates, Noblemen." He enforced discipline and stimulated work in all alike. He was no mean Greek scholar, though his critics alleged that literary vanity prevented his venturing into print. He was always begging his young men to read Homer, who "alone of mortal men thoroughly understood the human mind." He was a student of botany. He was fond of architecture. He was fond of travelling, and would often take a favourite pupil on his journeys with him, when he talked to every man he met. He was really fond of rewarding merit, though tradition says that there were exceptions to this rule, and that he once cheerfully appointed a chorister who confessed to having no more ear than a stone and no more voice than an ass.¹ He chose excellent Tutors for the College, kept up the level of teaching and examination. He was for ever entertaining and encouraging his students, and they repaid him with unstinted admiration. Jackson's authority at Christ Church came to be unbounded. "It was an absolute monarchy of the most ultra-oriental character," writes Heber later; "whereas the reigning dean² is as little attended to, to all appearance, as the peishwah of the Mahrattas." Some members of other Colleges thought Jackson cold and arbitrary: but those who knew him best denied the charge. Some thought him too much inclined to confuse innovation with revolution: he lived in trying times. And there may have been a touch of pomp and self-importance in some little incidents connected with him, in his "cloud-compelling" wig, in his condescending reference in a sermon to the "*almost classical* Greek of St. James," in his lofty refusals of Bishopric and Archbishopric: "nolo episcopari—try Will, he'll take it"; and Will, his brother, did. No man, we are told, who left so few tangible records of greatness, ever so impressed himself on his surroundings. Even Canning would allow himself to be scolded; "but then, as I tell him," wrote Jackson to Lord Sidmouth, "before he gives me the opportunity of scolding, the mischief is already done."³ Even his successor in the Deanery copied his mannerisms, and poised his cap on the bridge of his nose. But there are many references to Jackson's kindness, to his keen and ready sympathy, to his considerate treatment of young men. To an ungracious critic like Kirkpatrick Sharpe he was uniformly gracious.⁴ To a strange young

¹ The story is told by Canon Oakeley, on the authority of Bishop Lloyd of Oxford (*Reminiscences of Oxford*, O.H.S., 320).

² Dean Hall, Jackson's successor, in his day an efficient Tutor (*Ib.* 241).

³ *Life of Lord Sidmouth* (II, 303).

⁴ Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe went to Christ Church in 1798 and spoke at times rather bitterly about it. See his *Letters* (vol. I, p. 11).

applicant like Thomas De Quincey he showed himself approachable and friendly. And in a few special pupils like Robert Peel he took a special pride. He writes to Peel after his maiden speech in the House of Commons :

" I am very much pleased—more than I thought I could have been with anything of the sort—and if I had you here I would feed you with ling and cranberry tart."

He recommends him to read Homer daily to elevate his mind. A few weeks later he writes to Peel after his second speech in Parliament. He hears the young orator has surpassed himself. He supposes therefore he has been reading Homer. He has only one conclusion to draw :

" Work very hard and unremittingly. Work, as I used to say sometimes, like a tiger, or like a dragon, if dragons work more and harder than tigers.

Don't be afraid of killing yourself. . . .

Be assured that I shall pursue you, as long as I live, with a jealous and watchful eye. Woe be to you if you fail me."¹

There is both charm and affection in Cox's picture of the famous Dean after his retirement in 1809, sitting, though without his academical paraphernalia, much as he is represented in Chantrey's statue—a fine, venerable, old man, with nothing decidedly clerical about him, with his plain brown wig, his black straw hat, his hands clasped on the top of his stick, one of them holding a golden snuff-box, talking eagerly of Oxford interests, and looking " greater and grander " than he had looked in his greatest days, when he walked in stateliness through Tom Quadrangle, every head, " even of Tutors and Noblemen," bared as he went by.²

Christ Church in Jackson's day was not only famous but crowded. De Quincey reports the Dean as saying that he had not a dog-kennel untenanted. It was " so completely cramm'd," says another contemporary, " that shelving garrets and even unwholesome cellars, were inhabited by young gentlemen, in whose fathers' families the servants could not be less liberally accommodated."³ Rank was very much in evidence. Young clerics with connections like Edward Vernon passed quickly to

¹ Dean Jackson's two letters of Jan. 28 and April 1, 1810, signed C. J., are among the Peel papers at the British Museum, and have been printed by Mr. Parker in his *Life of Peel* (I, 27-9).

² *Recollections* (165). But scouts had to keep their caps on, because the Dean had taken one of them for an undergraduate once.

³ *Reminiscences of Oxford*, O.H.S. (174). George Colman the younger was there just before Jackson became Dean. But the College was just as full later, and in 1820 Oakeley was actually sent home " for want of a place where to lay my head " (*Ib.* 307).



OLD GATE OF CANTERBURY COLLEGE
From the painting by J. B. Malchair

Canonries, Bishoprics, Archbishoprics.¹ Cox speaks of the show of gold tassels in the College, and pictures the young men of fashion at St. Mary's in their full-dress gowns on Court-days, their servants robing and unrobing them at the Church gate.² But it is satisfactory to hear that young Henry Fynes Clinton found some of them at any rate of regular habits and disposed to work. Fynes Clinton himself, who appreciated Jackson's kindness and encouragement, was no bad example of a reading man, with his passion for Greek literature, his intimacy with Thomas Gaisford, John Conybeare, John Symmons, his plaint that Greek learning, when he went up in 1799, was "perhaps at the lowest point of degradation," his calculation that he read in his seven or eight years at Oxford only 69,322 verses of Greek poets and 2,913 pages of prose authors, and his grave regret that in a cultivated society so many authors, Isocrates, Isaeus, Lysias, even Plutarch and Plato, were never read at all:

"none of the philosophical works of Cicero; not Stobaeus, not Athenaeus, not Arrian; nor Dio Chrysostom, nor Dio³ Cassius, nor Dionysius of Halicarnassus."³

Gaisford, a far greater scholar, matriculated in 1797, and was the most notable of Jackson's Students and Tutors, happiest perhaps among his folios, less happy, it has been suggested, in his dealings with men of the world.⁴ Henry Hallam came up from Eton a year or two earlier, precociously intelligent, to discard his verses for the sterner toils of history. Thomas Acland, "the finest gentleman in the West of England," graduated and married in 1808. Of men of the world indeed there may have been too many in the great, crowded College. For one shy, serious-minded student, who came up some ten or twelve years after Dean Jackson had retired, has left a rather gloomy picture of the heartless and boisterous excitement of the place, and of the low tone and vicious conversation which he found in every set he came across.⁵

But in Jackson's day there were out-standing names. George Canning had won celebrity at Eton by his brains, his wit, his

¹ Vernon entered Christ Church in 1774 and became a Canon there in 1785. He succeeded Markham as Archbishop of York in 1807 and took the name of Harcourt in 1831.

² *Recollections* (163 n.).

³ Clinton's *Literary Remains* are in part reprinted by Miss Quiller-Couch (*Reminiscences of Oxford*, O.H.S., 228-39).

⁴ Gaisford became Regius Professor of Greek about the beginning of 1812 and Dean of Christ Church in 1831.

⁵ Frederick Oakeley. But there must surely be some exaggeration in his view (*Reminiscences of Oxford*, 302-4).

precocious powers of writing and his unquenchable gaiety of heart. In the autumn of 1788,¹ a singularly handsome boy, already dreaming of a man's ambitions, he appeared at Christ Church, to find himself there also a centre for admiring friends. If he missed some Etonian companions like Bobus Smith and Hookham Frere, who had helped him to make the *Microcosm* famous, he found others, not Etonians only, ready enough to follow his lead. He wrote Latin verse so well, even on a subject like the Pilgrimage to Mecca,² that he gained the Chancellor's Prize in 1789. He threw himself into life at Oxford, as he threw himself later into politics, with a fascination not easy to resist. He found contemporaries at Christ Church³ as deeply interested in public things as he was, and even there he began to associate them with his fortunes—Sturges Bourne, a life-long friend and colleague, Granville Leveson-Gower, afterwards the first Earl Granville, Lord Boringdon, who had already come into his inheritance, Henry Fox, the third and the best-remembered Lord Holland, Lord Morpeth, an accomplished scholar, afterwards sixth Earl of Carlisle, and above all Robert Jenkinson,⁴ who had come up from Charterhouse two years earlier, and who, with little of the young Etonian's brilliancy, was destined to succeed fifteen years before him to the great place which Canning only for a moment filled. Canning's circle at Christ Church may have been but a small element in the College; he spoke once contemptuously of the "emptiness and vanity of the generality of good folks" there. But he did his best to stimulate and cheer them. He and his friends formed a debating society, which adopted a special brown coat with velvet cuffs and collar, and with buttons stamped with the initials of Demosthenes, Cicero, Pitt and Fox.⁴ The story goes that, warned by Dean Jackson, Canning suddenly resigned from the society and destroyed its prospects. But he made it a vehicle for his wit and mischief first. He had one friend, William Douglas, whose heaviness of bulk, and of intelligence perhaps, he mocked at. Douglas was persuaded to propose disloyal Whig toasts. Jenkinson's sobriety was scandalously flouted. Opinions, it seems, were recklessly asserted and disowned.

¹ In the Dean's Admission Book Canning is entered under the *Commensales* on Nov. 17, 1787, and under the *Alumni* in 1789.

² "Iter ad Meccam, religionis causa susceptum."

³ There were others too like Lord Henry Spencer, William Douglas, Thomas Wallace, Charles Ellis, William Drummond, John Newton and Nicholas Vansittart, afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer. Some were a little older than the others.

⁴ The authority for this is J. F. Newton's *Early Days of George Canning* (p. 7). Among Canning's biographers Mr. Temperley has many interesting points on Canning's early life.

" Thus Canning's laugh
 Could make the raff
 In name of Whig to glory ;
 But now his friend
 Has served his end
 We'll laugh him back a Tory." ¹

Canning's heart was set on politics, and he was soon reading for the Bar and hoping for a place in the political arena.² Many Whigs were reconsidering their views under stress of the French Revolution, and in 1792 Canning was writing to his friends about the possibility of his joining Pitt. But his change of view was genuine, though the sterner Whigs made merry about it in 1793 :

" *Men's* turning their coats such a practice is grown
 That with satire 'tis vain to attack it,
 But sure till this time no example was shown
 Of a *Child* ever turning his jacket." ³

In the same year Canning was writing verses for Christ Church men to recite on the installation of the Duke of Portland as Chancellor :

" Oxford, who late o'er North's lamented bier
 In splendid sorrow, pour'd the pious tear,"

was invited to remember with high triumph the glories of her Portland's name.⁴ Early in the next year he was confessing to his friend John Sneyd that his maiden speech in Parliament had come off very well. He could not repeat what Pitt had said about it : but it would " make your blood curdle, your hair stand on end, and your silver turn black in your pocket." ⁵ Amid the political convulsions of the years that followed, Canning would gladly have found a refuge at Oxford. He longed to represent the University, and in 1816 and 1817, when Speaker Abbot's retirement was expected, his nomination was widely canvassed. In 1817 Dean Hall of Christ Church proposed him, but the old Dean, Jackson, knew it would not do. The University would tolerate no friend of Catholic Emancipation.

¹ See Capt. Bagot's volumes on *George Canning and his Friends* (I, 22).

² There are two interesting entries in the *Chapter Minute Books* at Christ Church, one dated 22 June 1791, Ordered " that Canning Student of this house have his Grace for the degree of B.A.," the other dated 29 July 1800, " Mr. Canning having notified to the Dean his Marriage, his Student's place is declared void," etc.

³ This is the version of Col. Fitzpatrick's epigram which Canning sent in August 1793 to his friend John Sneyd (Bagot, I, 48).

⁴ Burke was present at the *Encaenia* that year.

⁵ *Ib.* (I, 46-7).

"*En attendant*," writes a shrewd observer, "not only Van but Peele (would you believe it?) nibbles at the University, and (would you believe it?) there is not a man among us who would not vote for that enlightened cotton weaver against Canning."¹

In 1817 Peel carried the day. Ten years later still another Eton boy of genius, "bred under the shadow" of Canning's name and destined to follow him very soon to Christ Church, was recording in school verse dignified by its sincerity his visit to Westminster to stand beside his hero's grave.

Canning, Peel, Gladstone—few Colleges can show such a succession in the space of forty years; and Lord Derby and Lord Shaftesbury belong to the same group. Peel was one of Jackson's latest pupils and perhaps of all the one he valued most. The smiling, fair-haired boy, who came up from Harrow in October 1805, a little indolent, it may be, physically, for all his strength and inches—he had never cared much for games at Harrow, though in his last year he had played football hard and well—fond of field sports and country life and manly exercise—even at Harrow he had contrived to keep a gun—always an indifferent rider, as a whole nation was one day to realise with a shock of grief, but in things of the mind overflowing with energy, and as set upon acquiring knowledge as he was modest in displaying what he knew, was a type of Gentleman Commoner whom Tutors and not Tutors only loved. He had "misspent" his time at Harrow, he said afterwards: but no one else seemed conscious of this. "I was always in scrapes, and he never," said Byron with more accuracy: they had acted together in the School Speeches of 1804. Perhaps the recollection of the four other future Prime Ministers gathered under Dr. Drury at Harrow² weighed upon Peel's mind, though there is no evidence that they ever worked as hard as he. Between leaving school and going up to Christ Church he determined to improve his mathematics, and his father induced a Senior Wrangler to coach him at home.

"*Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna*," the boy of seventeen wrote upon his desk. But the mathematics did not make him neglect his classics. "Harrow has sent us up at least one good scholar in Mr. Peel," Dean Jackson remarked a few months later. Gaisford was Peel's first Tutor at Christ Church. But he was soon handed on to Charles Lloyd, a brilliant teacher little older than himself. Lloyd became a famous lecturer in theology, for a short time Bishop of Oxford, and till his death

¹ Bagot (I, 27). Lyttelton's letter is dated 27 June, 1816: "Van" is Vansittart.

² Spencer Perceval, Goderich, Aberdeen and Palmerston, of whom the last three were little older than Peel.

his pupil's confidential friend. His odd and lovable ways, his long, loose coat, his constant snuff-taking, his genial habit of kicking his pupils on the shins, pulling their ears and tweaking their noses, were accepted, it seems, as signs of approval and affection by the young men he taught.¹ Peel read Homer and Cicero and Quintilian, studied the arts of oratory which he hoped to practise. His brother doubted "whether any one ever read harder than Robert" for two or three terms before his examination. A few Harrow friends were with him at Christ Church. But there were always more friends forthcoming for a man with a happy temper and a singularly noble mind. His examination in 1808 was a popular triumph. "Expectation was not disappointed," wrote his friend Dawson to Mark Drury, his old house-master. "The crowd that went to hear him resembled more the assembly of a public theatre than that attending a scholastic examination." The examiners seemed as "diffident" as the examined. Divinity was taken first. Then Aristotle followed: one flowing, comprehensive answer was enough on that.

"In his construing of Sophocles, Aeschylus, Pindar and Lucretius² it seemed as if the whole assembly was actuated with one sentiment of applause."

And these classical performances were only half the battle for the Double First. "I can assure you," Dawson wound up, "in my opinion, the time is well spent in writing about such a man as Peel."

Within six months of this examination Peel was in the House of Commons. His father wrote in 1809 with "unspeakable pleasure" of all that he had done. Dean Jackson rejoiced in his maiden speech in the next year. In 1812 he was Irish Secretary and firmly planted on the ladder of success.

"We ought all to be Proud," wrote his grandfather, "in having such a Relation. God Bless you, and send you Health, and you have nothing to Fear."

To one other correspondent in his family, however, Peel's accession to the Irish Office suggested other thoughts. His brother John wrote from Dr. Bloxham's at Rugby to remind his dearest Robert "of a thing very necessary to school boys," while congratulating him on the situation and salary which he had secured.

¹ See *Reminiscences of Oxford*, O.H.S. (328).

² Dr. Butler, a devoted Harrovian but a Cambridge man, delighted to repeat the story that in construing the line *Suave, mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis*, Peel translated *suave* "it is a source of gratification."

"You will not forget to send us some money and as there are three who crave your bounty a good handsome round sum will be agreeable *fretus tuâ beneficentiâ*. I do not mention the sum but leave it all to yourself."

Unhappily second thoughts prevailed. John proceeded to compare with disagreeable emphasis the gifts lately contributed by William and by Edmund—"he who has scarcely as many hundreds as you have thousands"—with the entire absence of receipts from Phoenix Park, and concluded with the hope that "some latent spark of generosity" still dwindled in the bosom of the Minister of State. Stung by this shameless importunity, the young Minister replied with more than Ministerial gravity.

"I must presume that your papa when you left home gave you what he thought sufficient for any expenses which you ought to incur, and if I have his permission I will increase that sum to any extent that he thinks right."

Five years later, when John was a Lieutenant in the Army, commissioned only three days before Waterloo, Robert Peel was invited to accept the honour of representing his University in the House of Commons. His speech three weeks earlier against Catholic Emancipation had made him a popular champion. His old Tutor Lloyd pressed for his nomination at Christ Church, carried it against Dean Hall, and posting through the night to London presented it to Peel next morning. Canning congratulated him with dignity and kindness; he had coveted the great distinction; did he reflect that he had gone up to Christ Church in the year when Peel was born? And Peel confessed to old Dean Jackson that "the paramount object of his ambition" was attained.¹

While Christ Church held the field in this way, not for fashion only but for some achievements in which fashion does not always take the lead, Balliol was quietly making progress too. Dr. Parsons only came into his kingdom when Dean Jackson stood at the height of his fame. But from 1785 onwards his influence had been slowly strengthening the College. The old Master, Theophilus Leigh, a typical representative of Jacobite Oxford, had died in 1785. For sixty years the ancient prejudices had been disturbed by little but internal quarrels. And Leigh's successor, Dr. Davey, is best known perhaps to posterity in Southey's *doggrel*, which found nothing to comment on except

¹ The originals of the letters quoted above are in the great collection of Peel papers at the British Museum, which begin only in 1808. But G. R. Dawson's letter to Mark Drury, dated Nov. 19, 1808, has been printed by Mr. Parker in his *Life of Sir Robert* (I, 22-3). For the University election of 1817 see Parker (I, 250-2).

his wig.¹ Balliol Fellowships were nominally open to Bachelors from other Colleges. But the eighteenth century fought hard against so inconsiderate an idea. College Visitors were inclined to think that Balliol places should be kept for Balliol Scholars.² And Dr. Davey could not refrain from expressing his astonishment at the readiness of Balliol Fellows to vote for "foreigners" rather than for Balliol men.³ Parsons himself had been once rejected on the ground that he was an outsider, and in 1807 he was called on by the Visitor to defend his action in preferring an *Extraneus* from Christ Church to three candidates from the College. But by that date the spirit of reform was awake. Parsons boldly declared that the outsider was elected because he was in all respects the best man. He thought the Dean had disgraced the College by setting "low and easy" works for the examination. And he prevailed on the Visitor to accept his view.⁴ In the new University examination, which Parsons did so much to institute, Balliol men, it is true, took their time in showing what they could achieve.⁵ But College teaching was soon in full swing. A College entrance-examination was established. College Collections graced or troubled every term. And when a Junior Common Room was formed, with a view perhaps to reviving the convivial habits of an earlier day, Parsons quashed it without hesitation and burned its rules upon his study fire. The Master's unbending Toryism in politics helped him, no doubt, to carry Tory feeling with him. If he reformed some of the University's abuses, he could maintain its privileges also. His influence in University affairs, scarcely diminished by a Bishopric, was as marked as in his administration of the College. He was for several years, says Cox, "the working man in the Hebdomadal Board." He found time to help the National Society. He preached effective sermons. In intimate talk he delighted his friends. One of them did not hesitate to call him a second Founder of his College. And it is at least true that he began to teach it new ideals of industry and conduct, which were to give it a high place in the ensuing age.

Even Parsons' influence, however, took time to permeate the College. Robert Southey, coming up in January 1793, was told by his Tutor, if the story be true, "you won't learn anything by my lectures; so if you have any studies of your own, you

¹ See *Reminiscences of Oxford*, O.H.S. (403 sq.).

² See, for instance, the Visitor's letter in the College Register dated 18 November 1780.

³ See Davis (*Balliol College*, 176).

⁴ See the papers in the College Archives which deal with the election of William Vaux in 1806.

⁵ Balliol obtained no First in mathematics till 1808, no First in classics till 1810, and no Double First till 1820 (Davis, 202).

had better pursue them.”¹ Brought up by a kindly but imperious maiden aunt, Southey had qualified for Oxford by writing in childhood an epic on Brute the Trojan. While at Westminster he had protested so boldly against the abuses of flogging that that great school had expelled him, and Dean Jackson at Christ Church had refused to take him in. At Balliol, though he at one time dreamed of becoming a Fellow, he expected to meet with little but “pedantry, prejudice, and aristocracy, from all of which good Lord deliver poor Robert Southey.” He had to learn “to pay respect to men remarkable only for great wigs and little wisdom.” He could not help asking whether it was not rather disgraceful, at a moment when Europe was “on fire with freedom,” to sit down and study Euclid or Grotius. And he noted among his undergraduate contemporaries “every species of abandoned excess.” But he followed his own course. He read on his own lines. He chose his own occupations, rowing and swimming among them, and he made a point of wearing his own hair. “The varlet,” said Byron, “was not an ill-looking knave.” Southey certainly was not afraid of study. He allowed himself only six hours in bed. He would get up at five to read Homer, and have to sustain himself with negus and bread and cheese. He carried Epictetus in his pocket. His friends included lovers of a State of Nature, who declined to drink wine or eat butter, and lovers of music who practised on the harpsichord, the fiddle and the flute. Oxford tradition might require him to write Latin verses on King Charles the Martyr. But he kept his enthusiasm for his own ideals and theories, for literature, for stoicism, for revolution, for romance. One Long Vacation was employed in writing a heroic poem on Joan of Arc. Robespierre and Wat Tyler suggested congenial topics for drama. Southey’s father, an embarrassed linen-draper, was already dead. But the young man could not see his way to read for Orders. And his engagement to the daughter of an unsuccessful manufacturer of sugar-pans, followed by his aunt’s uncompromising disapproval, must have disturbed his undergraduate career.

Still Southey’s years at Balliol left their mark.² It was there that in June 1794 he first met young Coleridge of Jesus College, Cambridge, poet, scholar, dreamer, ex-dragoon, who was to play so large a part in his subsequent adventures. Coleridge’s visit to Oxford was brief, but long enough for the two

¹ But the story may only mean that his Tutor thought him far too much occupied by his own ideas to attend to lectures at all. Southey matriculated in November 1792.

² His rooms were in Rat’s Castle, an old building near the South-west corner of Balliol, now replaced (*Life of Lord Coleridge*, I, 55).

young men to fascinate each other. Southey found in Coleridge "the strongest genius, the clearest judgment, the best heart." Coleridge "verily" liked not Oxford nor the inhabitants of it. But he thought Southey a nightingale, or rather a lark, among owls. Within a few weeks their ardent spirits were planning to lead, in the name of Pantisocracy, an ideal life beside the Susquehanna river. Pantisocracy and Aspheterism, Southey explained, were new words signifying the "equal government of all" and the "generalisation of individual property." For such views, mingled with other imprudences, his mother thought him mad and his aunt turned him out of doors. Before the year 1795 was over Southey and Coleridge were driven to abandon their design. By that time they had married sisters, and were pointing out each other's errors with the freedom which relationship allows. Southey's career at Balliol ended rather suddenly. But the friendships formed there and the tastes developed were not without result. The wayward undergraduate of 1793 and 1794 grew into one of the steadiest and most industrious of English literary men. The thought of how many mouths he had to feed out of one ink-stand became a sobering and inspiring recollection. He met his responsibilities with unfailing courage, and his old University paid homage to his achievements by the offer in 1820 of a Doctor's degree.¹

If Southey in 1793 was little troubled by College teaching, William Hamilton, on the other hand, a more profound philosopher, was at one time "so plagued by these foolish lectures of the College tutors," that he declared he had little time for anything else. But Hamilton must soon have cut himself free from such troubles, for his own Tutor, Powell, was a hermit living in the Tower over the College gate, and Dr. Parsons is said to have told a contemporary that, while Balliol would get the credit of Hamilton's scholarship, the College as a matter of fact would have done nothing for him. In later years Hamilton criticised the system of the University severely. But his letters to his mother in his early Balliol days give a pleasant picture of the life he led. He found Oxford in 1807-8 "a very comfortable place," and not expensive. He could live more cheaply there than anywhere else. He was very well. His appetite was excellent, and there was "very little occasion to use much wine." He found his lectures easy, thanks to the Greek he had learned in Scotland. Before long he was taking a course of anatomy too. He bought books, fascinating old manuscripts in a book-shop near St. Giles': but he found that books in Oxford

¹ Most of the references above to Southey's letters will be found in the *Life* by his son (vol. I, pp. 169-221).

sold "wonderfully high." He bought also Crabbe's poems and Dr. Reid's works in two volumes, and four volumes on Tacitus. He read Aristotle hard. Philosophic interests were not forgotten: Aunt James had sent him "the most terrible philippic in defence of the existence of women's souls." In November 1808 he was getting up at six in the morning and intended to continue the habit all his life: "you will say this was a change devoutly to be wished." In October 1809 he was awoken at night and hurried off to Christ Church, to help pass buckets till five in the morning: the South side of the great quadrangle was ravaged by fire. Hamilton was a natural athlete, a long-limbed, handsome fellow, devoted to walking and rowing and skating and jumping. There was pole-jumping over the hills and meadows round Oxford. There was some practice over the wall of the College garden, to the Master's startled surprise. Hamilton and the Scotchmen with him at Balliol, Lockhart and Christie, Nicoll and Gleig, must have broken down the old prejudice against Scotchmen, if it still existed, for it is clear that they were among the intellectual leaders of the College. In 1744 the Snell Exhibitioners had protested to the Glasgow Senatus against their unfair treatment at Balliol, and in 1776 the Master and Fellows had with incredible folly suggested that the Snell Exhibitioners might remove themselves elsewhere.¹ But after Leigh's days wiser counsels prevailed. Hamilton's Scotch friends were naturally among his closest admirers.

"I don't know how I should have managed here at all had it not been for W. Hamilton," writes young Lockhart, who followed him to Balliol. "He has behaved to me with all the affection of a brother. Since papa left us I have been always with him."

Another contemporary writes that Hamilton was the most noble-minded, the most generous, the most tender-hearted of men. A third declares that he was the most learned Aristotelian in Oxford. Lockhart tells us that Hamilton was "sadly funcked" when going up for his examination in 1810, but that he passed "in the highest style imaginable—took up more of Aristotle than ever was done, or is likely to be done again." Lockhart himself, though no athlete, was no mean scholar: he had attended classes at Glasgow University before the age of twelve. He seems to have enjoyed his time at Balliol. His sense of fun was strong. His rooms were full of caricatures. He is said to have written a skit on his Tutor in Hebrew characters, which found its way into the Master's hands. His love of poetry and of letters was still stronger. His illustrious father-in-law was quick to discover that he was "a young man of uncommon

¹ See Davis (*Balliol College*, 159).

talents.”¹ He took a First Class in *Literae Humaniores* and added to the many honours which the Balliol Scotchmen won.²

John Eveleigh, it seems, deserved even more than Jackson or than Parsons the credit of the new examination system,³ and he did as much as they did for the College over which he ruled. He was not a man of striking personality. Neither at Wadham nor at Oriel did he leave any vivid impression of originality or power. Cox remembered him in his old age chiefly as an imposing and venerable figure, “with his large wig, his slow and solemn gait, his mild but melancholy countenance, his gown and cassock which he constantly wore.”⁴ But of his influence there can be no question. He must have had vision, patience, perseverance. Others besides Keble must have felt that he was “a man to bring down a blessing on any society of which he was a member.” And Copleston’s testimony to his “singular uprightness,” his gentleness, his candour, his complete freedom from selfishness or pride, indicates the qualities by which his success was won. Eveleigh’s rule at Oriel from 1781 to 1814 witnessed great developments in the College. Some Fellows of his early days were conspicuous men, like Henry Beeke, Professor and Dean, the defender of the income-tax, and the adviser of Vansittart when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, or John Ireland, afterwards Dean of Westminster, who founded one of the greatest honours that an Oxford man can win. But a new period opened when Edward Copleston’s election in 1795 made it clear that Oriel would be bound no longer by the old rules which confined its Fellowships to local men.⁵ And Copleston, with his gifts, his energies, his richly-coloured character, soon made it clear that he was of a different quality from the old generation of Dons, who lived content like petty kings,

¹ *Familiar Letters of Sir W. Scott* (II, 73).

² For Hamilton’s life at Balliol see Veitch’s *Memoir* of him (29 sq.), and for Lockhart’s early days there see also the *Quarterly Review* for October 1864, his novel *Reginald Dalton*, and A. Lang’s *Life and Letters of J. G. Lockhart*.

³ Mark Pattison calls him “the chief promoter” of the reformed system (*Memoirs*, 73). Eveleigh even offered to provide funds for giving rewards to distinguished candidates, and this offer finally broke the opposition down. (See W. J. Copleston’s *Memoir* of Copleston, I, 63.)

⁴ *Recollections* (170).

⁵ Copleston came from Corpus, and Oriel of course had often chosen members of other Colleges as Oriel Fellows. The new feature of his election was that, being a Devonshire man, he was offered a Fellowship previously reserved for candidates from Wiltshire.

“ And din’d untax’d, untroubled, under
The Portrait of our pious Founder.”¹

After 1797 Copleston became known as one of the most famous of Oxford Tutors. He did not always, one of his pupils admits, show “the equanimity of patient Grizel” in dealing with idle young men.² But his scholarship, his practical ability, his ready wit in controversy, his keen interest in all the problems of the day, made him a force in University affairs. He was one of the first of the new examiners, one of the first Captains of the University Volunteers, Vicar of St. Mary’s at twenty-four, Professor of Poetry at twenty-six, and the leading spirit in the regeneration of his College. When the *Edinburgh Review* came out with an attack on Oxford education, Copleston defended it with sobriety and judgment. His plea for the classics won Lord Grenville’s heart. The cultivation of literature, he urged, without fitting men for any special employments, was the best method for enriching and ennobling all. Classical literature, which included the great relics of Greece and Rome, things “nobly done and worthily spoken” was the most effectual form of culture. The University had, no doubt, its obligations to public opinion, but Oxford was not a national foundation, and was entitled to follow the lines of study which its most famous teachers had laid down. Within the University the average man must not be forgotten. To seek for new discoveries, to explore untrodden regions, to extend over Europe the fame of a few exalted individuals, was not enough. It should be their object to follow “the track of plain and sober industry,” to convey instruction to the minds of the great majority of students. To “send out into the world an annual supply of men, whose minds are imbued with literature according to their several measures of capacity, impressed with what we hold to be the soundest principles of policy and religion, grounded in the elements of science, and taught how they may best direct their efforts to further attainments in that line”—such was the best service which the University of Oxford could perform.³

But it was within the walls of Oriel that Copleston’s greatest work was done. He heartily supported the new Class lists. He would indeed have gone further and have published the names of Pass-men.⁴ He heartily supported College lectures, though he believed in small tutorial classes rather than in the private

¹ See *The Oxford Sausage* (31 and 34).

² See the *Memoir* by W. J. Copleston (32).

³ The article in the *Edinburgh Review* appeared in 1809; Copleston’s three Replies were published in 1810 and 1811.

⁴ See Copleston’s *Remains* with Whately’s introduction (14).

tuition of individual men. But he shared to the full the view which became characteristic of the Oriel elections, the determination to choose men quite independently of examination-results, of what he called "the quackery of the schools."¹ Oriel Fellows were to be selected, not for the knowledge or degrees they had acquired, but rather for the general impression of quality and power which they conveyed. The plan, no doubt, was capable of abuse, and men who failed to secure Fellowships distrusted its working. But the Oriel successes were mainly due to the new spirit of work infused into the College, to the determination to supply the best possible teaching, and to choose for Fellowships and Tutorships, untrammelled by other considerations, the ablest men who could be found. Copleston proved to be only the first of a celebrated company. Before Dr. Eveleigh's reign was over, the election of Fellows like Keble and Whately in 1811, James Tyler in 1812, Edward Hawkins in 1813 abundantly justified the method which secured them. When Copleston succeeded Eveleigh in the Provostship, a still more brilliant period began. A few years later a dejected undergraduate is found describing Oriel and Balliol as "the two prison-houses" from which unambitious students should use their best endeavours to escape.

III

Reform was afoot. But the Oxford reformers of Eveleigh's day were true to their assurance that they meditated nothing harsh or severe. Even in the presence of a new examination-system the eighteenth century maintained and the nineteenth century inherited the historic gaiety of Oxford life. The machinery of the Vice-Chancellor's Court was always in the background, to enforce discipline and the discharge of debts. An occasional undergraduate might still be banished, an occasional offender excommunicated, an occasional tradesman fined. A barber might be brought up for not belonging to the Company of Barbers. A tailor might press his claim for coats and breeches, or a wine-merchant his bill for wine.² But the mediaeval tradition of tenderness towards clerical transgressors never altogether disappeared. The Proctors' Accounts too still showed the ancient entries, the fine of fifty-two shillings taken over in 1214 by the Eynsham monks, the five shillings and threepence paid by the citizens yearly in atone-

¹ See the *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman* (I, 73-4).

² See the Registers of the Court (*Arch. Univ. Oxon. Reg. Curiae Cancell.*) for 1706-12, 1733-53, 1812-19.

ment for the sins of St. Scholastica's Day,¹ the small payments for rents and for degrees, the more important item *pro punitione incontinentium*, which seemed to increase as the eighteenth century went on. The old Subscription Books were still kept up. The entries of subscription to the Act of Uniformity added fresh names of interest every year. But the old formulas of authority sat lightly on young men. Discipline was often lax. Enjoyment was more in evidence than study. Visitors noticed how large a part eating and drinking played in undergraduate life. In April 1759 the Masters of Coffee-houses in Oxford found it necessary to advance the price of chocolate from fourpence to fivepence per dish, and of coffee from fourpence to fivepence a pot.² The Coffee-house, whatever its prices, was still popular in the latter half of the century, and "every academic of any fashion" resorted to it in the afternoon. Tom's, in the High Street opposite the Market, was the gayest and the most expensive. Horseman's, in the same neighbourhood, drew custom from Merton, Oriel, Corpus and All Souls. Harper's, near St. Edmund Hall, was popular with Magdalen men and Queen's men. Bagg's, the stone house built, it was said, by Vanbrugh, at the corner of Broad Street and Holywell, was used by New College, Wadham and Hertford. Malbon's, patronised by Trinity men and others, was at the North-east corner of the Turl.³ Compared with the Coffee-house the tavern and the ale-house were unfashionable, if not unseemly, resorts. But there were Dons like Thomas Warton who preferred them:

"Whole Afternoons at *Wolvercote* I quaff'd;
At Eve my careless Round in *High-street* took,
And call'd at JOLLY's for the *casual* Draught."⁴

An ingenious poem has catalogued the favourite taverns of the time—the Greyhound, the Mitre, the Roebuck, the Chequers, the Cross and the Ark and the Nag and the Boar, the King's Arms, the Shoulder of Mutton, the Green Dragon, the Seven Deadly Sins—many more.⁵ The long sittings over wine in College Common Rooms were characteristic of the eighteenth century.

¹ See *ante* (vol. I, pp. 32 and 162). The Proctors' Accounts of course are in the University Archives. The fine on St. Scholastica's Day lasted till 1825.

² See the advertisement from the *Oxford Journal* quoted by Green (*Oxford Studies*, 31-2).

³ See Dr. Bliss' account of Dr. Routh's recollections quoted by Wordsworth (*Social Life*, 145).

⁴ See *The Oxford Sausage* (26): and also the lines "To Pot-house I repair, the sacred Haunt," etc. (*Ib.* 56).

⁵ Quoted in the notes to Green's *Oxford Studies* (Macmillan's edition, 275).

College tankards and punch-bowls were in constant use.¹ College wine-parties drew in only too easily boys too weak to withstand the temptation to do as others did. "I always hated wine," one undergraduate of the early nineteenth century confessed: "but I had not the moral courage" to refuse invitations to join others. The dangerous drinking of Hearne's day and of Wood's latter years had passed. But about 1803 an Oxford man could still write to his mother, when he saw his Tutor carried off "perfectly intoxicated," that Oxford for an unfortunate lad with no one to watch and care for him was "a perfect hell upon earth."²

The early hours of the mediaeval University had long ceased to be observed. Very few students probably rose at five or six, with Hamilton or Southey. A skit of 1761, supposed to represent a day at Cambridge, may be a travesty of Oxford manners, but it shows how hours in the Universities had changed.

"Monday, Nine o'clock. Turned off my Bedmaker for waking me at eight . . .

Ditto, Ten. After breakfast, transcribed half a sermon . . .

Ditto, Eleven. Went down into my cellar . . .

Ditto, Twelve. Mended a pen . . .

Ditto, One. Dined alone in my room on a soal . . ."³

The mediaeval dinner hour of ten or earlier had long ago advanced to eleven. Hearne grumbled sharply to find this changed to twelve. But within a few years of Hearne's death twelve o'clock must have been going out of fashion. At Queen's in Bentham's day half-past-twelve was the hour for dinner, and some Colleges had already gone beyond that. At Balliol in 1767 dinner was fixed at two and supper at eight.⁴ But before the century ended three and four were not uncommon dinner-hours, and early in the new century a further move forward to four or five occurred. When dinner became so late it was difficult to maintain the theory that the hours from morning-chapel to dinner ought to be spent in work. As dinner moved forward also

¹ The Common Rooms of Dr. Johnson's day are associated with port. In Fielding's and Smollett's novels champagne and claret hold their own. But port prevails. A skit of 1835 puts the proportions of wine drunk by unsuccessful candidates for examination at Sherry 72, Claret 23, Madeira 27, Champagne 13, Port 90. (See Wordsworth's *Social Life*, 429-33.)

² See the *Memorials* of Andrew Crosse (32-3). There is little advance in this respect since the days of James Woodforde many years before (*Diary of a Country Parson*, 1758-1781).

³ See *The Idler*, No. 33.

⁴ See the *College Register* under date 22 October 1767. On Sundays dinner was to be at one. William Hamilton in 1807 speaks of their dining at half-past-three.

breakfast became more important. Strong-stomached Tories still clung to the traditional breakfast of "smoaking Crust and foaming Ale." They professed to scoff at the "nerve-relaxing Tea" preferred by "the squeamish Sons of modern Times."¹ But both tea and coffee were becoming morning drinks. In John Skinner's verses, if they be his, we have a description of a breakfast at Trinity at half-past-eight in the morning in 1792, with tea and sugar and cream and toast, which sounds as delicate as any modern undergraduate could desire. With dinner growing steadily later and followed in the early evening by tea, supper may often have seemed an unnecessary meal. But still supper at nine was forthcoming, and at Trinity in the days of the French Revolution, when they supped, they supped solidly and well:

"Boiled fowl, salt herrings, sausages,
Cold beef and brawn and bread and cheese
With tankards full of ale."²

One veteran member of the University, who died in 1866, could remember the Fellows of Exeter sitting on summer evenings from dinner till supper over their port and their pipes in a shady corner of the College quadrangle.

In the day-book in which John Collins of Pembroke jotted down his expenditure during the last thirty years of the eighteenth century,³ we have many entries about food and meals. Tea was still a luxury at three shillings for a quarter of a pound: green tea cost as much as a shilling an ounce. But a bottle of rum and three bottles of port could be bought for nine shillings, and two bottles of perry for one and sixpence. Half a pound of cocoa figures at sixpence and a pound of sugar at tenpence. Breakfast at "Ladds's Blue Boar" cost a shilling, supper at the Mitre one and ninepence, dinner at Wheatley with three friends five shillings, dinner at Hinksey with three friends only three. There are charges for books, classics, philosophy, sermons and several volumes of poems. Tristram Shandy costs two and sixpence, the "hiring of Joseph Andrews" only sixpence. There are charges for riding, shooting, hunting: a guinea and a half for "breaking ye bay Filley," one pound, thirteen for some snipe-shooting at Fairford, a shilling for "Intelligence of a Buck in the coppice," a shilling to a man who takes "a Nest of Weasels." Clothes cost something—Barragon Breeches fourteen

¹ These poetic phrases are from *The Oxford Sausage* (58).

² See *Reminiscences of Oxford*, O.H.S. (194). On social habits see also Mr. Godley's *Oxford in the Eighteenth Century*.

³ From 1768. (See Macleane's larger *History of Pembroke College*, Chap. XXXII.)

shillings, velvet for still smarter breeches over three pounds, Night-cap and Combs five shillings, a blue coat bought of Jim Hawkins eight and sixpence. Amusements cost something also. There were cards at the Coffee-house and elsewhere. The waiter at Tom's had sixpence as "a Xystmas Box." There were plays at Abingdon, assemblies at Newbury, races at Aylesbury and Oxford, an oratorio in the Music Room, and the wonders of Sadler's Balloon.¹ Small charities were not forgotten, a shilling to a broken tradesman, two shillings to a girl in Bridewell, a shilling once to a Polish Nobleman—if charity in that case be a fitting term. It is a candid, cheery, innocent record of a young Scholar and Fellow of Pembroke, training for Orders with no overwhelming sense of his calling, and in the meantime enjoying life. Nor do the enjoyments, the cards, the lottery-tickets and the races, cease entirely after Ordination, though more professional charges like "a Box of pectoral Lozenges" appear. John Collins was a successful student who largely paid his own way at Oxford. He calculates that he received from his father during eight years of residence only a hundred and ninety pounds.² His Scholarship was worth fifteen pounds, his Fellowship twenty pounds a year. But he had rooms free. He received a salary as Bursar and there were other pickings. His battels seem generally to have come to little more than twenty pounds a year, and they were sometimes less. His personal expenses must have been light and the charges in the College very moderate. For the day-book shows no pressure of economy, and the writer clearly lacked neither enjoyments nor friends. Thirty or forty years later De Quincey found that close economy was needed to live at Oxford on ninety pounds a year.³

Statutes to put down "unacademical expenses" were passed in 1772 and again in 1785. Efforts were made to restrict the keeping of servants, dogs and horses to men who had taken a Bachelor's degree.⁴ And, to check "the unbridled and deadly

¹ Mr. Sadler of Oxford is said to have been the first Englishman to ascend in a balloon—in October 1784. (See Green's *Oxford Studies*, Macmillan's ed., 209 and 289.)

² This figure should perhaps be received with caution. It is a little difficult, on the figures given by Mr. Maclean (pp. 414-15), to see how young Collins paid his way.

³ That is, to cover the expenses of 30 weeks' residence—rooms, food, tutoring and extras, all included. De Quincey's battels at Worcester did not exceed a guinea a week. (See his *Works*, ed. Masson, II, 47 sq.)

⁴ Broadly speaking, but there were refinements of detail. (See *Tit. XV* of the Code.) Men of rank were allowed a servant, and there were verbal variations in the later Statute. In 1785 leave to keep a servant or horse was given on petition under the seal of a man's parent or guardian, approved by his Tutor and the Head of his College.

love of games for a monied stake," which threatened the good name of Oxford, "from the hearts of the young men being set upon horse-racing and cock-fighting," members of the University were forbidden to take any part in those dissipations. The Statutes pronounced cock-fighting to be barbarous and "quite unworthy of a man of education and a gentleman."¹ Of the gambling instinct in Oxford there was certainly no lack. But cock-fighting, which had long drawn undergraduates to the Pit in Holywell, must have proved difficult to suppress. And though riding in races may have been an exceptional practice,² it is certain that no "dormant statutes," as Knox calls them, prevented undergraduates from keeping horses. The Cambridge horsekeeper who made three thousand pounds in a few years by supplying the needs of University men,³ had his compeers, no doubt, in Oxford. Cox at the end of the century found it no uncommon practice for a "gentleman" to ride a match against time from Oxford to London and back. It was done once in eight-and-a-quarter hours in 1794. Hunting was certainly not unknown among those who could afford it, nor yet perhaps among some who could not. Dr. Newton complains of young scholars who thought of nothing but hunting and shooting. The Buck of 1783, whose leading principle is contempt of rules, lays it down that fox-hunting "ought to employ three mornings in the week at least."⁴ Reginald Heber notes in 1818 how much commoner hunting had become. John Collins was not the only young Fellow who kept a horse on a narrow income. And many a Gentleman Commoner must have ridden through the Statutes year by year. In the early nineteenth century the practice apparently increased. We are assured that, before the Gentleman Commoner ceased to lead the expensive amusements of Oxford, there were forty hunters and hacks to be seen of a morning waiting for their riders in the Turl, and double that number, with perhaps a dozen tandems, waiting for young sportsmen from Merton, Oriel and Christ Church, by the gate through which the monks of Canterbury College had passed to their demurer exercise in older days.⁵

Driving was as popular as riding, and as difficult probably

¹ I am quoting from Mr. G. R. M. Ward's translation of the Statute of 1772. Others earlier had found it a "heart-pleasing" and "delicious" pastime. (See *Surveys and Tokens*, O.H.S., 101).

² Cox surely overstates the case in saying that racing had not been thought of about 1797 (*Recollections*, 31).

³ See Wordsworth (*Social Life*, 168).

⁴ See *Advice to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge* (1783).

⁵ See Bayzand's recollections of *Coaching in and out of Oxford*, 1820-40 (*Collectanea*, IV, 265 sq.). Perhaps a little allowance for the figures should be made.



HOLYWELL CHURCH, MANOR HOUSE AND COCKPIT

1. Manor House. 2. Church. 3. Cockpit

for Statutes to control. Samuel Foote, who had flaunted his coach and six in the face of the Proctors, was not without abettors in the years that followed. The Statute of 1766, which tried to legislate against phaetons,¹ may or may not have been honoured in the observance. But the chance of driving a coach under any circumstances made to some undergraduates an irresistible appeal. The coaches of Hearne's generation, which took one day in summer and two in winter for the journey to London,² had given place in some cases before the end of the century to really fast coaches which were the glory of the road. As the highways improved, driving became a pleasure instead of a toil. Before the railways changed the face of England, Oxford had seventy-three coaches and mails entering or leaving it in every four-and-twenty hours. The High Street and the Cornmarket were alive with drags, arriving from London, Birmingham, Southampton, leaving for Cambridge and Bristol, for Hereford and Brighton, North and South and East and West. The Ship Inn in Ship Street was a famous coaching-office. Mr. Thomas Peake would be seen at the door of the Mitre, with his broad-brimmed hat and his greyhounds round him, and Madam Dupré, an old lady in a black silk dress and mob-cap, welcoming her visitors at the door of the Star.³ William Bayzand, who was for long the guard of the Mazeppa coach and afterwards Janitor at the Camera, has dwelt lovingly on the sights and incidents of those happy, bustling days—Lord Dillon of Ditchley shouting to his companions to mind their heads, as he turned his four bays under the archway of the Roebuck, Sir Henry Peyton taking the eye with his yellow coach and his four greys, Lord Valentia skilfully handling his quick-stepping strawberry roans, or the Provost of Worcester with his pair of browns, or Mr. Quicke of New College with his dark coat and his four chestnuts, or the Duke of Marlborough looking like Royalty with his outriders and postilions, and driving in from Blenheim at a rattling pace.⁴ It must be remembered, however, that the

¹ "Statutum igitur est, quod Scholares cujuscunque conditionis usu omnium Vehiculorum, quibus invehi solent ipsi aurigentes, sive ea *Phaetons*, sive alio quocunque nomine dicta sint, prorsus abstineant" (*Addenda ad Corpus Statut.*, ed. Griffiths, 313-14).

² This was still so in 1724 (*Reliq. Hearn.*, ed. Bliss, II, 215 n.). And if the Birmingham coach which brought De Quincey to Oxford really travelled at $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, some slow coaches survived then. (See his *Works*, ed. Masson, II, 15.)

³ Afterwards the Clarendon. The scents of the stable must have hung heavy in the Oxford air.

⁴ See *Collectanea* (IV, 265 sq.). Mr. Tuckwell (*Reminiscences of Oxford*, 23) speaks of Quicke—that seems to be the right spelling—and his "senile passion" for tandem-driving.

roads which saw the glory of the coaches saw the glory of the highwaymen as well. It was in Oxford in 1761 that the young king of highway robbers, Isaac Darkin otherwise Dumas, was executed at the age of twenty-one. Young James Woodforde of New College visited him in the Castle, heard him tried and sentenced, found the College gates shut—presumably to prevent undergraduates attending—till the hour of his execution was past.¹ Within the next fifteen or sixteen years we hear of University men being waylaid, of coaches held up in the outskirts of Oxford, of the Bath coaches being stopped on the other side of Botley and a celebrated conjurer relieved of his watch, of a French master of tambour pillaging the Ashmolean and carrying medals and antiquities away.² Horace Walpole declared that he lived in perpetual jeopardy: "we are robbed in the face of the sun as well as at the going down thereof."³ Even in Cox's day people travelled with pistols loaded and with bank-notes sewn into the lining of their clothes. Cox could remember gibbets near Oxford. Dr. Routh had seen undergraduates hanged in Holywell.⁴ But impunity often encouraged the offenders, and the long war and its anxieties added to the insecurity of the times.

The romance of the old coaching days disappeared. The great days of the prize-ring went with it. But boxing was an exercise for gentlemen in Cardinal Manning's Balliol days. Bell-ringing, which Wood had loved and Hearne and many of their successors, was "voted vulgar" before the eighteenth century closed.⁵ But other amusements were coming into vogue more familiar to our generation, though the highly organised games of the future were still far away. Football, which had been so grave a temptation to the clerks of the Middle Ages, seems to have had no charms for the race of Gentlemen Commoners. Cricket was played but had not yet come into its kingdom. Cox associated it only with Eton and Winchester men in the Bullingdon Club.⁶ Shooting was probably confined to those who could find the means to enjoy it, though William Hamilton speaks of

¹ See *The Diary of a Country Parson*, under February and March 1761.

² See Green's *Oxford Studies* (89-94). Edward Copleston was robbed by a highwayman near Uxbridge in 1799.

³ In 1784 (*Letters*, ed. Cunningham, VIII, 512: see also VII, 399).

⁴ Green (*Oxford Studies*, 278). Gownsmen's Gallows in Holywell were replaced by stocks before the end of the 18th century.

⁵ Cox (*Recollections of Oxford*, 31).

⁶ *Ib.* (54). Cricket is mentioned in Cambridge regulations of 1750, and was certainly played about that time (Wordsworth, *Social Life*, 67 and 666-7). And James Woodforde of New College "plaid at Crikett in Port Meadow, the Winchester against the Eaton," in May 1760. But he was a Winchester man. (See *Diary of a Country Parson*.)

shooting larks and fieldfares in 1808. In strict circles a feeling existed that shooting was hardly in keeping with a clerical career. Cox has a story of a Canon of Christ Church, who had acquired the worldly taste while a Fellow of New College, and who, when tempted to take a day in Stanton Woods, would walk up Headington Hill with his gown over his shooting-coat, hand over his "canonicals" there to a servant, and take his hat and gun and dog instead.¹ Boat-racing was not thought of in the eighteenth century, and rowing for exercise was not, it seems, common until the century's end. But boating at Oxford must always have had its charm.

" In summer time to Medley
My love and I would go ;
The boatmen there stood ready
My love and I to row."

So sang George Wither in 1620.² And a discreeter poet, Professor Hurdis, has recorded in *The Village Curate*, among the demure adventures of his youth,

" My evening voyage, an unskilful sail
To Godstow bound, or some inferior port,
For strawberries and cream." ³

The *Oxford Journal* of 1776 chronicles the drowning of two young Merton men, upset near Kennington when sailing on the river. John Skinner of Trinity in 1793 speaks of expeditions to Iffley and Sandford, in which both sails and oars were used, and of a certain Dame Hooper, who

" at station waits
For gownsmen whom she aptly freights
In various vessels moored in view,
Skiff, gig, and cutter, or canoe." ⁴

Southey talks of going on the water in a little skiff—" I tugged at the oar very much like a bear in a boat " ⁵—and describes the pleasure-boats " gliding in all directions " on the Isis, the caps and tassels of the students in " curious contrast with their employment at the oar." William Hamilton, rather later, got " famous exercise " in rowing daily.⁶ And Cox remembered six-oared boats taking parties down to Nuneham with crews dressed very much as they pleased. He belonged to a crew which

¹ *Recollections* (187 n.).

² See Wither's *Poems*, ed. Sidgwick (I, 149).

³ See *The Village Curate* (Hurdis' *Poems*, 1808, I, 72).

⁴ See *Reminiscences of Oxford*, O.H.S. (200). Hythe Bridge was a starting-place for boats (*Surveys and Tokens*, O.H.S., 104).

⁵ See *Southey's Life* (I, 176).

⁶ See Veitch's *Memoir of Sir W. Hamilton* (31). This was in 1807.

adopted a green leather cap with a jacket and trowsers of nankeen.¹ But anything like systematic rowing was for long looked at askance. Dr. Jenkyns of Balliol refused to believe that it could be an occupation for gentlemen, until he was conveyed by a stratagem to Sandford and suddenly converted by seeing a racing eight go by. "Why," cried the little Master delightedly, "it is like the motion of one man!"²

The old Statutes regulating dress persisted, though some modifications had crept in.³ A new Statute of 1770 recalled the distinctions allowed in academical attire, the gold brocade for the sons of peers, the long silk gown for the highest order of Commoners,⁴ the humbler materials for less exalted persons, and ordered official patterns of the proper dresses to be engraved on brass and carefully preserved. But the temptation to avoid academical dress altogether was increasing, and in 1816 it was found necessary to forbid juniors of all ranks to appear in public in the University without it.⁵ Young gentlemen of fashion required more variety. Amhurst in 1721 mocked at the "transitory foplings," who came up from country homes in linsey-wolsey coats, clouted shoes, yarn stockings, flapping hats, and a month or two afterwards were wearing bob-wigs and Oxford-cut shoes, and then a little later "drugget cloaths," and so on up to silk and ruffles and all that a Smart could desire.⁶ The Bucks of 1783 made a point of eschewing caps and gowns. Boots and round hats were in their view the proper thing.⁷ Southey could not see that it mattered whether he studied in boots or shoes. De Quincey wore his clothes till they were threadbare, and hoped that his gown would conceal their defects.⁸ William Hamilton, who was more particular, noted that boots, trowsers and pantaloons were not allowed to be seen.⁹ For dinner silk stockings, knee-breeches and swallow-tailed coats were required. Dressing for dinner involved the barber's help. Wigs, while still in fashion, had to be combed and curled. Every gentleman was expected

¹ *Recollections* (54 n.).

² See Davis (*Balliol College*, 206). But before Dr. Jenkyns became Master of Balliol in 1819 there were College eights rowing on the river.

³ E.g. the round caps, which the Laudian Statutes prescribed (*Title XIV*) for Commoners, battelers and servitors, had become square caps in 1770.

⁴ Even to J. G. Lockhart, writing his Oxford novel *Reginald Dalton* in 1823, "the full academics of a Gentleman Commoner" were "one of the most graceful certainly, of all European costumes." (See vol. I, 291.)

⁵ The Statutes of 1770 and of 1816 are translated by Mr. Ward (*Oxford University Statutes*, II, 9-12 and 113).

⁶ See *Terrae-Filius*, No. 46.

⁷ See *Advice to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge*.

⁸ See De Quincey's *Works* (ed. Masson, II, 14).

⁹ See Veitch's *Memoir* (30).

to be powdered. John Skinner writes in 1792 of the Trinity barber who in a quarter of an hour had to dress the heads of at least thirty men "as clamorous as duns."¹ Bentham tells us that his hair, some years earlier, was "turned up in the shape of a kidney," a form supposed to be in accordance with the Statutes, and that one of his fellow-students took a pride in shaping his kidney for him. James Woodforde paid three shillings a quarter "to be shaved and have 2 Wiggs dressed twice a week."² Shenstone at Pembroke was one of the first to discard a wig for his own powdered hair, Landor at Trinity one of the first to dispense even with powder. George Whitefield at Pembroke went with hair unkempt because he thought powder unbecoming a penitent. John Wesley saved his barber's fees to give them to the poor. George Colman matriculated in a grass-green coat, with his pate "furiously be-powder'd."³ When Pitt's tax sent powder out of fashion, the change brought probably a large measure of relief.

The old disputations might have fallen out of favour. The "Variations" recorded in the Merton Register—whether poets should be exterminated, actors tolerated in a well-ordered State—which were still vigorous in the early eighteenth century, dropped out of notice as the century closed.⁴ But the taste for literary discussion, the instinct of debating, lived. Reading quietly increased. Novel-reading became popular; and the multitude of pamphlets left us seems to indicate a taste for reading of that un-nutritious kind. The slender libraries of the Coffee-houses, which Warton had scoffed at—the Magazines and Reviews for Grown-Gentlemen to glance over, the amorous Tales and Occasional Poems⁵—were giving way to lending libraries of a more solid type. In 1781 or 1782 the Phoenix Common Room at Brasenose founded one of the oldest social clubs. In 1788 Dr. Parsons of Balliol spoke of a reading-club of fifty members, which took in French, German and Italian reviews.⁶ *The Loiterer*, a little weekly paper started in 1789, with the motto *Speak of us as we are*, commented in a harmless, desultory fashion on the thoughts and ways of Oxford men. Essay societies were beginning to spring up. The Poetical Club

¹ *Reminiscences of Oxford*, O.H.S. (189).

² See Bowring's *Life of Bentham* (39), and the *Diary of a Country Parson*, in 1762.

³ *Reminiscences of Oxford* (168-9).

⁴ See the *College Register* for 1567-1731 (pp. 626, 684, 727) and for 1731-1822 (pp. 208, 216, 234, 338).

⁵ See *A Companion to the Guide and a Guide to the Companion*.

⁶ This was perhaps identical with James Fletcher's Reading-Room which had 50 subscribers about 1780. (See *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, III, 101, and Wordsworth, *Social Life*, 385-6.)

and the Freecynics may have had their day. The fires which had lit the passions of the Constitution Club and of the High Borlace were dead. But the young orators of Canning's era were at least as ready to make speeches, and the French Revolution was stimulating the expression of opinions which could not be contained. The authorities were nervous about these discussions. Canning was the life of the Speaking Society of Christ Church. But even he proved amenable to Dean Jackson's warning that to continue to belong to it might injure his prospects in the world. John Skinner was induced in the same way by the Head of his College to withdraw from a Literary Society which had been formed at Trinity in 1794 for purposes of innocent debate.¹ And the Society for Scientific and Literary Disquisition, more succinctly styled the Lunatics, encountered the same difficulties about the same time. A group of men from various Colleges—Stoddart of Christ Church, Maton of Queen's and Dibdin of St. John's, who tells the story, were among them—met and drew up careful rules for discussion. Political and religious controversies were forbidden. The characters of Cæsar and of Queen Elizabeth were among the most inflammatory topics allowed. Permission was sought from the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, and the authorities handsomely admitted that there was nothing subversive of discipline in the Society's laws. But the Vice-Chancellor decided that "innovations of this sort, and in these times," might have a tendency which could not be foreseen: and on that ground he interdicted any kind of public meetings.² A good many years were still to pass before the Attic Society, founded by Augustus Hare of New College, was to provide an example and an outlet for the debaters of a younger generation.³ And it was not till the 5th April 1823 that a small company of men in Vesey's "low-browed" rooms at Christ Church, presided over by Maclean of Balliol, and brought together to discuss the time-honoured differences between Oliver Cromwell and Charles I, inaugurated the first meeting of the Oxford United Debating Society, out of which the Oxford Union was to grow.

IV

A rising demand for freedom in opinion was an honourable characteristic of the eighteenth century. Lovers of toleration

¹ See *Bodl. Quart. Record* (III, 101-2).

² But private meetings in the rooms of the members, with essays and discussions, were apparently allowed. (See *Reminiscences of Oxford*, 218-21.)

³ See J. T. Coleridge's letter in Stanley's *Life of Dr. Arnold* (I, 18). The Attic Society was formed about 1812. Coleridge calls it "the germ of the Union."

found it hard to defend a system which imposed subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles not only on the clergy of the Church of England but on Nonconformist Ministers and University students. The petition of 1772 for relief from this obligation found strong support at Cambridge and in Parliament. But Oxford identified herself with the resistance, and Sir Roger Newdigate moved the rejection of the petition in the House of Commons. The King was opposed to the proposal. Lord North deprecated the raising of the subject. Burke found more powerful arguments for taking the same view. Pamphlets were circulated at Oxford on the one side to explain the impropriety and inexpediency of lay subscription. On the other side the opposition insisted on the need of guarding still against "the Two great Factions of Papists and Puritans," and vindicated subscription on the ground that it meant little more than a general assurance of loyalty to the Church.¹ In Parliament the opponents of the petition carried the day, and Gibbon mocked in a characteristic letter at "the late victory of our dear mamma, the Church of England." But the demand for relief continued, and in the case of Nonconformist ministers and teachers it was too strong to be denied. In 1779 they were admitted to the benefits of the Toleration Act without being compelled to subscribe to the Articles. But the University of Oxford remained faithful to its ancient prepossessions, and Convocation sent up a petition against the Bill.² Time passed, but the same spirit persisted. Attempts to repeal the Test Act and the Corporation Act continued to be made in the House of Commons, and on the eve of the French Revolution they came very near to attaining success.³ But the Revolution carried even wide-minded men like Burke for a time at least into the camp of their opponents, and the University rarely failed to indicate its unalterable dread of change. In 1791, it is true, a Roman Catholic Relief Bill of substantial value passed through Parliament. But in the following year Fox failed to secure toleration for the Unitarians, and both Pitt and Burke opposed the proposal. The Revolutionary fever declined, but the University's alarm continued. In 1807 the Hebdomadal Board organised a petition to Parliament against the admission of "Persons of all Religious Persuasions" to

¹ See, among other pamphlets of this date, *A Full Refutation of the Reasons advanced in Defence of the Petition, A Collection of Papers designed to explain and vindicate the present mode of Subscription required by the University of Oxford, Reflections on the Impropriety and Inexpediency of Lay-Subscription, An Answer to a Pamphlet entitled Reflections on the Impropriety, etc.*

² See *Convocation Register BK*, 1776-93 (pp. 73-4).

³ E.g. Mr. Beaufoy's motion was defeated by only 20 votes in 1789. (See Lecky's *England in the Eighteenth Century*, V, 154 sq.)

military commands, and reiterated its belief that it was "still indispensably necessary" to adhere to the restrictions of the past. In 1825 Convocation could not contain its grief and alarm at the dangerous idea of Roman Catholic emancipation. It avowed itself unshaken in the doctrine that religious tests were as essential as ever "to secure the venerable Fabric of our Constitution in Church and State."¹

Burke, however, did not always find himself so much in tune with Oxford sentiment. On the 26th October 1775 the University voted an address to the Crown on the subject of the American Rebellion. It felt itself "obliged by every Principle of conscientious Duty" to declare its "utter abhorrence" of the base and seditious proceedings abroad, and of the "profligate Licentiousness" of those who abetted them at home.² Burke boldly rebuked the University in the House of Commons for "interfering with politics, advising a civil war, and calling those that opposed it rebels and traitors." He brought down on his head the anger of an anonymous pamphleteer.³ But when another Revolution nearer home arose to sweep away the landmarks of Europe, Burke became the chief exponent of the apprehensions it created, and his popularity at Oxford must have steadily increased. Meanwhile other currents of opinion were gathering strength. The old controversies indeed had died down. "Who born within the last forty years," asked Burke in the *Reflections*, "has read one word of Collins, and Toland, and Tindal, and Chubb, and Morgan, and that whole race who called themselves Free-thinkers." Even Hume had forborne to press home the consequences of his logic and had left his most outspoken writings to be published after his death. Indifference may have offered more resistance than conviction to the attack on orthodox beliefs. Paley, a Senior Wrangler in 1763 and a well-known Church dignitary later, undertook to restate the apologetic argument, and summed up with conspicuous skill and lucidity the claims of Natural Theology to popular respect. He gave in a form which all could understand "the evidences of natural religion, the evidences of revealed religion, and an account of the duties that result from both." He replied to Hume by assuming the creation of the world by a beneficent and intelligent Being, and from that assumption he drew without difficulty all

¹ See the *Hebdomadal Register* 1803-23 (pp. 121-2 and 124-6) and *Convocation Register* 1820-28 (pp. 311-12), both of course in the University Archives.

² See *Convocation Register* B1, 1766-76 (pp. 363-4).

³ See *Hansard's Parliamentary History* (vol. XVIII, col. 854), and the pamphlet *The Honor of the University of Oxford defended against the Illiberal Aspersions of E—d B—e Esq.*

the consequences that his theology required. And if his work had little claim to deep originality and rarely touched the higher levels of thought, his kindly common-sense and his felicity of statement provided admirable text-books of morals and beliefs.¹ The same comfortable optimism inspired the *Reasons for Contentment*, which Paley issued as a warning against revolutionary doctrines in 1792. But arguments of more practical utility were found in his *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, published in 1785. He pleaded there with eloquence and reason for a national and comprehensive Church. He urged that the conditions of subscribing to it should be made as easy and elastic as could be. Creeds and confessions had their inconveniences. They violated liberty. They ensnared the consciences of men. Religious toleration ought to be as wide as possible. Restrictions on opinions could only be defended so long as those opinions were a visible danger to the public peace.²

Paley summarised with singular effectiveness the utilitarian morality of the eighteenth century, and Bentham, whose *Fragment on Government* had already made his reputation and won him in Lord Shelburne a powerful friend, was warned that "a parson and an archdeacon" had anticipated his message to the world. The *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* was already printed, and Bentham published it in 1789. Pain and pleasure, he argued in this memorable treatise, were the two sovereign masters of mankind. "They govern us in all we do, in all we say, in all we think"; and the principle of utility "recognises this subjection."³ To advance utility, to build on that foundation the laws which secure the happiness and regulate the punishments of men, should be the chief aim for both moralists and rulers. Bentham, who was soon to be made, on the motion of Brissot, a citizen of the French Republic, had a fine contempt for theories and philosophies which could not be reconciled with his utilitarian ideals. And though he had little respect for metaphysical rhetoric, and thought the American Declaration of Independence a "hodge-podge of confusion and absurdity,"⁴ he would not have hesitated to reconstruct society by any methods by which the greatest happiness of the greatest number could be permanently secured. His labours in the

¹ Paley's *Evidences of Christianity* appeared in 1794, and his *Natural Theology* in 1802. On their argument see Stephen (*English Thought*, I, 408 sq.).

² See Paley's *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (Bk. VI, Chap. 10), Stephen (*English Thought*, II, 121-5) and Lecky (*England in the Eighteenth Century*, V, 170-4).

³ See Bentham's *Works* (ed. Bowring, I, p. 1).

⁴ *Ib.* (X, p. 63).

great cause of jurisprudence were as unceasing as his intelligence was acute. Living in some state and luxury, working for six or eight hours a day, allowing himself leisure only for his "antejentacular and post-prandial walks," he poured forth his brilliant pamphlets, and corresponded with his multitude of friends. He used the pseudonym of an "Oxford graduate" to publish an attack on *The Church of England and its Catechism*, which Romilly warned him would bring down a prosecution on his head.¹ He denounced the immorality of the oaths exacted by the English Universities. He circularised the States of the American Union on public education. He tried to enlist the Duke of Wellington in the cause of law reform. He lived down his early delicacy, and remained, even as an octogenarian, in spirit "a boy to the last." One would like to think that the University of Oxford, whose influence he disavowed and whose teaching he belittled, may after all have had some share in stimulating his powerful and never-resting mind.

Other writers with less keen perceptions took their part in moulding opinion in those revolutionary days. Dr. Richard Price was a Nonconformist minister, whose *Dissertations* on philosophy and morals, with their echoes of Clarke and Wollaston and Butler, aroused the interest of Lord Shelburne, and whose *Observations on Civil Liberty* made him widely known as an advocate of American Independence.² In theology Price's views were largely a survival of ideas which had lost their hold upon the public. In ethics he had little patience with the theories of Paley. In politics he had no pity for the fears or the reserves of Burke. It was Price's sermon in 1789 in praise of the Revolution which provoked the *Reflections*, Burke's magnificent retort. But Price died before the world had realised all that the French Revolution carried in its train. Joseph Priestley, like Price a Unitarian—he included Trinitarian doctrines among the corruptions of Christianity which he attacked—and like Price indebted to the kindness of Lord Shelburne, could not accept his friend's metaphysics, but was ready enough to endorse his political views. Priestley's reputation made him a leader of liberal dissent. He showed himself a force to be reckoned with in science, theology and politics. Bold, restless, superficial and discursive, full of strange compromises and of incompatible beliefs, his theology in the end did little more than reflect some of the less convincing theories of his day. His scientific work, in chemistry especially, was of far greater value, and Gibbon was justified in declining his invitation to theological discussion,

¹ See the valuable article on Bentham in *D.N.B.*

² Price's *Dissertations on Providence* appeared in 1769, his *Observations on Civil Liberty*, etc., in 1776.

and in advising him to devote himself "to those sciences in which real and useful improvements can be made." Priestley's uncompromising political opinions fill more space in contemporary history. Like Bentham, he was persuaded that the general good, the happiness of the majority, was the only right foundation of government. Like Rousseau, he believed in the original equality of men. Like many of the more hopeful spirits of his generation, he saw in the French Revolution the beginning of a new order, in which reason would throw off the fetters of prejudice and the progress of the human species be assured.¹

One Head of an Oxford College, the active and eccentric Rector of Lincoln, took occasion to reprove Priestley's opinions. It was to be regretted that Dr. Priestley had not studied the politics of Aristotle as much as those of Locke and Rousseau. He would have found, Dr. Tatham pointed out to Burke, in a published Letter written to him in 1791, that Aristotle had more wisely founded his philosophy upon "the natural inequality and subordination of men." But Tom Paine, whom they burnt in effigy in Oxford, was more dreaded and disliked than Priestley. He had more of the directness of a demagogue, and a stronger right to speak for revolutionary ideas. A conspicuous actor in the American Rebellion, a member of the French Convention who narrowly escaped the guillotine, Paine's manifesto on *The Rights of Man* became the watchword of the revolutionary party in this country. His *Age of Reason* was a fierce attack upon established creeds, but Paine was not aware how many of his discoveries in theological controversy had been made before. Priests and Kings in his view were alike impostors. Monarchy and aristocracy were alike absurd. Loyalty must disappear from politics and superstition from religion. The old social order, for which Burke so eloquently pleaded, was merely a device for deluding and degrading mankind.² William Godwin's *Political Justice* touched a higher level. His cool and systematic argument went far beyond the damnatory eloquence of Paine. He was as ready to reconstruct the political system as Paine was to sweep it away. Noted at seventeen for "calm and dispassionate discussion," Godwin pursued his course in the years which followed with a logical detachment which no disappointments could disturb, and transmitted to at least one Oxford undergraduate of high illusions an intellectual faith which never warmed him, and dreams which a poet might colour as he pleased.

Writers of this type had their influence upon opinion, even

¹ Sir L. Stephen has some trenchant observations upon Dr. Priestley, especially on his *History of the Corruptions of Christianity* (1782). See *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (I, 430 sq. and II, 252 sq.).

² *Ib.* (I, 458-64 and II, 261-4).

while Government struggled to repress them and the war and its consequences spread. But the loyalty of Oxford was now beyond suspicion. Volunteers were enrolled for both University and City in 1798, the University Corps at first the stronger of the two. Clerical gentlemen donned the blue tunic and bear-skin: one qualified for a Canonry at Christ Church by his service as Major in Corps. And when the brief peace of Amiens ended, City and University formed a Corps together, the citizens this time taking the lead, and combining with the University to raise six thousand pounds.¹ Dr. Tatham encouraged them by riding down the ranks and promising a pension for the widow of the first that fell. Economic troubles followed on the war, not always perhaps wisely dealt with by City magistrates who still denounced forestalling and regrating. Bread and coal² were very dear: subscriptions were started to cheapen them. Wages were often very low: in 1795 the county magistrates insisted on a minimum of six shillings a week for a man and his wife. Lord Harcourt and the Duke of Marlborough began to plough up their parks. College bursars determined to fight the rising prices of the Oxford brewers. But the University was less prudent in defending the claim of one of its privileged and matriculated barbers to exercise in the City any other calling which he pleased.³ The Heads of Houses reduced their consumption of wheat by a third, and invited their societies to follow their example. Bread riots followed later, and the Vice-Chancellor had to read the Riot Act at Carfax. The University celebrated the victory at Camperdown, mourned for the glorious losses at Trafalgar. Nelson had more than once been seen in Oxford, when Cox as a boy had run to join the crowds that followed him, when the City presented its freedom and the University a Doctor's degree. But meanwhile young iconoclasts were imbibing the new doctrines. The war spirit had critics even in College Common Rooms, and here and there an undergraduate raised the standard of revolt.

Sydney Smith, redoubtable already as a prize-winner, went up from Winchester to New College in 1789. He shuddered

¹ See Cox (*Recollections*, 33-4, 47-9). The Corps was disbanded with rather singular confidence in March 1813 (*Ib.* 69). Cox points out how freely at this period both University and City contributed money for the public cause (*Ib.* 32).

² Coal came to Oxford by canal, and in 1795 the supplies are said to have been stopped by ice for ten weeks (*Ib.* 18).

³ See on these points the references to the *Oxford Journal* from 1793 onwards quoted in the notes to Green's *Oxford Studies* (Macmillan's ed., 231-4 and 291-2). Cox refers to Taman's case (*Recollections*, 16-18). He also recalls (*Ib.* 71) in 1814 Cobbett's attacks on the judicial and administrative abuses in the University.

afterwards at his recollections of Winchester, recollections of kicking, fagging, hardship, vice, neglect. He had little mercy on the Public School tradition of the eighteenth century, on the miserable waste of time over Latin verses, on the system which made every boy alternately tyrant and slave. He depicts the British Parent moralising over his own education, and drawing from it the last conclusion that a parent should.

“Have I read through Lilly? Have I learnt by heart that most atrocious monument of absurdity, the Westminster Grammar? Have I been whipt for the substantives? whipt for the verbs? and whipt for and with the interjections? Have I picked the sense slowly, and word by word, out of Hederich? and shall my son be exempt from all this misery . . . Ay, ay, it's all mighty well; but I went through this myself, and I am determined my children shall do the same.”

Smith was elected a Fellow of New College at the end of his second year, and managed to support himself entirely on his Fellow's income of a hundred pounds. He could never have lost his head in politics or become entangled in any revolutionary creed. But his Oxford friends must have delighted as much as his friends of later years in his free handling of abuses, in his contempt for pedantry, in his irrepressible flow of fun. A genuine Oxford Tutor, he declared, who heard his young men “disputing upon moral and political truth,” would “augur nothing from it but impiety to God and treason to Kings.” Vice and the waste of money, he once asserted as sweepingly as Bentham, were “the only consequences of a University education.” Brought up under the shadow of the old system, he was rather slow to believe in the possibility of University reform. But if, he admitted in 1810, Oxford had at last awoken to its miserable condition, and was honestly desirous to shake off the degradation of the past, every respectable man must wish it well.¹

Francis Jeffrey, destined soon to be another leader of the brilliant young company of Edinburgh Whigs, entered Queen's in 1791, when Smith was just becoming a Fellow of New College. But he stayed less than a year in Oxford, only long enough to cover much paper with poetry, and to exchange his Scotch talk for an English accent singularly displeasing to his Scottish friends. Southey at Balliol was more outspoken. He had left Westminster with his head “full of Rousseau and of Werther,” and he could find nothing but praise for the ardent revolutionists in Paris, who were preparing to face a world in arms. To his young enthusiasm Brissot was both patriot and martyr, and Brissot's death was a tragedy for republican ideals. Landor's revolutionary

¹ Mr. George Russell collected almost all that can be said of Sydney Smith's Oxford days in his volume in the *English Men of Letters* series.

instincts were perhaps equally deep-seated. He matriculated from Trinity in 1793. His friends might call him a mad Jacobin, and he seems as a boy to have made a shocking proposal to hang George III between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. But at Oxford his revolutionary fever led to little beyond an ode to Washington and the wearing of unpowdered hair. There was more of perversity than of politics in the episode which led to his rustication in 1794. A merry young gathering, drinking wine in his company, incited him to fire some shots at the shutters of a room opposite, where an unsympathetic member of the College was entertaining a party of "servitors and other raffs." No dangerous levelling doctrines were apparent. But Landor refused to explain his behaviour. The Dons were reluctantly compelled to send him down. And leaving Oxford he plunged into poetry, producing work which Southey read with rapture, and which De Quincey hinted that hardly anyone but he himself had bought.¹ De Quincey, like one of Landor's brothers, was at Worcester, and left it, it seems, in 1807 or 1808 without taking a degree.² He had had a varied career before he came up, and his narrow means made his life at College very simple. He was generally known, said the Provost afterwards, as a quiet and studious man with extraordinary powers of talk. He read voraciously on lines of his own choosing, and the temptations of opium may have helped to make him a recluse. But by that time the early fervour of the Revolutionary days was over. De Quincey was certainly no dangerous reformer, nor would the friendship of Coleridge have made him so in 1807. With Coleridge's Unitarianism he had no sympathy at all. He commented afterwards reasonably enough on Oxford institutions. He condemned the system of Gentlemen Commoners as a standing temptation to expensive habits, an unbecoming honour paid to wealth. And he declared that it was the glory of the English Universities that they had preserved "the power to be republican" in their internal affairs. It was not till after De Quincey's day that revolutionary opinions were responsible for sending any Oxford undergraduates down. And even then a College act of discipline would probably have gone unnoticed, had it not been for the celebrity which one of the sufferers was destined to acquire.

Shelley was an Eton boy while De Quincey was an undergraduate at Worcester, earning nicknames as a madman and an

¹ De Quincey seems at least to have asserted this about Landor's *Gebir*.

² If De Quincey was at Oxford in 1808, as he suggests, his residence was probably a good deal broken. For his views on Oxford see his autobiography (*Works*, ed. Masson, vol. II).

atheist, fascinated already by theology and science, cursing the King, planning romances, giving full rein to an imagination which was not as that of other schoolboys :

“ While yet a boy, I sought for ghosts, and sped
Thro’ many a listening chamber, cave, and ruin,
And starlight wood, with fearful steps pursuing
Hopes of high talk with the departed dead.”

In October 1810, a tall, fair lad with the eyes of a dreamer, with tumbled hair and tumbled clothes, with fire and gentleness curiously mingled, and in his movements strange alternations of awkwardness and grace, he went up to University College. There he very soon made the acquaintance of Thomas Hogg, his biographer and friend. Hogg has described with charm and vividness how the two young men met first one October evening, fell to discussing the literature of Germany and Italy, struck up an intimacy which was to have lasting results. Shelley’s brilliant and vehement talk, refreshed by intervals of sleep or torpor, made him a stimulating companion. His “ excruciating ” voice only heightened the effect. Hogg pictures him—the picture may be at times a little over-coloured—discoursing upon chemistry, rushing away to attend a lecture on mineralogy—“ stones, stones, stones!—nothing but stones! ”—declaiming rapturously in his untidy rooms.

“ Books, boots, papers, shoes, philosophical instruments, clothes, pistols, linen, crockery, ammunition, and phials innumerable, with money, stockings, prints, crucibles, bags, and boxes, were scattered on the floor and in every place.”

Shelley had a passion for speculation, discussion, opposition. He had a passion for knowledge of all kinds, for science and literature and metaphysics, for Plato’s *Dialogues* and Landor’s *Gebir*. Yet a newspaper, Hogg says, never found its way to his rooms. He had, no doubt, his extravagances and affectations. Hogg has a tale of his meeting a poor woman with a baby upon Magdalen Bridge. “ Will your baby tell us anything about pre-existence, Madam ? ” the poet asked in a piercing voice. He would read sometimes for sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, pore over books in the street, revel in them entrenched behind his blessed “ oak.” The oak alone, he once exclaimed with fervour, “ goes far towards making this place a paradise.” But he loved long rambles over fields and hills. He had a passion for liberty. He hated all forms of oppression. He had a passion for all that was generous and pure. He was ready enough to love Oxford : it would be “ a cruel calamity,” Hogg and he agreed, to have to leave it. But he found in the University and in his own College too much for his contentious

spirit to attack, laziness, drunkenness, uproar, prejudice encouraged, discipline decayed. In politics he was all for the Whigs, who had lately exerted themselves to make Lord Grenville Chancellor. A good many moderate Tories had supported Lord Grenville against Lord Eldon, and Eldon's defeat still rankled rather bitterly in his old College. But Oxford Whiggism was comparatively tame. Shelley's ardour thirsted for stronger expression. He brought out with Hogg's encouragement a set of burlesque verses, the *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson*, which he put into the mouth of a mad washerwoman who had tried to stab the King. And early in 1811 he printed a more dangerous venture, a brief abstract of arguments on *The Necessity of Atheism*, drawn chiefly from Hume, to which he invited correspondents to reply.

This small, ill-judged production was brought to the notice of the Master of his College by a "pert, meddling tutor of a college of inferior note." Dr. Griffith had undoubted merits. He had good sense, artistic tastes, and behind his reserve "an immensity of fun." But like many other College Heads he knew nothing of his men. Undergraduates, said the lively young Scottish lady, who came up to reside with her uncle and aunt at University College¹ in the year when Shelley matriculated there, were kept at a distance, never talked about or entertained. And in the Master's household Shelley seems to have been regarded as a "ringleader in every species of mischief." Dr. Griffith was probably not a man of force, and he could have been no disciplinarian if a noisy parody of fox-hunting was allowed in the College quadrangle at night. At any rate Shelley was brought before him and asked if he was the author of the objectionable pamphlet. With ill-timed litigiousness he refused to reply. And the Dons, who seem already to have drawn up his sentence of expulsion, were, no doubt, glad of an excuse to rid themselves of an unruly and eccentric young man. Hogg generously intervened on his friend's behalf, defied the angry Master with a good deal of courage, and brought down the same sharp punishment on his own head.

" 'Did you write this?' he asked, as fiercely as if I alone stood between him and the rich see of Durham. I attempted, submissively, to point out the extreme unfairness of the question . . . but soon found argument was thrown away." ²

¹ Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus was a niece of Mrs. Griffith, and her account of her stay at Oxford, and of the dull society she found there, is one of the best pictures of the time. (See *Memoirs of a Highland Lady*, 117 sq.)

² These well-known passages from Hogg's *Life of Shelley* will be found in vol. I (pp. 51-286). But Hogg's account should be checked by Dr. Dowden's *Life of Shelley* (Chaps. II and III).

Hogg too was expelled "in a loud, great voice": there was probably something provocative in his submission. At eight o'clock next morning, the 26th March 1811, the two friends were driving out of Oxford by the London coach. Shelley was still little more than a boy. But eleven years only of rare and exquisite achievement were left him to atone for his boyish mistakes. The College, which dealt so hastily with him, has since paid no inappropriate homage to the "wild spiritual character" which it could not quell.¹

Sydney Smith might be slow to recognise the changing spirit of Oxford education. But some of the names one meets with in the early nineteenth century, and even before the older century departed, are significant of new standards and ideals. William Howley indeed, the Archbishop who crowned Queen Victoria, belonged to the older generation. He had been a prefect at Winchester when Sydney Smith, a small boy there, had had the presumption to beat him at chess.

"Fifty-three years ago he knocked me down with the chess-board for checkmating him—and now he is attempting to take away my patronage. I believe these are the only two acts of violence he ever committed in his life."

Howley was a Scholar at New College in 1783, a Fellow and Tutor there later. He had charge of the young Prince of Orange at Oxford. He became a Canon of Christ Church in 1804, Regius Professor of Divinity in 1809, and passed on to greater things thereafter. In the true spirit of eighteenth century Oxford he fought against the dangerous Reform Bill and the still more dangerous proposals to emancipate Roman Catholics and Jews. In Howley's day William Crotch, the Musical Prodigy who had taught himself to play *God save the King* at two years old, became a familiar figure in the Music Room, and developed into a College organist and a well-known Professor of Music,² while in a lower walk of life poor "Councillor Bickerton," a half-crazed graduate of St. Edmund Hall, and a squatter afterwards in the decaying rooms of Hertford College, won his pitiful meed of fame.³ In Howley's day also, and even earlier, the Coleridges began to bring their gifts to Oxford Colleges. The most famous of them all, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, was unhappily deflected to Cambridge. But his two brothers Edward and George matriculated from Pembroke in 1776 and 1780. George in particular had a great

¹ Beddoes, ten years later than Shelley at Oxford, may also be reckoned among her revolutionary poets. (See later, p. 212.)

² Crotch was succeeded as Professor of Music by Henry Bishop in 1848.

³ See Green's *Oxford Studies* (Macmillan's edition, xx, 184-6 and 287)

tenderness for the poet's shortcomings: "he is father, brother, and everything to me," the prodigal genius confessed. One of Samuel Taylor's nephews, William, was at Christ Church under Dean Jackson, and noted for the application and sweetness of manner which won him a Colonial Bishopric in later years. Another nephew, John Taylor, the judge and the ancestor of a distinguished family, had a brilliant career at Corpus and at Exeter, and has left in a contribution to Dean Stanley's *Life of Arnold* a delightful description of Corpus in his day. A third nephew, James Duke Coleridge, was at Balliol. A great-nephew, John Duke, destined to be more eminent in the world than any, went up to Balliol to win great honours, matriculating in November 1838. And the poet's son Hartley—Coleridge's children, Southey complained, were "entirely left to chance"—was sent to Merton by Southey's efforts and secured a Fellowship at Oriel in 1819. Wordsworth took him up to Oxford: he had not forgotten the dangers overhanging the boy.

"I thought of times when Pain might be thy guest
Lord of thy house and hospitality."

But Hartley had his father's infirmity of purpose. Successive failures to win the Newdigate are alleged to have driven him to drink. He broke rules. He defied decorum. In his year's probation he forfeited his Fellowship by faults of temperament not always separable from the genius to which he was heir.¹

Corpus had a remarkable record in those days. Stowell had begun his great career there in 1761. Richard Edgeworth, a brilliant young Irish squire and a friend and admirer of Rousseau, joined as a Gentleman Commoner in the same year. He was still an Oxford undergraduate when he eloped with his first wife. But he lived to marry three others, and to become the father of eighteen children besides the illustrious Maria. Charles Abbott, the barber's son from Canterbury, who rose to be a Chief Justice and Lord Tenterden, won a Corpus Scholarship in 1781, and his success at College led him to the Bar, though he had no claim to possess "the garrulity called eloquence, which sometimes rapidly forces up an impudent pretender." Henry Phillpotts, the well-known Bishop of later times, who enjoyed to the full the preferments and controversies of his generation, and Edward Copleston, his brother on the Bench, both won Scholarships in 1791. Both moved on to Fellowships at other Colleges in 1795, when Copleston was not yet twenty and Phillpotts not eighteen. Charles Stewart, also a Bishop and a great

¹ T. Mozley's sketch (*Reminiscences*, I, 85-7) is not unkind. This list of Coleridges does not of course exhaust the record of the family at Oxford.

missionary in Canada, entered Corpus in 1792, and became a Fellow of All Souls three years later. William Buckland was a Scholar in 1801. John Keble came up in 1806, John Taylor Coleridge in 1809, Thomas Arnold in 1811, the year when Keble won his Double First and was elected to a Fellowship at Oriel. Coleridge has given us the most intimate picture of the little College under the inert but kindly rule of Dr. Cooke. The numbers were small. The Fellows and Scholars as a whole were young, with a strong scholarly element among them and an excellent system of personal tuition. It was a cheerful, boyish, inexpensive Society, and it spent a good deal of its time in discussing questions of classical literature, of poetry, of history, or the absorbing battles of the Peninsular War. Into these discussions young Arnold, fresh from Winchester and looking less than his sixteen years, plunged, despite his early shyness, with characteristic eagerness and warmth.

"I never saw in him even then," says Coleridge, "a grain of vanity or conceit. . . . Some of his opinions startled us a good deal; we were mostly Tories in Church and State, great respecters of things as they were. . . . Many and long were the conflicts we had. . . . I think I have seen all the leaders of the common room engaged with him at once."

But Arnold never lost his temper. He had an affectionate heart, an ingenious and ardent mind.

"The more we saw of him, and the more we battled with him, the more manifestly did we respect and love him."¹

Arnold won a First Class in classics and passed on to an Oriel Fellowship in 1815.

The Corpus men formed a remarkable group in Oxford. But they did not stand alone. Notable Churchmen were growing up at other Colleges, gathering strength for the conflicts ahead. Daniel Wilson matriculated in 1798, and returned to St. Edmund Hall as Vice-Principal in 1807. Reginald Heber went in 1800 to Brasenose, where his father had been a Fellow and Tutor, and where his brother Richard, "Heber the magnificent," had taken his degree four years before. He won the prize for Latin verse that year and the prize for English verse three years later. Walter Scott contributed his suggestions for the poem on Palestine,² and we are told that the recitation of it at Commemoration

¹ See the well-known letter from Coleridge in Stanley's *Life of Arnold* (I, pp. 7 sq.). Keble shared this feeling. "The more I see of Arnold the more I love him," he wrote in 1816. (See Lock's *John Keble*, p. 6.)

² Lockhart tells us (*Life of Scott*, ed. 1902, II, 106) how Scott, hearing Heber's poem on Palestine read at breakfast at Brasenose, reminded him that no tools were used in the building of the Temple, and how Heber

created "quite a *furor*." Another poem, spoken by Heber in the Theatre on Lord Grenville's installation as Chancellor, and comparing him oddly enough to Brutus, Clarendon and Somers, was perhaps a less conspicuous success. In the year of Trafalgar Heber was elected a Fellow of All Souls. Eighteen years afterwards he was Bishop of Calcutta—his diocese including the whole of British India then. Heber noted how in the early years of the century "lounging" at Oxford quietly diminished, and how the race of Tutors quietly improved. But the Brasenose of his time must have been a hilarious place. Principals like Cleaver and Hodson hated the idea of "a college of paupers." Hodson once, returning to Oxford, insisted on driving the last stage with post-horses; "it should not be said that the first tutor of the first college of the first university of the world entered it with a pair."¹ Tatton Sykes in the years of the French Revolution set a tradition of open-handed sportsmanship difficult to resist. And Richard Barham, who came up in 1807, explained with characteristic humour why he found Chapel at seven in the morning too late to attend: if he could not get to bed by five or six, he was really good for nothing next day. Henry Milman, the son of a courtly Doctor who had been a Fellow of Exeter, and himself later on a celebrated Dean, followed Heber and Barham to Brasenose in 1810. He won the Newdigate with a poem on the Apollo Belvedere, which Stanley, a brother-Dean, considered the most perfect of Oxford prize poems. Milman, like Keble, wrote memorable hymns, and, like Keble, filled the Oxford Chair of Poetry² before he passed to graver labours. John Henry Newman was a freshman at Trinity in 1817, already a thoughtful and imaginative student, delighting in the Bible, greatly drawn to dogma, "enamoured" of the Fathers, but persuaded that the Pope was Anti-Christ. He read too hard and failed in the Schools, like some other men of genius, though he found an excellent Tutor in Thomas Short. Scholarship and discipline were both gaining ground at Trinity, and young Newman wrote with humour to his mother, describing the lamentations of those who could not understand such ways. "It is laughable, but it is delightful, to hear the groans of the oppressed."³

Other men intended for celebrity were becoming known elsewhere in Oxford. John Wilson with his astonishing powers and

promptly inserted the lines beginning "No hammer fell, no ponderous axes rung."

¹ Such at least was the story which Mark Pattison heard from his father. (See his *Memoirs*, p. 3.)

² In 1821. Keble succeeded him in 1831.

³ See *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman* (I, 34).

astonishing vitality—"my error never lay in thinking myself a fine animal—for that I certainly was"¹—became a Gentleman Commoner at Magdalen in 1803. Already a correspondent of Wordsworth, he was soon making friends on every side, winning the first Newdigate in 1806, passing in 1807 what was alleged to be "the most illustrious examination within the memory of man," and ever delighting his own generation with his feats of strength and humour, his rich exuberance of vigour and of mind.

"Oh! Learning's a very fine thing,
As also is wisdom and knowledge,
For a man is as great as a king,
If he has but the airs of a college."²

Wilson's nephew, James Ferrier, who followed him to Magdalen, and who became his son-in-law and a distinguished philosopher later, belongs to a younger Oxford generation.³ He bequeathed to generations younger still the gifts which he inherited and a long-descended legacy of dignity and charm. William Erle, a future Chief Justice, and Richard Bethell, a future Lord Chancellor, were at New College and Wadham in the memorable years which saw Napoleon's fall.⁴ Bethell was only fourteen, still wearing, as he said, "a jacket and a frill," and rivalling Phillpotts in precocity and quickness. A greater debater even than Bethell and a greater figure in English politics, Edward Stanley, fourteenth Earl of Derby, brought his fine gifts to Christ Church in 1817. He showed his quality by winning the Chancellor's prize for Latin verse, and within three years was elected to the House of Commons. Ashley, seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, reserved for a celebrity still purer, followed Stanley to Christ Church two years later, and took a First in classics in 1822. Charles Lyell entered Exeter in 1816. It was still a West Country College with a touch of the West Country tongue, proud to entertain Lord Exmouth when the fine old sailor came up for a Doctor's degree. But it was not for a Scotchman, though reared in the New Forest, to mock at the pronunciation of the Devonshire men. Lyell noted that the College was strongly Whig. But he noted also that, without pretending to any special literary reputation, it included "a number of deep scholars."⁵ Jack Russell, the sporting Devonshire parson,

¹ For Christopher North's characteristic confession see *Noctes Ambrosianae* (ed. 1855, II, 171).

² *Ib.* (I, 83).

³ Ferrier entered Magdalen as a Gentleman Commoner in 1828.

⁴ Erle took his B.C.L. and Bethell his B.A. in 1818.

⁵ See the *Life of Charles Lyell* (I, 34-9).

who was Lyell's contemporary, has left a more vivid picture of Exeter under Dr. Cole, its easy-going Head. The College, he says, "teemed with" Gentlemen Commoners. Tutors rarely interfered with undergraduates so long as Chapel and lectures were attended.

"Consequently men did much as they liked at all other times; shot, fished, and hunted, boated, sparred, and drove tandem; finishing each day with heavy drinking and convivial songs."¹

At Pembroke another sporting West Country parson, the elder Charles Kingsley, matriculated as early as 1800. A third, in some ways more remarkable, Hawker of Morwenstowe, was at Pembroke later; and at the end of one vacation the boy brought back with him to Oxford, riding pillion, his newly-married wife, aged forty-one.² A more notable Pembroke man than either, Thomas Lovell Beddoes, entered the College in 1820, "innocently gay, with a gibe always on his tongue, a mischievous eye, and locks curling like the hyacinth."³ Beddoes, who was Richard Edgeworth's grandson, found Oxford "the most indolent place on earth." But he was never unconscious of its beauty.

"Here thou at morn shalt see
Spring's dryad-wakening whisper call the tree
And move it to green answers."

He wrote there some remarkable dramas. He planned great poems. He defied opinion. Beddoes was, like Shelley, a democrat and rebel, and he was one of the first to recognise Shelley's powers. But Milman, a Professor of the subject, condemned his poetry as belonging to a "villainous school," and Beddoes, forsaking literature for medicine, went off to study in Germany instead. In Göttingen he found a goodwill and a spirit of diligence, which he had looked for in vain in the "apoplectic and paralytic" Universities at home. "I ought to have been a good poet," he declared in his last miserable message. But it was not till after his death that his greatest poem was published, and his "noble instinct for poetry" stood revealed.⁴

Beddoes might find the University indolent, but in the years which separate him from Shelley Oxford was slowly shaking her lethargy off. The great war came to an end at last. The

¹ See the *Memoir of the Rev. John Russell* (17 sq.).

² He had in consequence to migrate to Magdalen Hall. Hawker went up in 1823 and won the Newdigate in 1827. (See Baring-Gould's *Vicar of Morwenstow*, Chap. I.)

³ See Maclean's *History of Pembroke College*, O.H.S. (418).

⁴ *Death's Jest Book*, of which Browning said—"If I were ever Professor of Poetry, my first lecture at the University should be on Beddoes, a forgotten Oxford poet."

triumphs of 1814 were celebrated, perhaps a little prematurely, by a visit of the Allied Sovereigns to Oxford, which stands out in the records of the day. The Prince Regent had become as popular as the Stuarts, alike with the University, to whom he presented papyri,¹ and with Mother Goose, the street flower-seller, to whom, in driving through to races, he would fling a guinea as he passed. The University's addresses to his Royal Highness dwelt not only on the "Blaze of Glory," the "national Constancy," the "unparalleled Bravery" of British troops, but they attributed the final victory very largely to the personal "Wisdom, Promptitude and Energy" of the Prince. They were confident in 1814 that the Allies had secured a "wise, glorious and permanent peace." When the Sovereigns decided to visit Oxford in June, the enthusiasm naturally reached its height. There was a busy search for precedents, much correspondence with Lord Grenville and others, much discussion of resolutions and details. The Prince, when he came, was lodged at Christ Church, the Russian Emperor at Merton, the Prussian King at Corpus. The Vice-Chancellor was ill, but Dr. Landon of Worcester, a handsome, burly, gouty Head, who went by the name of "Old Glory," was admirably qualified to fill his place. The Prince, it was noticed, was very stout: he groaned audibly in climbing the stairs to the Bodleian, and did not enjoy the parade at Christ Church as much as the Emperor and the King. But he showed himself gracious and good-natured. He was interested in Magdalen Tower, "against which," as Croker reminded him, "James II broke his head." He had his name entered at Christ Church in dog Latin, "*Regia celsitudo Georgii Principis Walliae Regentis*." The banquet served in the Radcliffe was a great success. The Prince attended another at Christ Church. The most magnificent figure in the Theatre was Sir Charles Stewart, whose despatches from the Allied Armies had made him famous. But the hero of the occasion was Marshal Blücher, "*sexagenarius iste*," who was cheered and beset wherever he went. He was almost pulled to pieces by the crowds who wanted to shake hands with him. He had to appear with his pipe at the window of Dr. Barnes' house at Christ Church where he stayed, and where, it was said, he slept in his boots with a bottle of brandy under the pillow. He took the opportunity of expressing in a German speech his good-will towards the British nation. He had a practical chance of showing that good-will in a moment of rare peril a year later, and he took it for

¹ See Lord Grenville's letter of March 1810 on "this precious deposit" and other references in *Convocation Register*, 1809-15 (pp. 63 sq.). The Prince Regent was also responsible for the endowment of Readerships in mineralogy and geology.

the salvation of their army and his own. Wellington was not present at Oxford, but a diploma was sent to him. The University could not forget that "the Standards first planted on the Territory of France were those of our own victorious Chief." The Duke acknowledged the compliment "with a high sense of its value" on the 14th July. The permanent peace broke up, and fresh addresses were needed. In July 1815 Convocation voted three hundred guineas for the families of men killed and wounded "in the signal Victory of Waterloo."¹ But peace prevailed at last, and it is to the credit of Oxford that, when the days of danger and effort were over, there was no visible relapse into apathetic ways.

Progress still, no doubt, was slow. But in many of the Colleges, in those years when Keats and Wordsworth made acquaintance with Oxford,² there was a spirit stirring which no torpor could contain. Cyril Jackson had gone, but Christ Church had not forgotten his traditions. Parsons died in 1819, but Dr. Jenkyns was determined that Balliol should not relapse into the ways of Dr. Leigh. Copleston at Oriel was gathering round him such a company of Fellows as had hardly ever been assembled in one College. Whately, with his keen and kindly vigour, his love of logic and discussion, had become the central figure of the Noetic group. Keble, Whately and Hawkins had been followed by other students of distinction. Renn Hampden, the hero of a later controversy, was elected in 1814, Thomas Arnold in 1815. Henry Jenkyns, the Master of Balliol's brother, joined them in 1818, Joseph Dornford and Samuel Rickards a year later, Richard Jelf in 1821. In April 1822 John Henry Newman passed in to receive the congratulations of his new colleagues :

"I bore it till Keble took my hand, and then felt so abashed and unworthy of the honour done me, that I seemed desirous of quite sinking into the ground."

In 1823 Edward Pusey was elected from Christ Church, and in the same year Robert Wilberforce—Samuel was also in the College—took his Double First. Meanwhile John Taylor Cole-

¹ For these references and their spelling see the *Convocation Registers* for 1809-15 and 1815-20, from February 1814 to March 1816 inclusive—they are not always paged—and the *Hebdomadal Register*, 1803-23 (pp. 319-96). There are also in the University Archives various letters on the Royal visit. Cox (*Recollections*, 73-6) refers to it. The official *Account of the Visit* published in 1815 and the *Authentic Account of the Visit* (1814) contain addresses and verses commemorating the occasion.

² Keats wrote part of *Endymion* at Oxford in 1817: he had a friend, Benjamin Bailey, at Magdalen Hall. Wordsworth visited Oxford first in 1820.

ridge had made his name as a Fellow of Exeter. Milman and others were making names elsewhere. In 1824 William Copeland came up to Trinity—Isaac Williams had matriculated there three years before—and next year Herman Merivale won a Trinity Scholarship and moved over to Trinity from Oriel. In 1825 also Merivale won the first of Dean Ireland's newly-founded Scholarships. The notes of the examiners, Cardwell, Lloyd and Shuttleworth, remain.¹ The number of Determining Bachelors placed in the First and Second Classes increased.² The Chancellor took to suspending each year the old exercises for Determination. The Act was frequently postponed. A scheme for a new Printing House was approved.³ New plans for prizes and for study were adopted. Under the Regency, and through the Prince's influence, Lecturers on mineralogy and geology appeared. In 1805 an open-handed merchant of Fort William had offered five hundred pounds for a thesis on "the probable Design of the Divine Providence in subjecting so large a portion of Asia to the British Dominion."⁴ And twenty years later Mr. Drummond of Albury came forward with a proposal to found a Political Economy Chair.

Sydney Smith did not believe that such a proposal would be tolerated at Oxford.

"When an University has been doing useless things for a long time, it appears at first degrading to them to be useful. A set of lectures upon Political Economy would be discouraged in Oxford, possibly despised, probably not permitted."

But Sydney Smith was mistaken. The University wrote that it anticipated "the happiest effects" from enlarging the circle of its Academical studies, while the Founder was only anxious to have it understood that he relied on the University to keep the new study "in its proper place."⁵ Nassau Senior, a dis-

¹ See the papers in the University Archives (W. P. Pyx I, 18^b) and *Convocation Register*, 1820-28 (pp. 319-22). Mr. J. H. Merivale, the young Scholar's father, has left an account of a visit which he paid to Dean Ireland at this time. The Dean was highly pleased with the examiners chosen, the questions set and the success of an Oriel Devonshire man: but he wished "for Westminster next time." (See the *Family Memorials* of the Merivales, privately printed, p. 264.)

² See the entry on this subject in February 1816 in *Convocation Register*, 1815-20.

³ In May 1825 the Delegates of the Press were empowered to buy land and to build a house—the profits of the Press to pay (*Convoc. Reg.*, 1820-28, p. 327).

⁴ See *Convocation Register*, 1802-9 (pp. 215-18).

⁵ See *Convocation Register*, 1820-28 (pp. 324-5, 328-33, 339 and 346-7). Mozley (*Reminiscences*, I, 389) speaks of the lectures being given in St. Mary's Church.

tinguished Fellow of Magdalen, who had taken a First Class in 1811, and who was destined to render memorable service in the difficult cause of Poor Law Reform, was appointed to the new Chair in June 1825. And poor Professor Nares, whose duty had compelled him to lecture on political economy as well as modern history, must have thankfully withdrawn from the obligation of interpreting the "curious science" which he had tried so hard to understand. The year marked by this new departure was marked also by another innovation, the credit of which was largely due to the new Vice-Chancellor Dr. Jenkyns. In February 1825 the Mayor laid before the City Council a bond releasing the citizens for ever from the immemorial but irritating tribute of St. Scholastica's Day.¹ The Council voted its "warmest acknowledgments" of so great an act of grace and favour. And the spirit of innovation, once let loose, proceeded to destroy another survival of the past. Changes in the Examination Statutes afforded an opportunity of omitting the oath excluding Henry Simeonis, which ever since the thirteenth century had been a solemn part of the ritual for degrees. In the year before Mr. Gladstone entered Oxford the sins of that forgotten sinner found acquittal, and the venerable vow which proscribed him was silently permitted to expire.²

¹ See *Convocation Register*, 1820-28 (pp. 292-3), and *ante* (vol. I, 160-2).

² In February 1927. (See *Convocation Register*, 1820-28, p. 411, and *ante*, vol. I, 48.)

CHAPTER XXIV

TRACTARIAN OXFORD

IT was in October 1828 that William Gladstone took possession of his first rooms at Christ Church, in the Old Library across the cloister.¹ The "prettiest little boy that ever went to Eton"² had passed into a manhood of rare promise, and every school-friend who knew him well paid homage to his character even more than to his powers. The Oxford he drove into that October day was in some respects very different from our own. The approach from Headington, where the London coach descended between open fields, and where the traveller coming over the hill-top caught his first glimpse of the city spread below, was still, as Turner had painted it, one of the most beautiful in England. The little township of St. Clement's lay apart in the foreground. John Gutch still served it as Rector, and Newman had not long ceased to be his curate. Cowley marsh was a rush-grown common. No houses broke the quiet of the Iffley road. But once past the Bridge and the cloisters of Magdalen and the grey tower guarding both, the city began, rising straight from its streams and meadows, unbesieged as yet by suburbs, unaltered, unreformed. The old gates had gone. The old ditch had been filled up. The old walls survived only in venerable fragments. The Colleges had seen new quadrangles built, new towers and spires and battlements added, old fashions in louvres, casements, gables swept away. Within the old enclosures gardens of unexpected beauty had grown up. And here and there in the winding streets, among the picturesque old houses, with their patches of colour, their scraps of carving and their overhanging eaves, a new, unsightly building had perhaps intruded, though not as others more unsightly have intruded since. But in essentials still the ancient city, with its crumbling pinnacles, its immemorial churches, its enfolding trees, set on the low ridge between the rivers, and flanked by rising slopes of pasture or of forest-ground, lovely at all times to its

¹ But for most of his time he had rooms in Canterbury quad, on the first floor of the first staircase on the right as one enters by the gate.

² So Sir Roderick Murchison described him in 1811.

lovers, must have looked much as it had looked for generations past, to Queen Elizabeth turning back to bid farewell to it from Shotover, to Laud parading its by-ways as Proctor, to Falkland riding out from it to die.

The changes lately made in College buildings had not been seriously destructive. Wyatt's work at Christ Church, on Canterbury quadrangle and on the staircase to the Hall,¹ had been followed by work at Balliol, which restored the old front quadrangle, the old Hall and Library, and rebuilt the Master's house.² Wyatt had been called in also for restorations at New College and Brasenose, and for Magdalen he had suggested larger schemes. But Magdalen had contented itself with re-roofing its Chapel and Hall and rebuilding its cloisters, and Brasenose had added only some additional rooms.³ At Magdalen Hall great changes were occurring, the old buildings disappearing, and the old Grammar School being dismantled. Hertford College had been taken over and made ready to provide new quarters for the inmates of the Hall.⁴ Exeter had improved its Rector's Lodgings. At All Souls the Lodgings and the College front had been refaced. Merton had remodelled its Hall and restored its Chapel. Jesus had replaced its gables with battlements. Lincoln also had broken into battlements and had refaced its walls. At Wadham Dr. Tournay had enlarged and beautified the garden. At University Deep Hall had been pulled down,⁵ and two mighty statues of Stowell and Eldon set up, begun by Chantrey, finished by Nelson, and worked on by other sculptors. Pembroke was proposing to restore its quadrangle. Restorers had remodelled the cupola and roofing at the Theatre.⁶ St. Mary's Church was calling, not vainly, for repairs. But the last years of the eighteenth century and the early years of its successor had seen no changes so sweeping or surprising as Hawksmoor had allowed himself to dream of or as Butterfield was to be permitted to impose.

Internally the changes went deeper, though the old traditions lingered yet. When Mr. Gladstone entered Christ Church, Dr.

¹ The present Hall staircase, Wyatt's work, dates from about the beginning of the nineteenth century (Thompson, *Christ Church*, 235).

² In these changes at the end of the 18th century, Wyatt's work, the passage from the front to the back quadrangle was moved from the South side to the North side of the old Hall.

³ In the cloisters in 1807, and near the kitchen in 1810.

⁴ These changes were hastened by a fire at Magdalen Hall in 1820. The new buildings at Hertford were completed in 1822. The rebuilding of the Magdalen cloisters began in 1822.

⁵ In 1809. Barry built a new building in High Street in 1842 on the site of Deep Hall and Staunton Hall.

⁶ See Cox (*Recollections* 434, under 1801).



OXFORD FROM HEADINGTON HILL
From the painting by J. M. W. Turner

Samuel Smith was Dean. But Gaisford was a conspicuous figure in the College, and he succeeded to the Deanery in 1831. Gaisford, though a great scholar, cannot be called a great Dean. Critics pointed out his failings. One of his favourite pupils was tempted to describe him as "an unreasonable man in all things except Philology, and Bookselling, and the management of Libraries."¹ Versifiers mocked when he wooed his beautiful wife.² His curt, laconic style is responsible for many stories. One statesman and orator, writing of another, has noted that Gaisford failed to transmit it to the most famous of his flock.³ Frederick Oakeley, who went to Christ Church in 1820, has dwelt on the good work done there by Tutors like Thomas Vowler Short and Dr. Bull. Short, "the Old Growler," Pusey's friend and teacher, destined for a Bishopric later, was a strong educational influence in the College till 1829. Bull, an ornamental figure, portly, handsome, well-groomed, well provided-for—he gradually collected Canonries at Oxford and at Exeter, a Prebend at York and a comfortable living—was long-remembered for his magnificence, for the agony which false quantities caused him, and for his rather insolent attitude to those of his pupils who were not Christ Church men.⁴ Charles Lloyd, a famous lecturer who had been Peel's Tutor, had become Bishop of Oxford in 1827. Charles Longley, another popular Tutor, was on the point of passing to Harrow as Headmaster, on his way to Bishoprics and Archbishoprics elsewhere. And hardly less than these Charles Wordsworth, in all the glory of his youth, a king of the cricket-field⁵ and a master of Latin verses, was a Student

¹ There is a letter from Dr. Liddell to this effect, dated February 1852, among Sir H. Acland's papers in the Bodleian.

² I am tempted to quote from Mr. Tuckwell's lively *Reminiscences of Oxford* (133) one stanza of the song, though it belongs to earlier days.

"But here comes a handsome young spark whom I plucked once.

Perhaps he'll make love to her out of mere spite;
Aye, touch thy cap and be proud of thy luck, dunce,

But Greek will go farther than grins, if I'm right.

By Dis the infernal god,

See, see—they smile—they nod—

Ω μοι δύστηνος—ὦ ταλας ἐγώ.

Oh! should my faithless flame

Love this young Malcolm Graeme,

Οἳ τοι τοιοῦτοι φεῦ πόποι ὦ."

³ See Lord Morley's *Life of Gladstone* (I, 49). See also Dr. C. Wordsworth's *Annals of My Early Life* (67).

⁴ See Oakeley's reminiscences in *Reminiscences of Oxford*, O.H.S. and Tuckwell's (pp. 18–20). Bull's appointment to a Christ Church Canonry in March 1830 is recorded in the *Chapter Minute Book*, 1821–35.

⁵ So Charles Merivale called him. Wordsworth was closely concerned with the first Eton and Harrow match, the first Oxford and Cambridge

already, was about to be a Tutor, and was before long to include among his earliest pupils Gladstone and Manning, Charles Canning and Thomas Acland.

Christ Church, for all its conservatism, was full of life and movement. But in some of the other Colleges a stubborn tranquillity reigned. Dr. Routh had already been President of Magdalen for thirty-seven years and was to remain so for twenty-six years longer, much respected as a scholar and a theologian and as a steady upholder of the ancient ways. "An indulgent respectful reverence" gathered round him, not unaccompanied by cheeriness and fun.¹ His awful wig, which he never abandoned, his over-hanging eyebrows, his gliding gait—he moved, says Cox, like the heathen deities, "without seeming to divaricate or take alternate steps"—greatly impressed beholders. He had a large pew in Chapel, which afforded room for exercise, and he joined heartily in the responses with no special regard to their tone.² Dr. Tatham of Lincoln dated from the same days. He had fought against the new Examination Statute. He had published his views on politics and architecture. He had written letters to Mr. Pitt upon finance. He had proposed a Martyrs' Memorial for Oxford. He had preached a famous set of Bampton Lectures.³ He had once held a congregation at St. Mary's for two hours and a half with a sermon in which he denounced Biblical criticism and wished all the "Jarman" critics at the bottom of the "Jarman" ocean.⁴ His appearance at the Hebdomadal Board, whom he once accused of meeting in "an artful, collusive, or smuggling manner," was said to produce the effect of a bomb. But in 1828 he was an old man, living chiefly out of Oxford, and rarely appearing there except to sell his pigs. Dr. Landon of Worcester, Dr. Cooke of Corpus, and Dr. Marlow of St. John's were better types of the old dignified traditions.⁵ Mrs. Siddons had been known to give readings from Shakespeare at parties in Dr. Marlow's house. But in 1828 Marlow made way for Dr. Wynter,

match and the first University Boat-race. He was also a great skater and racket-player. (See his *Annals of My Early Life*, 9-10, 55-61, and Tuckwell's *Reminiscences*, 85-7.)

¹ See J. B. Mozley's *Letters* (200 n.) and Burgon's *Twelve Good Men*. But T. Mozley suggests (*Reminiscences*, I, 319) that latterly Routh became indifferent to discipline.

² See Cox (152-4) and Tuckwell (164-9). The gliding gait has been described by others as a shuffle.

³ *The Chart and Scale of Truth by which to find the Cause of Error*. They are said to have embodied a new system of logic.

⁴ Cox says he was present (*Recollections*, 220-1). So I have accepted his statement as to the duration of the sermon.

⁵ Lockhart's picture of a College Head may be worth noting. (See *Reginald Dalton*, I, 313—dated 1823.)

one of the three Presidents whose reigns cover the nineteenth century at St. John's. The Vice-Chancellor in that year, Dr. Jones of Exeter, also belonged to the age which was passing. He had been a prisoner of war in France. He had served through the battle of St. Vincent. He had been a naval chaplain on the "Fighting Téméraire."

But even among Heads of Colleges a new generation was arising. Hawkins had entered on his new post at Oriel in February 1828. Newman had supported his election to the Provostship, to the surprise of some of Keble's friends, and later possibly to his own regret.¹ Oriel men and their achievements were beginning to draw the eyes of England. Oakeley has preserved for us some Greek lines which commemorate the twelve well-known competitors for Oriel Fellowships in 1826:

"Ἄνδρες δίδε δνώδεκ' ἐς Ὀριελ ἦλθον ἀγῶνα,
Φρουδος, Τοξοφορος, καὶ Ἀλέκτορες Ἰχθύος ᾧα . . ." ²

At Merton Dr. Marsham had begun a reign which was to last for over fifty years. At All Souls Lewis Sneyd, elected Warden in 1827, was a polished, courtly gentleman of the old school, whose courtliness the rhymesters of the day contrasted with the brusqueness that prevailed elsewhere. Gaisford and Sneyd, it was suggested, might with advantage

"each other's lectures seek,
And one learn manners and the other Greek." ³

But Dr. Sneyd's attachment to eighteenth century methods did not allow him to take part in University business, or to act as Vice-Chancellor when his turn came. Three years earlier Dr. Ingram had become President of Trinity, a man of energy both physical and mental, a scholar and antiquary, whom other scholars have found it difficult to pardon for his habit of scrawling untidy notes in documents and books. His edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and his *Memorials of Oxford* perpetuate his fame. Trinity Scholarships had been thrown open, with the usual satisfactory result, and the reputation of the College was steadily rising. Dr. Jenkyns, "an unfailing judge of a clever man," if not always otherwise unfailing in his judgment, was reigning happily and tactfully at Balliol, sanctioning reforms which his Tutors urged upon him, and with all his eccentricities a popular, successful Head. And at New College Dr. Shuttleworth, bringing with him Holland House traditions and the easy confidence and

¹ Dean Burgon's sketch of Hawkins in his *Twelve Good Men* is interesting, but not the final word.

² For the rest of the lines and the key to them, with the happy play upon some names, see *Reminiscences of Oxford*, O.H.S. (323 and 345).

³ See *Black Gowns and Red Coats*, George Cox's satire of 1834.

humour of a larger world, had been elected Warden in 1822. "No person of any eminence," said Archbishop Tait, "ever came to Oxford without dining with Shuttleworth." The hospitable Warden invented a railroad for circulating decanters across the Common Room fire. Shuttleworth had perhaps admitted his ambitions many years before. In an address to Learning, a burlesque written in boyhood—

"Make me, O Sphere-descended Queen,
A Bishop—or, at least, a Dean"—

he had intimated the promotion which College Heads expected, the honours which he was one day to receive. He passed on to Chichester in 1840, to rouse the anxiety and to succumb to the tact of Mr. Manning, and to be succeeded by another Oxford Head, Dr. Gilbert of Brasenose, after a brief administration of his See. Before that he played a conspicuous part in the Tractarian conflict. His publication *Not Tradition, but Scripture*, seemed to Newman at best superficial and specious. But his theological opinions did not prevent his serving the University well. His wit was apt. His views were liberal. He was prepared to admit Dissenters in 1834. He ruled successfully the wilder spirits in his College.¹ He opposed a Probationer's promotion to a Fellowship on the ground that he had systematically neglected his studies. He even persuaded the College to surrender its time-honoured privilege of receiving University degrees without undergoing University examinations. The revival of New College may be dated from the days when Shuttleworth prevailed on the Fellows to agree to this necessary sacrifice, and to send in their men for the chief public examination like the members of other Colleges in future.²

Among Heads of Halls and Professors also there were typical survivals as well as remarkable men. Dr. Blackstone had for over thirty years been Principal of New Inn Hall, like his illustrious father. But he had lived at Woodstock, looking after the Duke of Marlborough's property, and Cox asserts that there were no other members of the Hall. He resigned at last in 1831, "after repeated and strong hints" on the subject. His successor, Dr. Cramer, "actually built a few sets of rooms," and did his best to draw to New Inn Hall superfluous young gentlemen from Christ Church, who required more liberty or more coaching

¹ Mr. Tuckwell suggests that both seniors and juniors at New College were a wild set then (*Reminiscences*, 175).

² See the document in the University Archives (N.E.P., A. 9), dated 12 November 1834, and read in the House of Convocation on November 27th, with the Warden's letter dated 2 November 1835. New College expressly reserved its members' old privilege to take degrees without supplicating for Graces in the House of Congregation.

than Christ Church offered.¹ Dr. Macbride, who was to be Principal of Magdalen Hall for over half a century, and who refused to write about his early days in Oxford because of the scandals that he would have had to tell, was busily employed in launching that ancient institution on its new career. Whately, one of the liveliest and most unconventional of teachers, had brought new vigour to St. Alban Hall, which then sorely needed all the vigour it could get.² He had induced Newman to act for a short time as his Vice-Principal. And his well-known treatise upon logic, a subject to which Oxford had contributed little since Dean Aldrich wrote, had roused the University at least to reconsider the methods by which that science should be taught. Hampden, who was to do such good work at St. Mary Hall a few years later, was still working in London. But he was soon to return to Oxford, and to be forced into a prominence which he probably was the last man to desire. St. Edmund Hall, alleged by some contemptuous High Churchmen to consist of shabby or foppish students, who "divided their time between self-contemplation, mutual amusement, and the reading of emotional works,"³ was largely directed by its Vice-Principal, John Hill, and was regarded as the headquarters of the Evangelical party. But one student of the Hall at least, Thomas Sikes, was a precursor of the Oxford Movement. Another, Daniel Wilson, no lover of Tractarians, became a stimulating Bishop in Calcutta. Another, William Jacobson, who came there from Glasgow in 1823, and who passed on to Lincoln, Exeter and Magdalen Hall, to a Professorship and a Bishopric also, was to play a very useful part in the Oxford of Mr. Gladstone's day. And yet another, Solomon Malan, who matriculated ten years later, was to prove one of the greatest linguists of his time.⁴

Professors of the old school figure in contemporary pages. Dr. Randolph, the son of a President of Corpus, who held four Professorships and three Bishoprics in turn, and who lectured on Divinity by candle-light to sleeping students, had passed from Oxford in 1807. But one of his successors, Dr. Neve, left a widow who for long kept up her card-tables in her drawing-

¹ Cox (*Recollections*, 181).

² Whately returned to Oxford from a living to be Principal of Alban Hall in 1825. Under Dr. Winstanley the membership of the Hall had apparently fallen to "a couple or two" of residents (*Ib.* 177).

³ See T. Mozley's *Reminiscences* (I, 23-4, 243-5, etc.). But it is not necessary to accept all the judgments expressed in Mr. Mozley's light-hearted and discursive book. Cox (*Recollections*, 28) recalls the influence of Vice-Principal Crouch, an earnest Evangelical, in the latter years of the eighteenth century.

⁴ See Tuckwell (*Reminiscences*, 95-7).

room at Beam Hall, and another, Dr. Faussett, was destined to be famous for his pungent attacks on theological opinions which differed from his own. Among scientific Professors Dr. Kidd, who became Regius Professor of Medicine in 1822, did valuable work in reviving medical study at Oxford. He was the first Professor of Medicine to discard the wig, the large-brimmed hat and the gold-headed cane which had distinguished his predecessors.¹ Abram Robertson, a shrewd Scot, once a servitor at Christ Church, held the Chair of Astronomy till 1827. Dr. Daubeny, long-remembered as a "little, droll, spectacled, old-fashioned figure, in gilt-buttoned blue tail coat, velvet waist-coat, satin scarf," did admirable work in chemistry and botany. He was one of the first Oxford Professors to make modern science count. And Dr. Buckland, appointed to the Readership in Geology created in 1819, "cheery, humorous, bustling, full of eloquence," was already stirring the waters of the Deluge.

"Some doubts were once expressed about the Flood,
Buckland arose, and all was clear as—mud."

Buckland delighted the undergraduates of Ruskin's day by his intrepid attempt to eat his way through the animal kingdom. The toughest articles of his adventurous diet proved to be a blue-bottle and a mole.² Daubeny and Buckland were chiefly responsible for bringing the British Association to Oxford in 1832: it had been organised only the year before. Buckland acted as President. Dalton and Faraday, Robert Brown and David Brewster received honorary degrees, and found themselves described by Keble as a "hodge-podge of philosophers." Another notability, William Crowe, Public Orator from 1784 to 1829, never achieved a Professorship, and was hard put to it to support his dignity upon a narrow income. But he never, either in the Theatre or at St. Mary's, failed in appropriate dignity of speech.³ And Professor Nares, who immediately preceded Dr. Arnold as Professor of Modern History, is a rather representative figure of the times. Edward Nares was the son of a Judge who had once been Member for Oxford. He had known Mr. Pitt as a young barrister in his father's house. He had seen the unhappy King and Queen of France dine in public just before the Revolution. He had been a Fellow of Merton under Dr. Barton, who, it was said, used to hide away his money in drawers and boxes. He had become intimate at Blenheim and had married Lady Charlotte Spencer, to the annoyance of

¹ Notably Sir Christopher Pegge.

² See Sir E. T. Cook's *Life of Ruskin* (I, 75), and Tuckwell (35-41).

³ For some of these references see Cox (130-1, 145-6, 132-3, 135-7 and 215-19) and Tuckwell (34-5).

the great house to which she belonged. He had held a curacy at St. Peter's, Oxford, and had been presented with a living in Kent. In 1813 Lord Liverpool made him Regius Professor of Modern History, and Nares did his best to justify the appointment by writing the portentous *Life of Lord Burghley*, which might, as Macaulay observed, "before the deluge, have been considered as light reading by Hilpa and Shalum." But Macaulay, who was not too generous to Burghley, was in no mood to be generous to Nares. The Professor also did his best to lecture both on history and on economics. His inaugural lecture in 1816 was well attended. But later on his class fell away. In 1835 he once had to lecture to an audience of two. He would have been happier could he have discoursed on theology or geology, on the Creeds or the Bible or the Plurality of Worlds, happier still could he have indulged his taste for the "serio-ludicro, tragico-comico" tales, productions entitled *Thinks-I-to-Myself* and *I says, says I*, in which he achieved a genuine success. Nares was undoubtedly a scholar and a gentleman, of amiable manners and discursive literary tastes. But the statesmen of the day, even Canning's contemporaries at Oxford, could as yet apparently see no reason why a Professor should have a particular knowledge of his subject or some special aptitude for the science he professed.¹

I

Through this world of changing ways and time-honoured survivals young Gladstone moved with grave interest and delight. The Christ Church of the day had its shortcomings and temptations, which included rowdyism sometimes of a dangerous kind. But there was also a good tradition of reading in the College. Pusey a few years earlier had been accused of reading sixteen or seventeen hours out of the twenty-four. And though Gladstone never became a "reading automaton,"² but for a time at any rate took life easily, and trifled and pottered, as he put it, a good deal, he must have found plenty of opportunities for work.³ He was offered a Studentship in 1829. Friends of note and character gathered round him, old Etonians like Milnes-Gaskell, Francis Doyle and Walter Hamilton, or later associates like Joseph Anstice, Robert Phillimore and Thomas Acland. Three future Indian Viceroys, James Ramsay, Charles Canning and James Bruce, were among his contem-

¹ On Nares see Mr. G. C. White's monograph *A Versatile Professor* (1903).

² This is Pusey's description of himself. (See Liddon's *Life* of him, I, 31.)

³ Mr. Biscoe, an authority on Aristotle, was among his Tutors.

poraries, three future Dukes, Lord Lincoln, Lord Abercorn and Lord Douglas. Nor must James Hope be forgotten, "the most winning person of his day," afterwards a great Parliamentary lawyer, son-in-law of Lockhart, inheritor of Abbotsford, convert with Manning to the Roman Church. At other Colleges Gladstone's friends included Frederic Rogers and Sidney Herbert of Oriel: Rogers, Lord Blachford, had a brilliant academic career. Frederick Denison Maurice, who, after some time spent at Cambridge, had come up to Exeter to read for Orders, hoping to pay his expenses by publishing a novel, brought with him a "superlative" recommendation from Arthur Hallam. But Gladstone found him "difficult to catch and still more difficult to hold." Several of these young men, serious-minded in their generation, became members of the little essay society at Christ Church which was called, after the initials of its founder, the W.E.G.¹ They read philosophy. They listened to sermons.² Some of them at any rate thought deeply on religion. Mr. Gladstone's diaries mention long talks upon "that awful subject" with Anstice, and with Saunders of Cuddesdon, who coached him in mathematics. The Bible was his constant companion. Evangelicalism was still in the ascendant. Pusey was kind to the young Christ Church Student, but never attempted to influence his opinions. Of Newman he saw little. Whately seemed to him "anti-sabbatical," Sydney Smith a regular latitudinarian, even Milman rather rash. Newman's sermons were not always free from "objectionable matter"; and the question occurs, "Are all Mr. Keble's opinions those of scripture and the church?" Lively critics complained that the questioner was getting too much mixed up "with the St. Mary Hall and Oriel set," who were really "only fit to live with maiden aunts and keep tame rabbits."³

¹ Mr. George Russell, in his *Life of Gladstone* (20), gives this list of the society: original members, T. D. Acland, J. Anstice, J. B. Coll, F. Coll, F. H. Doyle, J. M. Gaskell, W. E. Gladstone, B. Harrison, J. T. Leader, H. Moncrieff, F. Rogers and H. Ker Seymer: later members, Hon. J. Bruce, Hon. F. Bruce, T. Egerton, H. G. Liddell, Lord Lincoln, F. D. Maurice, C. Oxnam, C. Thornton, H. H. Vaughan and C. Marriott. Lord Morley's list, given on the authority of Mr. Gladstone and Sir T. Acland (*Life of Gladstone*, I, 59, n.) varies this slightly. For the two Colls it substitutes Cole and another Acland (Arthur); it spells Oxnam Oxenham, and it adds Lushington's name to the second group. Both lists may possibly be incomplete: for Lord Morley mentions a motion which Lord Abercorn brought before club (*Ib.* 60).

² Sir F. Doyle has a pleasant tale (*Reminiscences*, 125-6) of young Gladstone carrying him off remorselessly to University sermons at 2 o'clock on Sundays, until one day his mentor was discovered sleeping, and Doyle thenceforward plucked up courage to refuse to go.

³ Quoted by Mr. George Russell (p. 20).

Gravity there was, no doubt, but very little tameness, in the stirrings of those high, young minds. Prejudice there may have been, and possibly too much solemnity, too much precision. But it is a true claim that there was also "a single-minded and passionate love of truth." Mr. Gladstone's diaries give a vivid picture of the life that he and perhaps a few others like him led. He jots down at the beginning of term the books he ought to read—"that this may at least make me blush if I fail"—Butler's *Analogy*, Herodotus, the *Aeneid*, Juvenal and Persius, five books of *Ethics*, St. Matthew and St. John. One day there is Bible reading with Anstice. Another day begins with a breakfast with Gaskell, goes on to Thomas à Kempis, Herodotus and Persius, ends with wine, and doubtless much conversation, with one or two other companions. Church and Sunday-school teaching on Sunday morning and evening, leads to the conclusion that the children are "miserably deluded." Another Sunday finds him walking off with Maurice to hear a certain "wild but splendid preacher." Walks are frequent. After fifteen miles along the road to Leamington, a thunderstorm drives him for shelter to an inn, where he comforts himself by spouting *Prometheus Vincit*. One day in June he walks eight miles to Banbury, breakfasts there, and then walks on to Leamington, twenty-two miles more. Wine parties were not infrequent. But cards, even after dining with a Bishop, excited him and kept him awake at night. They were "too often accompanied by a dissipated spirit." He found himself happier in reading or in conversation, in vigorous exercise or vigorous work, studying often the orators of the past, planning perhaps orations of his own, brooding over Wordsworth's poetry, talking into the night about religion with one close and confidential friend. The deep seriousness was never absent. A high-wrought ardour of devotion drove him. His prayer for obedience and self-sacrifice was sincere. Had he been left free at Oxford to choose his own profession, there seems little doubt that young Gladstone would have yielded to the voices which so strongly called him to dedicate his manhood to the "transcending" service of the Church.¹

Mr. Gladstone never won the Ireland. Shrewsbury Scholarship proved to be too strong. And even the redoubtable Scott of Christ Church, lexicographer and Master of Balliol later, failed in 1830, though he succeeded afterwards. Indeed it is recorded that Mr. Gladstone's essay in that year's competition was described as "desultory beyond belief." He failed also to secure the Newdigate, and sixty-four years later declined to

¹ On these points see the extracts from Mr. Gladstone's diaries given by Lord Morley (*Life*, I, 64-6) and the letter to his father dated Aug. 4, 1830, printed in the Appendix to that volume.

class his effort as a poem.¹ But in 1831 he triumphed in the Schools. Paper-work now played a much greater part in the examination. There were three days of papers, and on each day at least five or six hours' work. One of his papers, headed "Question in Moral Philosophy," has by good fortune been preserved, and the opening passage of it may be worth quoting.²

"It will be my endeavour, in the consideration of this question, to adhere as closely as possible, in point of division and arrangement, to the order suggested by the form in which it has been proposed. The principal heads may be thus briefly stated—

- I To discuss 1. the absolute } compatibility of virtue and self-denial.
 2. the relative }
 II To contrast the conclusion thus obtained with the Stoical doctrine of *ἀπάθεια*.

Also with a particular reference to Aristotle.

- III By considering the nature and office of conscience, to inquire how far the question whether it is factitious or innate is affected by anything hitherto stated.

Or, as given in the question proposed

1. 'Explain this position'
2. 'as it is inculcated in his theory'
3. 'in contrast with the apathy etc'
4. 'deduce consequences etc'

The topics embraced will be so numerous, that a brief and I fear often an abrupt notice must suffice for each."

The writer follows this scheme through some fourteen long pages, with references to Aristotle, to Locke, to Bishop Butler, and winds up to his conclusion that conscience is innate. He ends with a deprecatory note for the examiners, such as many a candidate may have wished to add.

"I am aware that this paper must from its length, and from the time it occupies to get anything like an outline of the subject, have many marks of haste, and probably much of repetition and omission besides more serious errors—and in particular that the latter part is abrupt and slovenly—but as much has been done as time and hesitation would allow me. There is not even time to reperuse."

¹ The subject was Richard Cœur de Lion. His friend Anstice won the prize.

² I have to thank Mrs. Hampden of Ewelme, a daughter-in-law of the late Bishop Hampden, for allowing me to see and quote this interesting paper. It is signed at the end "W. E. Gladstone, Ch. Ch.," and bears on the back Mr. Gladstone's name and the initials of the examiners, of whom R. D. Hampden was one. Lord Gladstone has very kindly sent me an extract from Mr. Gladstone's Diary bearing on this point, dated Wednesday, Nov. 16. "In morning getting up Roman History; but on going into the schools, found a moral essay on a very fine but very difficult subject. Wrote hard for five hours, but how effectively I have not the least conception."

The papers were apparently written on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday in one week: Saturday was a free day: and on the following Monday, November 14, the *viva voce* ordeal took place. To this just beforehand the candidate felt himself "miserably unequal." But once it began, he was "little troubled with fear." The examiners proved "kind beyond everything." Hampden, in science, gave him "a beautiful examination." In divinity he did not answer as he would have wished. But in history and the poets all went well. He was only "put on in eight books besides the Testament, namely Rhetoric, Ethics, *Phaedo*, Herodotus, Thucydides, *Odyssey*, Aristophanes (*Vespae*), and Persius." His auditors were pleased and friendly. His spirits rose. In theology the story goes that, when the examiner proposed to leave one part of the subject, the candidate, carried away, protested that he could not leave it yet. Ten days later the classical list appeared. Gladstone and his friend Denison were in the First Class, Maurice and Phillimore in the Second.¹ But the mathematical Schools were still to come, and every day the candidate became "more and more thoroughly convinced" of his incapacity in that direction. That did not, however, prevent him on the Sunday before the examination from teaching twice in a Sunday-school, hearing at least one sermon and reading four others. Again he and Denison were in the First Class, and an hour "of thrilling happiness" followed. "My double first," said the late Lord Halifax, "must have been a better thing than Peel's; Gladstone's must have been better than mine."²

Mr. Gladstone's examination is one of the best examples of the examination system of the time, and his diaries illustrate the religious problems stirring just before the Tractarian Movement began. But politics, which he found fascinating, "perhaps too fascinating," from the outset, also played a big part in the Oxford of those years. Great public issues were pressing for settlement, issues which it was no longer possible to avoid. In 1828 the old Test and Corporation Acts were repealed. On the 5th February 1829 Peel's letter resigning his seat was read to Convocation, which had just been discussing its annual protest against the idea of Roman Catholic Emancipation.³ The

¹ Sidney Herbert at the same time took a Pass degree—"an honorary fourth." Henry Denison was one of several well-known brothers who distinguished themselves at Oxford (see G. A. Denison, *Notes of my Life*). He died comparatively early.

² Quoted by Mr. George Russell (p. 21).

³ This protest or petition was carried by 156 to 48 (Morley's *Gladstone*, I, 53).

Government had come to the conclusion that there must be "some satisfactory adjustment of the Catholic Question," and the Minister, though he would never "to the last Hour of his Existence" be unmindful of the indulgence shown him, felt "bound to surrender to the University without delay the Trust" confided to him.¹ An exciting contest followed. Ancient prejudice was instantly awake. Peel lost his seat and Sir Robert Inglis was elected. But it is strange to find John Henry Newman exerting himself to secure Peel's defeat on such an issue, denouncing the Minister as "unworthy to represent a religious, straightforward, unpolitical body," and thanking God for the "glorious victory" which "proved the independence" of Oxford and the Church.² To the merits of the question Newman professed himself indifferent, though he had voted in Convocation in favour of the Catholic claims. Dislike of what he thought dictation by the Government and fear of the dangerous liberalism of the Duke of Wellington seem to have been the motives which decided his course. But the cheery partisanship of his electioneering—Peel's supporters appear in his letters as strutting peacocks, and in the matter of canvassing "mere sucking pigs"—suggests that Whately had some excuse for thinking his old colleague's attitude perverse.³

Doctrines even more dangerous than Roman Catholic Emancipation were afoot. The battle over Reform was raging in the country. A dynasty went down in France. Dangerous riots were reported. At Bristol Sir Charles Wetherell, a son of the old Master of University and the most vehement and unpopular of Tory lawyers, nearly lost his life.⁴ The leaders of the University were as ready as the most grandiloquent of undergraduates to believe that the "unhappy multitude" was rushing along the path of revolution "as an ox goeth to the slaughter or a fool to the correction of the stocks."⁵ The Register of Convocation for these years deals with many points of academic interest, the organisation of an efficient University Police, the changes in the Examination Statutes, the fitting up of the Old

¹ See *Convocation Register*, 1829-37 (pp. 4-5).

² See Newman's letters of February 17, February 26 and March 1 in his *Letters and Correspondence* (I, 200-203), and the *Apologia* (72-3).

³ Whately, with Hawkins, Shuttleworth and others, including Pusey, had strongly advocated the re-election of Peel. To Blanco White, then an intimate friend, Newman's "sudden union with the most violent bigots was inexplicable" (see Newman's *Apologia*, 119). But Newman soon repented of his unkind thoughts about Peel (*Letts. and Corr.* I, 207).

⁴ For many years afterwards the inscription "No Bristol Riots" could be read on the walls of All Souls (Tuckwell, *Reminiscences*, 250).

⁵ See Mr. Gladstone's letter to the *Standard* of 7 April 1831, quoted by Lord Morley in his *Life* (I, 70-1).

Clarendon Building for lectures and University business, the regulations for mathematical and for Hebrew Scholarships, the foundation of the Hertford Scholarship in 1834, the new Aularian Statutes of 1835.¹ But it contains also many entries bearing on the public interests of the day. There are addresses in 1830 to King William and Queen Adelaide: Convocation was proud of a monarch "trained in British Principles and British feelings." There are letters in 1832 commemorating the visit of the young Princess Victoria with the Duchess of Kent. There is an account of the important deputation which on the 7th February 1834 went up to Apsley House to install the Duke of Wellington as Chancellor of the University in Lord Grenville's place. The Duke had been by no means anxious to accept the nomination. He declared that he was unfit and incapable and knew no more of Greek or Latin than an Eton boy in the Remove. He only agreed to stand under pressure, as "an instrument to be used by the public when it was necessary." But when Peel's name was put forward a little later, the Duke was committed to his friends and felt unable to withdraw.² Newman, oddly enough, thought that everyone was "vexed" by the Duke's election.³ But Keble wrote an ode for the Encaenia, recalling, characteristically, the great Duke of Ormonde and the "sainted Monarch" whom he served. A younger poet produced a satire, *Black Gowns and Red Coats*, which dwelt less on the Duke's virtues than on the University's defects.

"Come with thy baton—plant thy guns of bronze,
Field-marshal Chancellor—dragoon the Dons!"

And more than one observer recorded the enthusiasm shown when Wellington appeared at the Sheldonian "crowded to suffocation" in June 1834, coping gallantly with the Latin formulas, indifferent to any false quantities he committed, his stern face lit, his grim serenity not quite indifferent to the "tremendous" welcome he received.⁴ The University Register goes on to note the visit of Queen Adelaide, "by Birth and

¹ See *Convocation Register*, 1829-37 (pp. 25-8, 69-86, 100-116, 141-56, 170-2, 195-7, 208-9, 213-14, 229-31, 361-2, 414-24).

² Peel thereupon refused to stand against the Duke. (See Parker's *Life of Peel*, II, 227-31.) Robert Scott wrote some Homeric hexameters on the occasion (Tuckwell, *Reminiscences*, 130, 264-7).

³ *Letters and Correspondence* (II, 27). Archbishop Whately is said to have gone to Lord Wellesley, the Viceroy, and demanded a troop of horse for himself.

⁴ See J. B. Mozley's *Letters* (41). Dr. H. M. Butler of Harrow and Trinity has recalled how his father, sitting by, corrected Wellington's false quantities, Jacobus, Carolus, etc. (See the letter given in Mr. Arthur Elliot's *Life of Lord Goschen*, II, 231.)

Education a Protestant," in 1835. The crowds in Oxford were ready enough to cheer the quiet-looking lady, who drove about with the Duke of Wellington sitting opposite in his gold-tasselled cap. But it was thought "somewhat *infra dig.*" that the Queen should make her headquarters at the Angel Hotel.¹ It quotes an address to the new Queen in 1837, recalling the virtues which have "for so long a period endeared the House of Brunswick to the British Nation." But Queen Victoria's reference in her reply to the adoption of well-considered improvements may possibly have sounded a discordant note. It includes petitions on matters of a more controversial nature, petitions against the Reform Bill, increasing in anxiety in 1831 and 1832, petitions against the Profanation of the Lord's Day and against the Irish Church Bill in 1833, and a petition against a charter for the University of London, so "fraught with danger" to the ancient establishments, in 1834. Any proposal to abolish tests created apprehension: it was ingeniously suggested in 1834 that the removal of the disabilities which excluded Nonconformists would deprive the University of liberty of conscience by compelling it to abrogate its Statutes. And any proposal for the appointment of Commissioners to inquire into College rules or College administration roused perhaps an even deeper feeling of alarm.²

It was not the undergraduates of Christ Church only who found politics fascinating in those exciting years. The Reform Bill filled men's minds, and all the world was drawn into the contest. Even the formal young debaters of the Union had passions behind them which only a great cause could stir. Troubles had arisen in the United Debating Society which had begun its debates at Christ Church in 1823.³ Men of note had joined it, the Wilberforces of Oriel with their "unquenchable spirits," and many others destined for distinction later. But there seems to have grown up a tendency for the debates to end in "rags." A disturbing element had to be excluded. In December 1825 the *Oxford Herald* announced that the United Debating Society had died one Saturday "of a deep decline."

¹ See Cox's *Recollections* (260).

² For the references here to the Register in the University Archives see *Convocation Register*, 1829-37 (pp. 128-30, 201-2, 232-3, 262-4, 277, 285-6, 345, 352, 362-4, 446, 456-7, 531-2, 546-7, 550).

³ The 8 Chairmen or Presidents of 1823 were Maclean of Balliol, Ashley of Christ Church, Colquhoun of Oriel, Wilson-Patten of Magdalen, Powys of Christ Church, Bramston of Oriel, Ingestre of Christ Church and Durnford of Pembroke. The recent authority on the subject is Mr. H. A. Morrah's history of *The Oxford Union 1823-1923*. But the *Proceedings of the Oxford Union Society* published in 1841 give valuable details about the early years.

But it was instantly revived with a shorter title, and from that time forward the Oxford Union Society entered on a new and stronger lease of life. The lists of early Officers and Committees dating from 1826 show several well-known names. In that year Herman Merivale persuaded the Society to declare that Charles II's misgovernment was a worse evil than Cromwell's usurpation. A majority of one on a division of thirty-seven members condemned Mechanics' Institutes as a means of educating the labouring classes. The President in February 1827 gave his casting vote for the motion that "the English Universities have sufficiently accommodated their system of Education to the circumstances of the existing generation." The character of Canning brought seventy-two members to a discussion at Christ Church in 1828. The Society met in private rooms at different Colleges and once or twice in the New College Common Room. But the proposal to meet in public rooms was long looked on with suspicion. There was a moment when the Vice-Chancellor frowned and the Proctors summoned the members to disperse. But the Society stood firm. The President proved equal to the occasion. The authorities apparently relented, and before long the hiring of rooms was allowed. Baxter's Rooms were used in 1828. In 1829 the Union was definitely established at Wyatt's in the High Street,¹ and a great day, perhaps the greatest in its history, dawned for its debates. Samuel Wilberforce, who, some thought, carried off the palm for eloquence, had been appointed to a curacy before the end of 1828, but Henry's reputation as a speaker was not unequal to his brother's.² Other Bishops of the future, Richard Durnford, Charles Wordsworth, Charles Baring, Walter Hamilton, and others again with more secular intentions, Herman Merivale, Stephen Glynne, Thomas Acland, Sidney Herbert, had made or were making their names. But among the Union orators of 1829 Henry Manning of Balliol was the most conspicuous. The handsome, indolent Harrow boy, noted chiefly for his top-boots and his cricket, but already conscious of faith and "a great fear of hell," had come up to Balliol in 1827, convinced and anxious to convince his father that it was impossible to live there on his school allowance of two hundred and sixty pounds a year. Charles Wordsworth, who had encouraged his cricket at Harrow, had not been greatly impressed by Manning's powers of study there, nor, it would seem, by his powers of writing verse.

"Dear Charles, I hope you'll make some small allowance,
Being a poet of the brightest rate ;

¹ Now Rowell's, No. 115. See the building at the back.

² T. Mozley talks of his "gusty mirth" (*Reminiscences*, I, 97).

You would, I'm sure, be kind if you could know once,
What pains I've taken to write verse of late." ¹

But Manning soon learned to work and to win honours at Oxford. He was "a very quiet and well-conducted undergraduate," said a contemporary, "unless you consider 'boxing' a reproach."² He soon learned to speak at the Union also, and he spoke "at every meeting, on all subjects, at length, with unfailing fluency and propriety of expression." His manner became imposing, his self-confidence mature.³ Manning and Francis Doyle were prominent on the famous occasion when the Cambridge Apostles sent over Sunderland and Monckton Milnes and Arthur Hallam to plead for Shelley against Byron among Oxford men. Doyle opened the debate in Shelley's favour in the "neat little square room, with 80 or 90 young gentlemen sprucely dressed, sitting on chairs or lounging about the fireplace." The Oxford men had not read Shelley, and Sunderland with his fine, declamatory eloquence swept all opposition to Doyle's motion away.⁴ "We cowered like birds, and fled like sheep," said Manning, though he, and he alone, did his best for Byron's cause.⁵ Gladstone of Christ Church, who had been largely responsible for bringing the Cambridge "barbarians" to Oxford, confined himself to organising the welcome they deserved.

Gladstone's own triumphs at the Union were to come. His maiden speech, in February 1830, defending the Treason and Sedition Acts of 1795, was followed by ventures equally successful upon happier themes. The young Canningite soon proved his quality. He became Secretary and President. As Secretary he once allowed himself, after a vote on the Duke of Wellington's Government which was narrowly carried, to note in his minutes "Tremendous cheering from the majority of one."⁶ As President he rebuked the practice of defacing the records of the House. But his most remarkable triumph, rare even among the early omens of great men, was a speech in the famous debate

¹ See Wordsworth (*Annals of My Early Life*, 25-6).

² See Mr. Wickham's letter quoted by Purcell (*Life of Cardinal Manning*, I, 59).

³ T. Mozley describes him earlier as a "rather boyish freshman" (*Reminiscences*, I, 424).

⁴ Mr. Morrah has summed up the story (*The Oxford Union*, 32 sq.). See also Sir F. Doyle's *Reminiscences* (108-13), and other accounts of this debate of 26 November 1829. For the date see the published *Proceedings of the Society*, 1841 (p. 71).

⁵ Yet in the voting Doyle's motion in Shelley's favour received only 33 votes, while 90 were recorded against it, if the figures given in the published *Proceedings* (p. 71) are correct.

⁶ The note was erased but deciphered later. (See Morrah's *Oxford Union*, 47.)

impeaching Lord Grey's Government, which lasted for three nights in May 1831. There had never been any debate like it in Oxford, wrote Gladstone to his brother, and in the opinion apparently of all who heard it there had never been a speech made in the Oxford Union of such astonishing ability and power as his.¹ Roundell Palmer, Sidney Herbert, Lowe and Tait were among the other speakers. Doyle had noticed a dear old gentleman with snow-white hair coming often to hear the debates. But when a rash young Tory denounced Lord Grey's Government as a crew of traitors, Doyle was startled to see his "patriarch" leap to his feet and deliver a retort which filled the House with cheers.

"The honorable gentleman has called his Majesty's ministers a crew. We accept the omen, a crew they are; and with Lord Grey for stroke, Lord Brougham for steerer, and the whole people of England hallooing on the banks, I can tell the honorable gentleman they are pretty sure of winning their race."²

Gladstone passed from the scene, but the excitements of the Union continued. There was still a great race of speakers. W. G. Ward and Charles Marriott, Tait and Cardwell filled the Chair. In 1833 a group of zealous Whigs, including Lowe of University, Massie of Wadham, who had beaten Charles Wordsworth for the Ireland, and Brancker, the precocious boy from Shrewsbury who while still at school had carried off that great honour from Gladstone and Scott, succeeded in ousting the Tory Committee, and in electing Massie and Lowe to office. The Tory leaders, old Wykehamists like Palmer, Cardwell and Ward, retorted by forming a separate society of Ramblers, whose secession threatened the parent stock. The question arose whether the Ramblers should be allowed to continue members of the Union, and over this grave constitutional issue a Homeric battle raged. Tait of Balliol, Senior and Charles Marriott interposed in the interests of unity.³ Thomas Jackson of St. Mary Hall, with help from his friend Sinclair, produced

¹ See Morley's *Gladstone* (I, 72-4), Morrah's *Oxford Union* (47-51), etc. Charles Wordsworth (*Annals*, 85-6) gives a list of the speakers with notes on each—Lowe, Tait and other Whigs being marked off as academically "nobody." G. A. Denison acutely prophesied that Gladstone would one day be a Liberal because he argued against the Reform Bill "on Liberal grounds" (T. Mozley, *Reminiscences*, II, 95).

² See Doyle's *Reminiscences* (115-16). The "patriarch" of course was Lowe.

³ A. C. Tait, a Snell Exhibitioner of 1829, and a pupil of George Moberly, became a Fellow of Balliol in 1834 and a Tutor in 1835, the same year as W. G. Ward. Edward Cardwell, two years younger, was also a Scholar and Fellow of Balliol. Charles Marriott, Commoner of Exeter and Scholar of Balliol, became a Fellow of Oriel in 1833.

the *Uniomachia*, a Greek Macaronic poem, with a translation in dog-Latin,¹ to which Robert Scott contributed later a commentator's notes.

“ Πίτω Ῥάμβληροι σίττον, λέπτω τε Μασεῖχοι,
Τοὺς μὲν ἄγον Καρδῆλλ καὶ Τωρεῖστος Ὅαδους.”

The Latin translation helps us to recognise the names :

“ Dextra sedent Rambleri, sinistraque Masichi
Hos quidem Cardwellius et Toryorum-praejudiciis-maxime-imbutus ordinabant Wardius.”

One more specimen perhaps may be allowed :

“ Οὐδ’ ἔλαθεν Μαρίωτα φιλαίτατον Ωρειήλων
Φεινόμενος Ταιεῖτος ἐν αἰνῇ δηιότητι.”

Or in dog-Latin,

“ Neque fefellit Mariottum charissimum Orielensium
Fino-mulctatus Taitus ² in terribili quarrello.”

The happy mockery prevailed. Recriminations died in laughter. And with the return of the seceders the Union's integrity and future were assured.

II

Meanwhile debates on deeper things than politics were threatening to absorb the University's attention. Men whose names and hopes and high endeavours have long been familiar to this generation, were beginning to gather followers round them and to sound their challenge to the conscience of the Church. Of this new movement Oriel was the home. It may be well to take up that story, so far as it is possible to tell it here, in the year when *The Christian Year* was published, and when Newman, “drifting in the direction of liberalism,” found himself rudely awakened from his dream.³ John Keble, “the true and primary author” of the great revival, had been a Tutor at Oriel from 1818 to 1823. “He is the first man in Oxford,” wrote Newman to his father in those years. The deep and tender feeling for religion, which found expression in *The Christian Year*, was the true force with which the Tractarians moved mankind. But Keble had taken to a country curacy his beauty of character and his spiritual power. And when, at the end of 1827, his name was suggested for the Provostship of Oriel, both Newman and Pusey gave the preference to Hawkins.

¹ “Canino-Anglico-Graece et Latine.” (See *Uniomachia*, 5th ed.)

² Tait had been fined for disobeying the Chair.

³ In 1827. (See Newman's *Apologia*, 72.)

They may have thought Keble too unpractical: they were filling, Newman argued, a Provost's not an angel's place. They may even have doubted whether a Tory so wholehearted, devoted to the memory of Charles I, though not without some tenderness for Mr. Gladstone, could have brought himself to tolerate even academical reforms.¹ In the same year Thomas Arnold, one of the first to welcome Keble's poetry with enthusiasm, had been elected Headmaster of Rugby, to change the face of education, Hawkins prophesied, all through the Public Schools of England. Newman was already an Oriel Tutor: Hurrell Froude and Robert Wilberforce became Oriel Tutors in 1828. Pusey had been abroad, studying German criticism, and was soon to return with a Professorship to Christ Church. Whately was still at St. Alban Hall. He was to become Professor of Political Economy in 1829 and Archbishop of Dublin in 1831. The days had gone by since he led the Common Room at Oriel, dazzled Hawkins with the splendour of his dress,² dominated his colleagues with his big voice and lively arguments, and taught the young Noetics there to challenge every theory, and to confound with their logic any visitor less vivacious than themselves.³ Whately and Newman were soon to part company, but Newman bore witness to Whately's generous unselfishness, even when it became "quite impossible" to know him.⁴ And Whately's bold plea for the Church's independence had an influence upon Newman which its author could hardly have foreseen.⁵

Hawkins' election at Oriel in February 1828 had some unexpected results. The new Provost was a man of capacity and character, who had strong claims to the support which he received. As a churchman he had once laid down in a memorable sermon an opinion which Newman never forgot, that Scripture

¹ See Newman's *Letters and Correspondence* (I, 175).

² Dean Burgon speaks of "a pea-green coat, white waistcoat, stone-coloured shorts and flesh-coloured silk stockings" (*Twelve Good Men*, 200). Mr. Rannie (*Oriel College*, 188-9) contrasts Whately lecturing with one leg over the back of the sofa and Hawkins putting on his cap and gown to visit the dead body of an undergraduate who had fallen from a window.

³ "Oriel Common Room stunk of logic," some guests complained (Tuckwell's *Reminiscences*, 17). Dean Burgon (p. 199) comments on the strange new habit of drinking tea in that Common Room and on the frolics which took place there. G. A. Denison in 1828 found it uncommonly dull, and its members stiff, starched and afraid of each other (*Notes of my Life*, 50). But J. Mozley declares (*Reminiscences*, II, 93) that with Denison there it was never dull.

⁴ *Letters and Correspondence* (I, 449) and *Apologia* (68).

⁵ It seems probable that Whately wrote, though he never acknowledged, the anonymous *Letters on the Church by an Episcopalian* published in 1826.

was not intended to teach doctrine, which could only be learned from the formularies of the Church.¹ But before long a serious difference of opinion arose between Hawkins and the leading Tutors in the College. Newman's methods as a Tutor were in some ways startling. He began, says his biographer, "by setting himself fiercely against the gentlemen commoners." He thought them "the scandal and the ruin of the place"; and he treated them with a haughtiness which they naturally resented. He thought the Tutors saw too little of the men and did not give them enough religious instruction.² He felt that, if the system of Tutorship were adequate, there ought to be no need of private coaching. He was convinced that a Tutor's was a pastoral office, and that it was his duty to try to do his pupils some "spiritual good." When Hurrell Froude and Robert Wilberforce joined him as Tutors, bringing Keble's influence with them, this attitude was strengthened.³ But the Provost did not share it. Up to a point, in improving discipline and punishing misconduct, Hawkins heartily supported his Tutors. But he intended to remain master in his College. He evidently felt that the three Tutors were inclined to take too complete possession of their pupils and to push their influence too far. They claimed not only to arrange their lectures as they pleased: on the educational question they may have been right. They claimed also, in Newman's phrase, "a discretionary power." And it seems that both Hawkins and Copleston, who was consulted, had begun to fear that this discretionary power might be used to inculcate opinions which had hitherto formed no part of the teaching of the Schools. Hawkins was not unconciliatory. But neither Newman nor Froude would give way. In the end the Provost intimated that he would send them no more pupils, and before long they and Wilberforce ceased to act as Tutors in the College. New teachers were brought in to fill their places, George Anthony Denison and, a little later, Renn Dickson Hampden.⁴ Denison, "known commonly as George-without-

¹ On this point see Dr. Brilioth's comments (*The Anglican Revival*, English translation, 80-1), in his full and valuable study of the Oxford Movement.

² See his *Letters and Correspondence* (I, 150 sq.), where the subject is very frankly discussed, and Rannie (*Oriel College*, 198 sq.).

³ The fourth Tutor, Dornford, does not seem to have shared all his colleagues' views.

⁴ W. J. Copleston, the Bishop's nephew, was also brought in. The Provost took action in 1830, but Newman did not give up all his pupils till 1832. T. Mozley (*Reminiscences*, I, 229-36) regards the proposals of the three Tutors as an important educational reform and as amounting to "a new organisation of the college": but later he suggests (II, 63) that Dornford "thought the contention needless. It was all because Newman could not play second fiddle."

the-drag-on,"¹ was to be for years the delight and torment of his acquaintances and friends. Hampden, no such willing controversialist, was to encounter an even more contentious fate. The College inevitably suffered by the dispute. The dispossessed Tutors retained their influence, and they were set free to develop in a far wider field opinions more disturbing than those which had been condemned.

Keble may have been the prime author of the Oxford Movement. Hurrell Froude did perhaps more than any other to kindle its fires. Dr. Pusey, "*ὁ μέγας*," brought to it authority and learning. But it will always be associated principally with Newman's name. The boy whose warm and delicate imagination ran on unknown influences and magical powers—"I thought life might be a dream, or I an Angel"—already, as he puts it, "very superstitious," nurtured upon Calvinism, and converted, "elected to eternal glory," at fifteen, passed into Trinity soon afterwards and quickly began to make his mark. He showed his quality by winning a Trinity Scholarship, though he broke down from overwork in the Schools. His Tutor, Thomas Short,² never lost faith in him: and in 1822 he gained the Oriel Fellowship which was to determine his career. We have many pictures of him in those early days—of the school-boy making collections of texts to support the doctrines of the Athanasian creed, of the Trinity scholar writing verses on the snap-dragon in the College walls and deploring the drunkenness and apostasy of the College gaudy, of the young Oriel Fellow rather impatient of an older Fellow who would talk to him about Apostolical Succession as they walked round Christ Church meadow, of the lodgings in Merton Lane where his brother Francis lodged with him and Blanco White came in to breakfast and tea. Blanco White had become a member of the Oriel Common Room and was intimate with Whately. The future Cardinal was drawn to the converted priest by White's singular experiences, his wide scholastic studies, his knowledge of Roman Catholic ritual, his deep interest in religion, his love of music and his sensitive affection for his friends.³ Francis Newman was not destined to move along his brother's path. "He is a piece of adamant," wrote their mother to John. "You are such a sensitive being."

¹ See Lord Lyttelton's epitaph on him, with the translation, quoted by Mr. Tuckwell (*Reminiscences*, 275-6).

² "Tommy Short" of Trinity, not to be confused with Thomas Vowler Short of Christ Church, was regarded by Newman's contemporaries as a strict Tutor, but by his own as "the most amusing of Oxford Dons." *Ib.* (83).

³ On Blanco White see his *Life* of himself edited by J. H. Thom, and Mr. Gladstone's *Gleanings of Past Years* (vol. II).

The little incident at Worcester College, when, on going into residence, Frank found and removed an engraving of the Virgin which John had sent down to decorate his rooms, marked perhaps the parting of the ways.¹ In 1824 John Newman was ordained. He took up his curacy at St. Clement's, threw himself into parish visiting, began busily collecting funds for a new church. In 1825 Whately, a warm-hearted friend, made him Vice-Principal of St. Alban Hall. Newman always admitted that Whately taught him to think, and the Vice-Principal might perhaps have been a happier man could he have imbibed more of the Principal's vigorous common sense. In 1826 came the Tutorship at Oriel: the new Tutor was still young and often cheerful.

"I did not imagine, John," wrote his sister Mary to him, "that with all your tutoric gravity, and your brown room, you could be so absurd as your letter (I beg your pardon) seems to betray."

In March 1828 he preached for the first time as Vicar of St. Mary's. A week or two later he was disputing with Arnold for the Bachelor's degree in Divinity, and indulging also in exercises of another kind. "I have learned to leap," he wrote to his mother, "which is a larking thing for a don."²

The sermons at St. Mary's soon began to tell. In the early part of the nineteenth century the Church of England had to a large extent lost its hold upon the nation. Except in Evangelical circles earnestness and enthusiasm seemed to be at a discount. Lassitude and indifference reigned. The high-and-dry school of churchmanship preserved its dignity but won no followers. Prelates still enjoyed their state and revenues. Pluralism was still a matter of course. We hear of one Bishop holding sixteen benefices, of another dividing thirty thousand a year with his son and grandson. Easy standards of duty prevailed. Livings were obviously regarded by many as little more than a source of income. Services were reduced to a minimum. Sermons were apt to be long and dull. Hymns were discountenanced as Methodistical. Good taste in decoration was comparatively rare. Incumbents were constantly non-resident. Some country churches were shamefully neglected, buildings allowed to decay, fine work covered up with whitewash or plaster, windows defaced, bells cracked, brasses removed, fonts used as drinking

¹ F. W. Newman took a Double First in 1826 and was elected a Fellow of Balliol.

² For these references to the correspondence of the Newmans see J. H. Newman's *Letters* (I, 134 and 182).



OLD ST. CLEMENT'S CHURCH

troughs for cattle.¹ People as a whole seemed to care little for beauty or solemnity of worship. The tone of young men at the University was declared by Bishop Moberly to be "universally irreligious."² Even in the Public Schools, if Eton be a fair example, "the actual teaching of Christianity was all but dead."³ John Henry Newman, whatever errors he committed, was determined at any rate to make it live.

A poet, who was never among his disciples, has depicted the scene at St. Mary's on those Sunday afternoons, which presently came to be regarded as one of the most impressive things in Oxford life—the "spiritual apparition" gliding through the aisles, the entrancing voice breaking the silence from the pulpit, the words and thoughts which seemed to be religious music, so subtle were they, so mournful and so sweet. "You might come away," says another fine critic, "still not believing the tenets peculiar to the High Church system; but you would be harder than most men, if you did not feel more than ever ashamed of coarseness, selfishness, worldliness, if you did not feel the things of faith brought closer to the soul."⁴ To Newman, with his deeply emotional nature, his passionate self-discipline, his subtle self-distrust, religion could never be a comfortable thing. "As thy days, so shall thy strength be," he told the young congregation below him. Putting on manhood meant awakening out of sleep.

"Is it not something beyond measure strange and monstrous . . . to profess that our treasure is not here, but in heaven with Him who is ascended thither, and to own that we have a cross to bear after Him, who first suffered before He triumphed; and yet to set ourselves *deliberately* to study our own comfort as some great and sufficient end?"

Self-denial was the test of religious earnestness. It should be a man's daily practice, even in his innocent pleasures, his tastes and his meals. Holiness here was a condition of blessedness hereafter. "Be you content with nothing short of perfection; exert yourselves day by day to grow in knowledge and grace." It was never easy to know ourselves or the possibilities of sin and failure in us. Which of us could be sure that he had discovered his secret faults?

¹ See, *inter alia*, Ollard's *Oxford Movement*, Brilioth's *Anglican Revival*, Wakeman's *History of the Church of England*, M. C. F. Morris' *Yorkshire Reminiscences*, the *Recollections of a Country Clergyman*, etc.

² See Stanley's *Life of Dr. Arnold* (I, 164). But Moberly's statement is clearly exaggerated.

³ See Mr. Gladstone's *Gleanings* (VII, 138).

⁴ See *John Keble* by C. J. Shairp (17).

"When a man's spirits are high, he is pleased with everything ; and with himself especially. He can act with vigour and promptness, and he mistakes this mere constitutional energy for strength of faith. He is cheerful and contented ; and he mistakes this for Christian peace. . . . In short he is in a dream, from which nothing could have saved him except deep humility, and nothing will ordinarily rescue him except sharp affliction."

Newman called his congregation to daily prayer, to frequent services. "It is unbelief to think it matters not to your spiritual welfare whether you communicate or not." Let each man reflect on his "gross and persevering neglect of God." Most people were protected from sin less by the warnings of conscience than by the forms of society, the fear of offending those about them. The religion of the day had its temptations. The dread of Divine wrath was explained away.

"Everything is bright and cheerful. Religion is pleasant and easy ; benevolence is the chief virtue ; intolerance, bigotry, excess of zeal, are the first of sins. Austerity is an absurdity ;—even firmness is looked on with an unfriendly, suspicious eye."

Natural Theology had only pleasant things to tell us, a "cold, self-sufficient, self-wise tranquillity" to offer. New doctrines, new systems, the "so-called spread of knowledge" served to excite the mind and satisfy the love of change. But true religion had its darker side. Discipline and conscience had their own necessities. "Our God is a consuming fire."

"I will not shrink from uttering my firm conviction, that it would be a gain to this country, were it vastly more superstitious, more bigoted, more gloomy, more fierce in its religion, than at present it shows itself to be."

The Bible was full of human misery. Man was born to trouble :

"Encompassed all his hours
By fearfullest powers
Inflexible to him."

Sorrow and mystery were about his path. But there was healing in the troubled waters, calm to be won by contemplating pain. The mournful note is seldom altogether absent. The melancholy of the Romantic revival rings through the Oxford Movement from the first. But even in its sadness it found an inspiration, fresh stimulus to effort, duty, self-surrender, for pilgrims journeying ever "towards the City of the Great King."¹

It was long since Oxford men had listened to words more moving, to an appeal more lofty or sincere. The voice of Colet

¹ I take these examples from Newman's early sermons. (See especially vol. I of the *Plain and Parochial Sermons*, ed. 1868, pp. 341-2, 13, 50, 94, 109, 312, 318-21.)

spoke again, pleading for holiness and purity of life. The whole world would have readily listened had Newman and his followers been contented with that plea. But Colet had spoken for the best minds of his time. His appeal had been accompanied by a fearless spirit of inquiry, by a deep distrust of dead traditions, of forms and rites and ancient sophistries which ministered to the power of ecclesiastics and crushed the spirit of religion. Newman, as some thought, turned away from the great issues opening before the minds of his generation, and set himself with all the depth and beauty of his nature to strengthen faith by falling back on formulas, to revive the spirit of ecclesiasticism, to rebuild the authority of priests. It was in part from its association with politics that both the attraction and the weakness of the Oxford Movement came.¹ It was born in an hour of political and ecclesiastical alarm. Agitators were triumphing. Thrones were falling. Bishops were being insulted in the streets. The reaction of feeling was not unnatural, and reaction carried the Oriel leaders far. Keble's politics were those of a seventeenth century Cavalier. He long distrusted Newman's liberalism. Newman himself had "fierce thoughts" against all liberals. He dreaded revolution. He pronounced the French "an awful people." He found an element of anti-Christ in the Reform Bill. He thought it unchristian for nations "to cast off their governors," to forget their Sovereigns' right divine. Even William Palmer regarded Reform as a terrifying "mania." And Hurrell Froude, the "young Achilles," who had won the hearts of many friends by his high spirits, his fearlessness, his charm, and whose chief pride it was to have brought Keble and Newman together, was the most uncompromising Tory of them all. He was full of admiration for Charles X of France, whose only fault had been his ignorance of the demoralisation of his subjects. He was ever ready to fight again the battles of the past. He idealised Becket. He idealised Cardinal Pole. He found Pole "a hero of an ideal world" and Cranmer good for burning only. He "hated" the Reformers and the Reformation.² He "hated" John Hampden. He had the lowest opinion of Milton. His view of the Whigs was expressed in language which lacked nothing in force, but which, his friends explained, he used on principle and not as abuse.

¹ I do not think that Mr. Jowett's remark in 1894 that "Newmanism" was not "politically conservative" (*Life and Letters of B. Jowett*, I, 177) can be sustained.

² This is no isolated expression. But one questions whether Froude's friends served his memory well in publishing nearly 2,000 pages of his journals, notes, letters, opinions—often on trivial matters—to the world. 600 pages of Pt. II of the *Remains* are occupied with the contest between Becket and Henry II.

"How Whiggery has by degrees taken up all the filth that has been secreted in the fermentation of human thought! Puritanism, Latitudinarianism, Popery, Infidelity; they have it all now, and good luck to them!"

No man should be judged by a hasty utterance. But there is no reason to think that Froude ever wished these things unsaid. To men brought face to face with revolutionary opinions, trembling for the stability of Church and State, Liberalism in the widest sense was the enemy to be defeated. Freedom was not more dangerous in action than in thought. To Froude, ardent, imperious, paradoxical, scornful of democracy and all its ways, it was no wild dream to make Oxford, the ancient domain of the Church, the centre of a counter-revolution, which should raise once more the clerical banner, and restore authority and dogma to their old place in the councils of mankind.¹

But to this obscurantism there was a finer side. Politics were not the chief concern of these reformers—reformers or reactionaries, whichever they be called. Politics, no doubt, coloured their views, and gave a strong impetus to their emotions. But beyond their passing prejudices they had a deeper purpose, a more enduring aim. Froude was only twenty-seven when he became a Tutor at Oriel. But his strength of intellect and character was already unmistakable, and his habit of self-discipline had for long been struggling with a nature not easily controlled. His journal shows a boy who was often quarrelsome and vexatious, who could be perverse, exasperating, gloomy—the vein of melancholy in his nature ran deep—but who set himself with rare determination to master his faults. He declares that he is naturally slothful, though there is a notable admixture of vigour with his sloth. He fasts. He gets up at six to read the Psalms before Chapel. He feels "great reluctance to sleep on the floor." He is terribly afraid he will sleep too much on fasting days. He is ashamed of his small weaknesses. He watches lest he should say light or uncharitable things. He is conscious of vanity, tempted to favour an acquaintance who has called him the cleverest man in Oxford. He fears he is morbid, stingy, ostentatious. He suspects that he sometimes enjoys his own misery: "K." advises him to burn his confessions. As a Tutor he accuses himself of arrogance and selfishness. He is dropping into "lazy fatness." He is becoming "a dreadful don." But all through these questionings and self-reproaches

¹ Froude's interest in politics seems to have been as deep as his interest in theology. Yet he could be Radical enough with Tories who differed from him. But the leaders of the movement disclaimed political objects, and may perhaps hardly have realised how much politics coloured their views.

there runs a current of devotion which is both deep and strong. He disciplines his body. He studies the Fathers. He talks with Newman about ghosts, is led on "to argue about our dwelling among spirits." He delights in thinking of the Saints. Prejudice there may be in these musings. Vehement feelings and vehement opinions were a part of the man's nature, and the temptation to express them is part of the prerogative and charm of youth. But there must have been very winning qualities in a comrade who gathered so much admiration round him, whom one remembered for his wit and irony, one for his original, sharp-cutting intellect, one for his practical, penetrating judgment, one for his brimming, over-flowing ideas, and all for his intense sincerity, his fierce, abiding faith in spiritual things.¹

At the end of 1832 Newman and Froude went abroad together, leaving the "images of impudent undergraduates" behind. And there is little doubt that those months of travel deepened Froude's influence over Newman. They saw Roman Catholicism at work. Froude, though shocked by its degeneracy, was not without respect for its tenets.

"He made me," says Newman in the *Apologia*, "look with admiration towards the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation. He fixed deep in me the idea of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and he led me gradually to believe in the Real Presence."

The travellers made the acquaintance of Dr. Wiseman. They began to write the *Lyra Apostolica*. On the way home, on an orange-boat, *Lead, kindly light* was composed. In Sicily Newman had a serious illness, which he came to look on as a crisis in his life. In July 1833 he was back in Oxford. "*Χαῖρε, πολὺ χαῖρε*, and again *πολὺ χαῖρε*," wrote Isaac Williams in delight. Newman had returned, indignant with the success of Liberalism abroad, with the sight of the tricolor in the Mediterranean, with the British Government who were suppressing Bishoprics in Ireland,² convinced, as he had told Wiseman, that he had "a work to do in England," and filled with "exuberant and joyous energy" to do it. Within a few days, on July 14th, Keble preached at St. Mary's his memorable sermon on National Apostasy, and from that day forward the issue was joined and the new crusade begun. Keble's importance was even then only

¹ See Froude's *Remains* (Pt. I, vol. i, 1-67, 227, etc.). On these *Remains* and on his friends' testimony his reputation rests. But the most attractive account of him, a little idealised perhaps from the recollections of others, is given by Dean Church (*The Oxford Movement*, Chap. III).

² But still leaving 12 Sees to minister to less than one-seventh of the population.

beginning to be appreciated. The quiet country clergyman, so destitute of all self-seeking, the lover of old-fashioned ways and loyalties so long discarded, the poet and dreamer who had so strong a power of inspiring others to practical activity, the brilliant Oxford scholar under whose simplicity and playfulness there lay unexpected reserves of austerity and strength, offered his deliberate challenge to all who professed attachment to the Church.

“How may a man best reconcile his allegiance to God and his Church with his duty to his country, that country which now . . . is fast becoming hostile to the Church, and cannot therefore long be the friend of God?”

Keble denounced the spirit which led men “to congratulate one another on the supposed decay of what they call an exclusive system.” He longed to build up that exclusiveness again. Tolerance and charity seemed to him to be too often merely excuses for the indifference he deplored.

Keble’s call met with an immediate response. Before July was over a meeting was held at Hadleigh in Suffolk which had direct results. The Rector there, Hugh Rose, was a Cambridge man of high character and reputation, gravely alarmed by the spread of liberalism and of German criticism which he imperfectly understood, who had lately started a periodical, *The British Magazine*, for the defence of churchmen against the coming dangers. There met at his Rectory Hurrell Froude, Arthur Perceval, an old Oriel man who had been a Fellow of All Souls, and William Palmer, “the only really learned man among us,” a Dublin graduate of “exact, scholastic mind.”¹ Palmer’s *Origines Liturgicae* had made him an authority on questions of Anglican ritual and problems of controversy with Rome. He was in many respects both conservative and moderate. But he was filled with alarm at the spirit of the time. He regarded the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 as the destruction of bulwarks of the Church. He deplored “the *fatal* year 1829,” when Catholic Emancipation had scattered public principle and public morality to the winds. And he viewed with consternation the proposals for Church Reform which were gaining a hearing in many quarters.² Neither

¹ Palmer had afterwards joined Magdalen Hall and Worcester College.

² See Palmer’s *Narrative of Events connected with the publication of the Tracts for the Times* (ed. 1883, pp. 96–9). Peel’s relative Lord Henley, and to some extent Dr. Burton, Professor of Divinity at Oxford, were concerned in these proposals. Palmer was certainly no hater of the Reformation. But he found “infidelity” in *Essays and Reviews* and “blasphemy and irreligion” in the movement of scientific opinion (*Ib.* 33).

Keble nor Newman was present at Hadleigh, but they were in close correspondence with those who were. It was agreed to fight for the orthodoxy of the Prayer Book, as those at the meeting understood it, and in particular for the doctrine of Apostolical Succession. And two forms of action were suggested, the founding of an Association for the defence of the Church and the publication of Tracts for the Times. When the party at Hadleigh separated, Oriel became the scene of further conferences, in which Newman, Froude and Palmer took the largest part. It is evident that from the first there were some differences of opinion among the leaders. Froude found Rose "not yet an Apostolical" and was soon wishing to break with him. He found Perceval, on the other hand, "a regular thoroughgoing Apostolical"—but "some of the things he says and does make me feel rather odd." Palmer for all his learning appeared to be too cautious, too much bound up with Church dignitaries of the high-and-dry school. Froude's talk seemed to Palmer "very startling and paradoxical" and his sentiments only "in the course of formation." None of them, Newman thought, quite realised how big a part in the new movement Oxford and Oxford traditions could be made to play.

"I fear they did not get on very well at Hadleigh," he wrote to Keble on the 5th August. "Froude wants you to give your friend Arthur Perceval a bit of advice, which I think Froude himself partly requires. We shall lose all our influence when times are worse, if we are prematurely violent. . . . Palmer thinks both Froude and Perceval very deficient in learning, and therefore rash."

Keble replied that "if the Hadleighans could not agree," it might be hard to find within four walls six men who would. He longed to be acting under authority, wished the Bishops would not be "so *very* coy." Froude too felt that authority was needed: without it the country clergy would never give a thought to the Fathers. Newman would have been as glad as they to have an Archbishop behind him, especially an Archbishop with the temper of a martyr. But he was sure that, with authority or without it, they must go on. Agitation was the method of the day. "The Apostles did not sit still." At the end of August he wrote to Frederic Rogers:

"*Entre nous*, we have set up Societies over the kingdom in defence of the Church . . . the object being 'to make the clergy alive to their situation, to enforce the Apostolical Succession, and to defend the Liturgy.' We mean to publish and circulate tracts. I have started with four."

In September the first Tracts were being distributed. Palmer did not much like them. Keble and Froude supported them strongly. On the other hand Keble's Declaration of Principles

for the new Association did not give universal satisfaction, even when revised by Palmer and Newman, and the formation of separate societies received a check.

"The associationists," wrote Newman, "abominated, or at least were offended at, the tracts; the distributors of the tracts dreaded an association as being anti-episcopal, productive of party spirit, and open to secret influences, etc."

In the end the plan of an Association was dropped, and addresses to the Archbishop from clergy and laity were organised instead. There was a very wide response. In the clerical address some leading Oxford churchmen like Dr. Gilbert of Brasenose and Dr. Faussett, Professor of Divinity, took part. Churchmen began to wake up. Meetings for Church defence took place all over the country. Petitions in support of the Church began to pour into the House of Commons. Whatever minor differences existed, the battle was now definitely joined. "Newman," wrote J. B. Mozley on the 20th September, "is now becoming perfectly ferocious in the cause, and proportionately sanguine of success. 'We'll do them,' he says at least twenty times a day"—referring to the Liberal oppressors of the Church.¹

The Tracts which roused both Oxford and the nation were issued anonymously,² and without any formal consultation among the leaders. They represented only their writers' individual opinions. Newman, Froude and Keble had claimed from the first unbounded freedom for the expression of their views. Newman was in command here, and Palmer's efforts to secure a Committee of revision failed.³ But Palmer saw with regret that the theology of the Non-jurors, who had separated from the Church, their jealousy of State interference and their hostility to the Reformation, were strongly influencing the authors of the Tracts. He and other moderate spirits soon began to feel alarm at some of the doctrines promulgated and at the "total indifference to consequences" shown.⁴ But they could not withstand the success of the Tracts. The first three, all Newman's, were dated the 9th September 1833, and in the first Tract their writer, speaking to the clergy, set the tone.

"I am but one of yourselves,—a Presbyter; and therefore I conceal my name, lest I should take too much on myself by speak-

¹ See J. B. Mozley's *Letters* (36). For the facts and quotations given above see Newman's *Letters and Correspondence* (I, 431-68), an authority in some respects more valuable than the *Apologia*.

² Pusey's alone bore his initials (*Letts. and Corr. of Newman*, II, 22).

³ See his *Narrative of Events* (120-3). But a *Churchman's Manual*, drawn up by Perceval, was revised by various churchmen and did not prove a great success. (See Church's *Oxford Movement*, 125-6.)

⁴ See his *Narrative of Events* (124-5).

ing in my own person. Yet speak I must; for the times are very evil, yet no one speaks against them.

Do we not all confess the peril into which the Church is come, yet sit still each in his own retirement? . . . Suffer me . . . to contemplate the condition and prospects of our Holy Mother in a practical way; so that one and all may unlearn that idle habit, which has grown upon us, of owning the state of things to be bad, yet doing nothing to remedy it.

Should the Government and the Country so far forget their God as to cast off the Church . . . *on what* will you rest the claim of respect and attention which you make upon your flocks?

We have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built—OUR APOSTOLICAL DESCENT.

We have confessed before God our belief, that through the Bishop who ordained us, we received the HOLY GHOST, the power to bind and to loose, to administer the Sacraments, and to preach.

Exalt our Holy Fathers the Bishops, as the representatives of the Apostles, and the Angels of the Churches; and magnify your office, as being ordained by them to take part in their Ministry.”¹

The note was struck. To exalt the office of the priest, to call on its holders to rise to a new conception of its greatness, could not fail to awaken response. The second Tract dealt with the Catholic Church. The clergy were reminded that they must be political when the nation interfered with the Church's possessions. They must protest against the suppression of Irish dioceses. They must defend the Ecclesiastical Body. The Holy Catholic Church, founded by the Apostles, had been one from the beginning. How could the clergy tolerate any invasion of its rights? The third Tract protested against any change in the Liturgy, while incidentally denouncing “the shallow and detestable liberalism of the day.” Innovation was unsettling, a frightful thing. Not a jot or tittle must they yield. Other Tracts followed on the same lines. Apostolical Succession was perpetually insisted on, primitive practices, frequent communions, the duty of fasting, the mortification of the flesh. Long quotations from English divines were reprinted. Bishop Cosin's treatise on “the leprosy of Transubstantiation,” based on the opinions of the Fathers and the Primitive Church, produced a protest from Froude, who accused Newman of “finessing too deep.”² Froude complained also that Pusey had been allowed to call the Reformers

¹ I quote from the edition of collected Tracts published in 1838 (vol. I for 1833-4, pp. 1-4). In the set of Tracts which is part of a handsome donation made to the Bodleian by Mr. C. J. Parker in 1924, there is a letter from Newman, dated 27 Nov. 1879, stating which Tracts he wrote. (See *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, vol. II, p. 148.)

² Froude would not believe, says Newman, that he was really against Transubstantiation then (*Letts. and Corr.* II, 82). Newman wrote 18 of the first 46 Tracts, and 11 later, ending up with No. 90. Pusey contributed 7 in all.

"the founders of our Church," and that offence was not repeated. But there was to be no communion, no compromise, with Rome. "Popery must be destroyed": it could not be reformed. The Tracts followed each other in rapid succession, stirring, impressive, peremptory little papers, deeply religious in tone and in motive, if sometimes weak in judgment and in humour, enforcing points of Church doctrine and Church polity, points of authority and traditions of the past. Thomas Mozley rode about distributing them—"mounting a shaggy pony at the dawn of a winter's day." Newman himself canvassed the clergy. One of the Bishops, perhaps more than one, reading about Apostolic Succession, could not make up his mind whether he believed in it or not. The writers of the Tracts had no such doubts. To Newman dogma was "the fundamental principle" of religion. On dogma, primitive dogma, he would base the visible Church. Its ministers were inspired successors of the Apostles. Its rites and sacraments were the only true channels of invisible grace. To reject the Church's teaching must be infidelity. To question her authority was heresy and schism.

The Tracts won immediate attention. But they did not stand alone. In 1833 Newman's elaborate study of the Arians of the Fourth Century appeared. Always strongly drawn to the school of Alexandria, where the battle of Arianism was first fought, to its great Bishop Athanasius, to its great Fathers, Clement and Origen, he found that the mystical, sacramental teaching of the Alexandrine Fathers came like music to his inward ear.

"Nature was a parable: Scripture was an allegory: pagan literature, philosophy, and mythology, properly understood, were but a preparation for the Gospel. The Greek poets and sages were in a certain sense prophets; for 'thoughts beyond their thought to those high bards were given.'"

From the Alexandrian school he largely drew his theory of Angels as ministers carrying on the Economy of the Visible World, and his theory that, besides the hosts of evil spirits, there was a middle race of spirits partially fallen, benevolent or malicious as the case might be, who inspired races, institutions, classes of men. Each nation might have some sort of guardian Angel. "It seems to me that John Bull is a spirit neither of heaven nor hell." The Arian History contained a startling passage about the unsparing treatment of heretics by the competent authority, which Inquisitors might have construed in an ugly sense. But it had breadth as well as originality and learning. It was not till 1839 that its author was driven to ask himself whether, in defending the Anglican position, he had

not after all been "forging arguments for Arius or Eutyches," not till 1841 that the cruel conviction forced itself upon him that in the history of Arianism "the pure Arians were the Protestants, the semi-Arians were the Anglicans, and that Rome now was what it was."¹

At the end of 1834 the first forty-six Tracts were published in a volume, with an advertisement recalling the aims of their authors. Soon afterwards, Dr. Pusey, with his fame and position, his fine and serious temper, his great University repute, became a recognised leader of the movement. He brought to it not only his "faithful and loyal affectionateness," but a great accession of scholarship and strength.² The Professor of Hebrew was a man of large and clear designs. He realised some of the weak points in the early Tracts. He pressed for more thoroughness and sobriety of judgment. He contributed to the series a treatise on Baptism, which swelled to three or four hundred pages. The Tracts became grave and elaborate essays. Some of the treatises, Mozley suggests, had too much "stuffing" for Tracts. Researches into the theology of the Fathers and records of early martyrs increased. Pusey, with his lack of small talk and his searching, personal questions,³ was a rather awful personage to some of the younger men; but he commanded general respect and interest. The term *Puseismus* became known in German lecture-halls. Even in a Greek newspaper the strange word *πουζεϊσμός* was found. In Oxford Puseyites and Neomaniacs became familiar nicknames. But Pusey lived much in retirement. Newman in his College rooms was far more easily accessible, and round him there gathered a group of young enthusiasts, centred upon Oriel but not drawn from Oriel alone. Robert Wilberforce, pre-eminently the scholar and theologian of his family, who had acted with Newman and Froude as an Oriel Tutor, had withdrawn from Oxford to a country living, and it was the influence of Manning which drew him ultimately into the Church of Rome. But Frederic Rogers and Charles Marriott, both elected Fellows in 1833, were conspicuous in the Oriel company—Marriott the most devoted of disciples, shy, awkward,

¹ For these references see the *Apologia* (88-93, 117-18, 209-10, 243). The well-known article on Newman's work in the *Edinburgh Review* (vol. LXIII, 44 sq.) does justice to the nobility of the Tractarian aims, but finds in them a dread of reason, a blind submission to authority, and an uncharitable attitude to other opinions.

² Pusey's full association with the movement dated from about 1835. Of his preaching there are different accounts. Sir F. Doyle found it dull and tedious (*Reminiscences*, 148), Sara Coleridge monotonous, but highly impressive (*Memoir*, I, 332-3).

³ Mr. Tuckwell speaks of "his morbid love of groping in the spiritual interiors of those with whom he found himself alone" (*Reminiscences*, 139).

lovable, profound in thought and difficult of speech. No one, said Thomas Mozley of him, sacrificed himself so entirely for the cause.¹ Thomas and James Mozley of Oriel were deeply interested in the Tracts from the beginning, and young Mark Pattison, a student by instinct, was beginning to feel their attraction. William Froude and his younger brother Anthony were drawn into the same circle, but Anthony seems always to have struggled consciously or unconsciously against Newman's spell. And others there were, not active in the fight, but active perhaps in sympathy and interest, like Thomas Stevens, the indefatigable naturalist, with his pet snake and his stuffed birds from Bagley, who was to win fame as squire and parson, as Poor Law Reformer and Founder of a College, later on.

Trinity too supplied some strong supporters. William Copeland and Isaac Williams, both Trinity Fellows and men of rare quality, were among Newman's earliest friends. Copeland, with his keen sympathy and humour, might well have been the historian of the movement. Williams, a Welshman, a cricketer and a poet, had learned at Harrow to think in Latin, and afterwards coaching with Keble, had discovered "a new world." He became Newman's curate at St. Mary's: he was a little afraid at first of his Vicar's intellectuality and love of effect. He wrote, with startling results, for the Tracts, was borne unwillingly into the thick of the controversy, and was compelled to break with Newman in the end. John Bowden and Alfred Menzies of Trinity were among the first contributors to the Tracts, and at least one distinguished young Trinity Scholar, Roundell Palmer, was among their readers. At Balliol William George Ward, the "fat fellow" whose charm Jowett never could resist, with his powerful, mathematical mind, his indiscreet, impetuous nature, his irrepressible gift of dialectic, his devotion to music and *opéra bouffe*, was the most vivacious and argumentative Tutor of his day. His bouts with Tait and others in the College Common Room were making those discussions famous, as famous as his exploits at the Union a short time before, and his genial, defiant, provocative methods were turning into battle-cries the tenets of his friends. The zest and candour of Ward's conversation, his sweetness of temper, his essential seriousness, coupled with a joyous and unfailing wit, made him welcome in every company. Strongly drawn at first to Whately and to Arnold, it was only by degrees that his deep longing for a guide in spiritual things led him to surrender himself to Newman's spell, to outdo his leader in his logic, to embarrass him by his

¹ See Mozley's *Reminiscences* (I, 447). Marriott became Vicar of St. Mary's later, and to some extent filled Newman's place.

contempt for compromise of any kind.¹ Another Balliol Fellow, George Moberly, a valued Tutor of a rather earlier generation, took from Balliol to Winchester his strong sympathy for Ward, but declined to be drawn into Ward's extreme opinions. Another, Frederick Oakeley, who had forgotten his early unhappiness at Christ Church, and who could appreciate Jenkyns' devotion to the College, though he realised that the Tractarian movement was "a constant source of fret and worry" to the Master, was destined to pass, like Newman, into the Roman Church. Oakeley, said a sarcastic contemporary, was so full of impulsive devotion, that, if he came across a multitude worshipping an idol, he would throw himself down among them. Another again, James Round, if ever drawn in that direction, stopped short after editing the works of Bishop Ken.² But Frederick Faber, a Balliol Commoner, who became a Scholar of University in 1834, carried his poetry and his enthusiasm into the same camp.

Exeter again was a College which showed no little sympathy for the new ideas. There William Sewell was a successful Tutor, eloquent, discursive, many-sided, with something to say—some thought too much to say—on almost every subject, a little unreal in Newman's opinion, a little rash and positive in Jowett's, but with an undoubted power of stimulating and interesting young men. The Founder of Radley College and a precursor of University Extension, he was for a time associated with the Tractarians, though never connected with the Tracts, and his parting from them later gave pain to some of his friends.³ John Dalgairns of the same College, afterwards Head of the Brompton Oratory, with his "eye for theology" and his boyish daring, was one of the most attractive of the young Tractarian recruits. And Jack Morris, otherwise Symeon Stylites, in his high, untidy rooms over Exeter gateway, studied Hebrew and patristic literature, pored over supernatural problems, and produced not only poems but controversial papers which few could decipher and fewer understand. Morris tried even his friends by his eccentricities. His credulity became a by-word. His sermons suggesting fast days for the brute creation, and denouncing as

¹ For Ward's portrait and the story of his opinions see Mr. Wilfrid Ward's well-known volume on *William George Ward and the Oxford Movement*.

² I give this on T. Mozley's authority (*Reminiscences*, II, 9-10). But Oakeley speaks of Round, and of Ogilvie, another prominent Fellow of Balliol, as disliking the Tractarian movement (*Reminiscences of Oxford*, O.H.S. 338).

³ Mr. Stride, in his valuable sketch of Sewell (*Exeter College*, 155-63), mentions that J. B. Morris translated his name into *Suillus*, because he "would not go the whole hog." C. H. Pearson (*Memorials*, 64) gives the nickname as *Suculus*, with equal Latinity but less point.

carnal unbelievers all who would not accept the Roman doctrine of the Mass, proved too much not only for the Vice-Chancellor but for the Vicar of St. Mary's, whose pulpit he abused. At Exeter, as elsewhere, the religious enthusiasm which had made an earlier generation Evangelical, was drawing into the ranks of the Tractarians the fervid spirits of the time. Other Colleges too contributed adherents. Manning, a Fellow of Merton in 1832, and then absorbed in a country living, began to correspond with Newman, to study Vincentius Lerinensis, to translate the works of Optatus. Benjamin Harrison, a brilliant, young contemporary of Mr. Gladstone, and one of the earliest writers of the Tracts, was certainly not the only Christ Church man. Gladstone himself, Newman records, was "turning out a fine fellow. Harrison has made him confess that the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession is irresistible." Richard Church, a Wadham Commoner from 1832, was not the only sympathiser even in that Evangelical College.¹ And Newman's sermons cast their spell on many who had little admiration for his theological or political ideals.²

III

But a movement so strange, so fearless, so provocative, was certain to rouse opposition. Of the older school of Oxford churchmen many were at first unwilling to criticise. Dean Gaisford indeed, immersed in his classical studies, is said to have described the Fathers as "sad rubbish."³ But Heads like Dr. Gilbert of Brasenose were friendly to the new ideas. Dr. Routh admired Newman's cleverness, and respected his character and aims. Dr. Hawkins, though more doubtful, was at first slow to condemn any effort for the revival of the Church. No one could raise the old cry of Church ascendancy without striking a sympathetic chord in Oxford. But the Evangelicals, represented by Dr. Symons of Wadham, regarded the agitation with alarm.⁴ And men of wider minds than they were startled by its intolerant and dogmatic tone. To Whately, who had helped to teach Newman his churchmanship, the attitude of his old friend was a source of genuine distress. He begged Newman to tell him that it was not true that he had deliberately avoided receiving the

¹ Dean Church became a Fellow of Oriel in 1838.

² References to several other supporters of the movement will be found in the early chapters of Mr. T. Mozley's second volume, in Dean Church's *Oxford Movement* (131), and elsewhere.

³ T. Mozley (*Reminiscences*, I, 356).

⁴ The most extreme of the old Evangelicals, H. B. Bulteel, a Fellow of Exeter, broke away from the Church, denounced both Church and University from St. Mary's pulpit in 1831, and started a Chapel behind Pembroke College.

Communion with him in Oriel Chapel. Newman with some formality assured his Grace that the rumour was without foundation. But he felt bound to add that his affectionate remembrance of Whately in the past could not obliterate his utter aversion to the "secular and unbelieving policy" in which the Archbishop was engaged. Whately's offence was that he thought it indefensible to maintain any longer twenty-two Bishoprics to minister to less than one-seventh of the Irish population.¹ "God help us," he was driven to comment, "what will become of men if they receive no more mercy than they show to each other?" To another old Fellow of Oriel, whose sermons in Rugby Chapel were beginning to move young minds hardly less than Newman's in St. Mary's, the new teaching seemed to be not only deplorable as history, but narrow and self-righteous in its tone. "Is *he* a Christian?" Newman was once tempted to ask about Dr. Arnold.² And Arnold on his side, who thought the spirit of sectarianism "the worst reproach of the Christian name," complained that Keble and Newman would not allow any man to be saved unless he belonged to an Episcopal Church. They would not acknowledge "God's seal, without it be countersigned by one of their own forging."³ While Newman and his followers were bent on drawing the sharpest line between Churchmen and Dissenters, Arnold was pleading for the comprehension of both in a really national Church,⁴ and his bold liberalism—it may in part be true that he wielded his pen as if it were a ferule—was bringing down on him hostility fiercer than any which had yet assailed the writers of the Tracts. Arnold believed that all sects who confessed Christ had among them the marks of His Church and the graces of His spirit. He thought primitive traditions as sources of dogma were dangerous, misleading things :

"What are called such are, I think, only corruptions, more or less ancient, and more or less mischievous, of the true Christianity of the Scriptures."⁵

He was amazed, he wrote to Pusey in February 1834, at the attempt to set up "the idol of Tradition." Pusey's own Tract on Fasting, though perfectly free from intolerance, seemed to him to belong to "the Antiquarianism of Christianity." He

¹ See the letters of October 1834 given both in Whately's *Life* (I, 233 sq.) and in Newman's *Letters and Correspondence* (II, 68–71).

² *Ib.* (47). But they met as friends later, and the references in the *Apologia* are in a kinder tone.

³ See Stanley's *Life of Arnold* (I, 328).

⁴ His pamphlet on *Principles of Church Reform* was published in 1833. Dr. Brilioth's comments (*The Anglican Revival*, 88–92) are again worth noting.

⁵ *Life of Arnold* (II, 30).

felt that the Tractarians were trying vainly and unwisely to revive the obsolete ideas of the Non-jurors,¹ to fight against progress, toleration and inquiry, to rekindle the reactionary spirit of the past. "What is to become of the Church," he asked John Taylor Coleridge, "if the clergy begin to exhibit an aggravation of the worst superstitions of the Roman Catholics, only stripped of that consistency, which stamps even the errors of the Romish system with something of a character of greatness?"²

Between these two opposing views, both urged with force and high sincerity, a clash could not long be avoided. The demand for the admission of Nonconformists to the Universities was gaining ground, and towards the end of 1834 the proposal to abolish the necessity of subscribing on matriculation to the Thirty-Nine Articles found strong support in Oxford and outside. The Heads of Houses decided to ask Convocation to substitute a Declaration for subscription. The Duke of Wellington favoured the proposal: he thought that "a stiff Declaration" would be generally approved. A war of pamphlets immediately broke out. Frederick Maurice among others defended subscription with the plea that the Articles were signed not as tests of faith but as "conditions of thought," and that such conditions were essential to all teaching. Dr. Hampden attacked it on wider grounds. He suggested that, while "the great facts of the Gospel" were binding on all Christians, human interpretations of them, and the phrases and formularies which resulted, were binding on none but on those who thought them true. Religion was distinct from theological opinion. Our dissensions belonged to our theological opinions rather than to our religion.³ To such bold doctrine, carrying implications which its author perhaps might not have desired, Newman instantly protested his aversion. He told Hampden that it tended "to formal Socinianism."⁴ Pusey produced a series of Questions, to which Hawkins drafted some pungent replies. Sewell suggested a compromise: if subscription were retained, the subscriber might declare that he *professed* nothing contrary to the Church's doctrine as set forth in the Articles. But the keener spirits would not hear of compromise. Hampden was accused of attacking the foundations of the faith.⁵ "If you like bitterness," wrote New-

¹ Liddon's *Life of Pusey* (I, 282-3).

² *Life of Arnold* (I, 318-19).

³ See Hampden's *Observations on Religious Dissent*.

⁴ *Letts. and Corr.* (II, 77). In his account of this letter in the *Apologia* (131-2) he uses a larger and less formal phrase.

⁵ T. Mozley mentions Henry Wilberforce's anonymous letter to the Primate (*Reminiscences*, I, 343 and 352). Newman speaks (*Letts. and Corr.* II, 106) of pamphlets by Eden, and Charles Marriott.

man to Froude, "we are on the high road towards it." In May 1835 the proposal to abolish subscription on matriculation was defeated in Convocation by a majority of eight to one. Before many months were over Dr. Burton's death and Hampden's appointment to succeed him as Regius Professor of Divinity had involved all parties in a bitterer struggle. The unhappy practice of heresy-hunting had revived.

Renn Dickson Hampden, the only Double First of his year, had been elected a Fellow of Oriel in 1814. He had been intimate with Whately, with Arnold and with Blanco White.¹ He had been induced by Hawkins to return to tutorial work in his old College when Newman and Froude withdrew. He had been Bampton Lecturer in 1832. He had become Principal of St. Mary Hall in 1833 and Professor of Moral Philosophy in 1834. He had rendered good service as Head of a House. He was recognised as an authority upon Aristotle. His writings on Aquinas and the Schoolmen had won praise from critics as distinguished as Hallam. Of his orthodoxy there was no reasonable doubt.² He had published able defences of the doctrines of the Trinity and of the Athanasian creed. But it may well be that the Bampton Lectures, in which he had considered Scholastic Philosophy in its relation to Christian Theology, contained statements more far-reaching than he realised, and that his endeavour to put unnecessary formulas in their proper place might awaken doubts as to formulas which he would have been the last man to condemn.

"The only ancient, only catholic truth is the Scriptural fact. Let us hold that fast in its depth and breadth, in nothing extenuating, in nothing abridging it,—in simplicity and sincerity ;—and we can neither be Sabellians, or Tritheists, or Socinians."³

But Hampden, no doubt, said a good deal more than this. It is not impossible that in a profoundly difficult subject the Lecturer sometimes got out of his depth. There are few of the Schoolmen against whom the same accusation might not have been made. The Lectures had attracted no special attention, and till their author ventured to plead for Dissenters no one had found any reason to attack his views. His appointment as Professor of

¹ The extent to which Dr. Hampden drew his opinions from Blanco White is discussed at length by T. Mozley (I, 351-61), but is not important.

² He was, says Dean Church, "unexceptionably, even rigidly orthodox in his acceptance of Church doctrine and Church creeds" (*Oxford Movement*, 164).

³ See the concluding passage of Hampden's third Bampton Lecture on the Trinitarian Controversy. Only the first two lectures are really occupied by the teaching of the Schoolmen.

Moral Philosophy had evoked no protest. But to Newman and his comrades Hampden represented just that spirit of liberalism in thought and in theology which it was their main endeavour to repress, and when Lord Melbourne proposed to appoint him to the Chair of Divinity, their indignation could not be contained.

In January 1836, before the appointment was announced, Newman begged Pusey to exert himself against it, and Pusey sent the Prime Minister "one of his most earnest, weightiest, crushing letters."¹ But Lord Melbourne's jaunty confidence remained uncrushed. Newman, Pusey wrote once,² had "the keenest and most reverent perception of the offensiveness of heresy." To him it was "something defiling," a sword that pierced every part of his frame. It does not seem to have occurred to the writer that men so affected by differences of theological opinion were the type of which fanatics and persecutors might be made. In February, James Mozley tells us,³ on the Monday when the nomination was definitely published, Pusey gave a dinner "to the leaders of orthodoxy in the University," at which it was agreed to present a petition condemning Hampden and his tenets. Next day, Tuesday, was occupied "in stirring up people." On Wednesday a meeting was held in the Corpus Common Room and a petition to the King drawn up. Hampden was charged with contradicting doctrines which he was pledged to maintain, with asserting principles subversive of "the whole fabric and reality of Christian truth." The whole of that night Newman sat up working at a series of *Elucidations* of Hampden's teaching, intended to show what "enormities" it contained. He was already hoping for a formal judicial investigation before the Vice-Chancellor: "nothing would do us more good in these times." Pusey prepared a series of Propositions extracted from the Bampton Lectures. It was only too easy even for a scrupulous opponent to misinterpret statements which he suspected, and which possibly their author had not scrutinised enough.⁴ Heresy-hunting is an unprofitable quest. But great efforts were made to draw the heresy-hunters together. The Evangelicals became as eager as the Tractarians. Not

¹ Newman (*Letts. and Corr.* II, 158).

² In 1844. See Liddon's *Life of Pusey* (II, 445).

³ On the Hampden controversy see J. Mozley's *Letters* (50-55), Newman's *Letters* (II, 157 sq.), Cox's *Recollections* (264-71), Liddon's *Life of Pusey* (I, 359-90), Church's *Oxford Movement* (*passim*), Palmer's *Narrative of Events* (128-35), the *Memorials* of R. D. Hampden, etc.

⁴ Pusey was also largely responsible for a Report and Declaration on the subject. It is difficult to doubt that the Tractarian leaders were the main authors of the whole agitation. But Newman's *Elucidations of Dr. Hampden's Statements* and Pusey's two pamphlets on Dr. Hampden's Statements were only three among several pamphlets.

only the new Catholicism was in danger. Protestantism, it was alleged, was being "stabbed to the very vitals." The attacking party failed to persuade the Hebdomadal Board to specify Hampden's offences. But they persuaded them to bring in a measure to deprive him of certain rights which belonged to his Chair.¹ On March 22 this partial censure was vetoed by the Proctors in a crowded and tumultuous Convocation. But in the following May, when the Proctors had changed, it was affirmed by a majority of five to one.

Hampden's opponents had so far succeeded. But men who had little sympathy with the opinions attributed to him began to ask themselves if all this prejudice need have been aroused. "The Doctor is not fairly treated," said one Tory country clergyman after reading the *Elucidations*. "No charitable mind had a right," said another observer, "to pick and choose *parts of sentences* and give them a colouring not belonging to them." Hampden frankly admitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury that he might not always have stated his views "with the precision and clearness" that he wished. But he did affirm "in the most solemn manner" his devotion to the doctrines and formularies of the Church.

"A belief in the great revealed truths of the Trinity and the Incarnation has been my stay through life; and I utterly disclaim the imputation of inculcating any doctrines at variance with these foundations of Christian hope."²

Some of the methods of the opposition, the beating-up of country voters, the placards issued by the Corpus Committee attacking Hampden in large advertising type, offended moderate men. Lord Melbourne, who with all his faults valued toleration, refused to allow Hampden to withdraw, and expressed his views with some pungency in the House of Lords. Lord Radnor, Dr. Pusey's kinsman, commented satirically on the coaches driven into Oxford full of voters who knew nothing of Hampden's opinions beyond the extracts made by his assailants. And Dr. Arnold, moved beyond himself by what he regarded as the fanatical persecution of an innocent man, broke out in passionate reproaches with a vehemence regretted by his friends. In a famous article in the *Edinburgh Review*³ he pointed out that the heresies complained of had been published in 1832, and that their author had since been appointed to responsible University positions without a word of protest in Oxford or outside. His

¹ E.g. to share in the choice of Select Preachers.

² See the *Memorials of R. D. Hampden* (55).

³ Vol. LXIII (pp. 225-39). The title, *The Oxford Malignants and Dr. Hampden*, was given by the Editor.

assailants must be either "compromisers of mischievous principles in 1832, 1833, 1834, and 1835,—or slanderers of a good and most Christian man in 1836." He accused Newman and Pusey of gravely misrepresenting Hampden's views. He quoted an effective passage in Hampden's Inaugural Lecture, in which the new Professor had appealed "from an excited spirit to a spirit of soberness and candour," and had asked to be tried not "by the conclusions of an adverse school, but by the calm and gentle reason of men disposed to give him credit for no less love of the truth and the faith than themselves." He described the leaders of the agitation as simply the old, extreme High Churchmen of Oxford, who had "stirred neither actually nor relatively" since the days of William III. And he denounced their uncharitable bigotry as worthy only of the Jews and Judaizers who had harassed the Apostles.

"In the zealots of circumcision and the ceremonies of the law,—in the slanderers and persecutors of St. Paul—the doters upon old wives' fables and endless genealogies—the men of 'soft words and fair speeches' . . . the men of 'mint, and anise, and cummin,' who cared not for judgment, mercy, and truth—the enemies and revilers of the holiest names which earth reverences, and who are condemned, in the most emphatic language, by that authority which all Christians acknowledge as divine; in these, and in these alone, can the party which has headed the late Oxford conspiracy find their perfect prototype."

Party passion must indeed have run high when a man of Dr. Arnold's character could lend his authority to criticisms so unmeasured. But even with these fierce polemics some elements of humour mingled. The story ran that Hampden had appeared unexpectedly at a meeting of the Heads of Houses who were discussing his fate. In an embarrassed silence Dean Gaisford rose to poke the fire. "Will you go on now, Hampden," asked Dr. Shuttleworth in happy mockery, "or will you wait till it burns up?"

The agitation against Dr. Hampden subsided. But the Tractarian Movement swept on. Hurrell Froude indeed, that "incomparable friend," was dead. "I cannot describe what I owe to him," wrote Newman, "as regards the intellectual principles (*i.e.* philosophy) of religion and morals. . . . Everything was so bright and beautiful about him, that to think of him must always be a comfort."¹ But Newman's and Pusey's influence grew daily. Even among critics who distrusted the new teaching, and who were impatient of much that seemed to them extravagant, pedantic and misleading, attention was arrested, curiosity roused. Controversy played its part in stimulating interest.

¹ *Letters and Correspondence* (II, 174-5).

Deeper motives, a consciousness of pure and fine endeavour, of lofty spiritual purposes behind the antiquarian researches and the sacerdotal claims, won many to listen, to wonder, to assent. And the leaders lost no opportunity of working for their cause. "Newman's and my continual wish is," wrote Pusey to Keble in March 1837, "'Would one had 100 heads and 100 hands.'" A Theological Society was started, to the annoyance of the Heads of Houses. Newman read a paper there on the Apollinarian heresy, which one of his hearers found a little dry. Pusey set to work to edit a Library of the Fathers—sixteen volumes of St. Chrysostom, twelve of St. Augustine, five of St. Athanasius, four of St. Gregory, Augustine's Anti-Pelagian treatises, Tertullian's fall into the Montanist heresy, Origen's observations upon Celsus. When Pusey complained that Origen on Celsus was apologetic, Newman assured him that "the ancients did not write Apologies apologetically."¹ When Keble, in a very lengthy Tract on the Mysticism of the Early Fathers, pleaded for tenderness in judging Scripture characters, begged indulgence for the "fanriful and strained" methods of early Christian writers, and showed to what lengths of occasional absurdity excessive veneration for primitive theology could go, he ran some risk of bringing ridicule upon his cause.² More impressive were the lectures given by Newman in Adam de Brome's Chapel at St. Mary's, lectures which afterwards took shape in published volumes. The *Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church* contained some mordant criticism of Roman methods.³ The lectures *On Justification* were directed rather against the principles of Luther. Of the famous defence of the *Via Media*, the Middle Way between Romanism and Popular Protestantism, Newman wrote with candour in January 1837. "It is so strong that everything I have yet said is milk and water to it": and again, "I cannot conceal from myself that it is neither more nor less than hitting Protestantism a hard blow in the face."⁴

"We Anglo-Catholics," he reminded his Bishop later, "do not profess a different religion from the Romanists, we profess their Faith *all but* their corruptions."

Yet the notion of his being "a Papist" still seemed to him absurd. He gave James Mozley a copy of his book, grumbling,

¹ See Liddon's *Life of Pusey* (I, 431, and the whole of Chap. xviii). An Anglo-Catholic Library was also started, and later Lives of the English Saints.

² See Tract 89. Mr. L. Strachey's comments (*Eminent Victorians*, 19-21) are worth noting.

³ See the passage quoted by Dr. Brilioth from Bremond's *Newman* (p. 65), "Je ne me rappelle pas avoir rien lu de plus suavement perfide, de plus spécieux, ni, au fond, de plus violent contre nous."

⁴ *Letters and Correspondence* (II, 220-1).

as authors will, at having to give away so many : but Mozley might have that copy because it was greased. "I told him I should value the gift so much the more from seeing the sacrifice it was to him to make it." ¹

Meanwhile the Tracts were multiplying fast. In 1837 Rivington recommended that double editions should be printed. Newman mentions as portentous the sale of seven hundred and fifty copies of the *Roman Breviary* in a few months. The excerpts from English Church divines were also running to great length. Dr. Arnold had studied these divines with care, and had been impressed by their obvious mediocrity as interpreters of Scripture.² Tracts on Romanism, on Rationalistic Principles, on Purgatory, on Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge, attracted not only attention but criticism. As their tone became more startling the criticism increased.

"The unfortunate Peculiars," writes Newman to Manning in 1837, "are attacked on so many sides at once that they are quite out of breath with having to run about to defend their walls—tradition, baptism, apostolical succession, faith, and works, etc., etc. No sooner do they recover their breath after one blow but they receive another in their stomach." ³

Newman became editor of the *British Critic* and made it the chief organ of the movement.⁴ But the *Quarterly*, it seemed, had become a supporter, and presently a sympathetic spirit began to show itself in the *Times*.⁵ Pusey, finding his Canon's house too large for him, and wishing with characteristic generosity to use it for some public purpose, invited three or four young men to live there and study divinity. It was a development perhaps of the Theological Society. James Mozley was the first of the little group in 1836. Two years later these students moved into a house taken by Pusey or Newman in St. Aldate's, and devoted themselves to the Library of the Fathers, to reading and collating work.⁶ But a more popular form of hospitality was dispensed in Newman's rooms, where weekly tea-parties or

¹ See Mozley's *Letters* (64).

² But he excepted Hooker and Butler, and he admired the style of all (Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, II, 64).

³ See Purcell's *Life of Manning* (I, 224-5). Another important publication of these years was W. Palmer's *Treatise on the Church of Christ*.

⁴ Newman handed over the editorship to T. Mozley in July 1841.

⁵ Early in 1841, when Lord Morpeth attacked the Tractarians in the House of Commons, the *Times* published articles in their defence.

⁶ T. Mozley (*Reminiscences*, I, 342) speaks of the "Hall" in St. Aldate's as preceding Pusey's offer of hospitality. The facts seem to be more accurately stated in Pusey's *Life* (I, 338-9) and J. B. Mozley's *Letters* (57-60). The house in St. Aldate's was closed in 1840. Mark Pattison was a member of it.

soirées were established—conversation flowing continuously and everyone at his ease.

“ Grave grew the talk, and golden grew the gloom ”

among these young enthusiasts, who already confidently saw the hour approaching

“ when each high morn
England, at one, shall stand at the church gate,
And vesper bells o’er all the land be borne,
And Newman mould the Church, and Gladstone stamp the
State.”

Newman had the gift of winning love from his disciples. He inspired not only a sense of his own greatness, but a belief that he expected great things from his friends. To see him kindle with his solemn subject and pour forth the wealth of his learning and conviction, with the humility of the most reverent of students, the glowing fervour of an idealist and poet, seemed to one visitor, Samuel Wilberforce, sublime.¹ There was a sense of something spiritual, drawn from the world of visions that encompassed him. “ It was almost,” says another observer, “ as if some Ambrose or Augustine of elder days had reappeared.”

In the spring of 1839, Newman has told us, his position in the Anglican Church was at its height. But in that year, which was to see his convictions so profoundly shaken, the muttering of the storm could already be heard. The stir made by the Tracts had never been greater. A deluge of theological literature, says Thomas Mozley, was pouring out of Oxford, the writers “ really beating the readers now.” It was, no doubt, always true that large numbers of Oxford men, perhaps the majority of undergraduates, took little or no part in these theological discussions, and were indifferent to them, if not impatient of them all.² But the taste for sacerdotal doctrine, the absorbing study of patristic literature, the love of what was legendary, miraculous, abnormal, seemed to become every day more prominent. The taste for superstition seemed to deepen while the critical faculty declined. The lives of Saints like Willibald and Bega, Gundleus and Walburga, Ebba and Adamnan had sometimes singular lessons to unfold.³ The nine orders of Angels, which Newman delighted to teach the children at Littimore—the definiteness of the number, James Mozley explains, being a

¹ See the *Life* of Bishop Wilberforce (I, 95).

² See Dr. Wright-Henderson’s observations (*Glasgow and Balliol and other essays*, 53-4), which are borne out by others. The interest of Tractarianism perhaps tempts us to over-estimate its importance in the Oxford of that day.

³ See the new edition of *Lives of the English Saints* edited by A. W. Hutton in 1900.

great charm to the children's minds—were but a part of the delicate, imaginative, reverent simplicity, which led him to prostrate his fine judgment later before the miracles shown him by Italian priests.

“ The intellectual power through words and things
Went sounding on a dim and perilous way.”

But the perils of the way became daily more apparent to great numbers of perplexed churchmen, who doubted the value of obscure, remote ecclesiasticism, who still paid honour to the Reformation, and who distrusted practices and doctrines so strangely reminiscent of the Church of Rome. It was evident in 1838 that uneasiness was growing in Oxford. The publication of Hurrell Froude's *Remains* was like the blurting out of only half-suspected truths. The embarrassing proposal to raise a memorial in Oxford to the martyrs of the Reformation showed Newman standing aloof. Pusey was willing to discuss the project. He would consider a cross in Broad Street. It was “not respectful that carts &c. should drive over the place where they yielded up their souls.” He would not object to a cenotaph, provided the inscription were “sound” and made it clear that the martyrs were martyrs to “Catholic and primitive truth.” Dr. Bagot,¹ the Bishop of Oxford, a tender and sympathetic friend to all that was best in the Oxford Movement, thought it would be “invaluable” if the Tractarian leaders could support the project. But he had only lately felt bound, in a carefully-balanced Charge to his clergy, to use the word superstition and to speak of some of the Tracts as unsafe. It was “a slap,” wrote Newman on the 17th August 1838: “a Bishop's lightest word, *ex cathedra*, is heavy.” Another Bishop was heavier still. He denounced the bad faith of those who sat in the Reformers' seat and traduced the Reformation. Keble was not altogether satisfied about the Tracts. His own on the Mysticism of the Early Fathers had not produced a favourable impression, and the famous Tract on Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge, misunderstood in part, it may be, had been “like the explosion of a mine.”² In November 1838 Newman was writing to Keble protesting against the want of confidence in him.

“ Do not in the same breath chide me (for instance) for thinking of stopping the Tracts, and then be severe on the Tracts which are actually published.”

Newman, always over-sensitive, could sometimes be a little

¹ Dr. Richard Bagot had entered Christ Church in 1799 and had been elected a Fellow of All Souls in 1804.

² The phrase is Dean Church's (*Oxford Movement*, 264). Lord Morley has pointed out the “fury” which it roused (*Life of Gladstone*, I, 307).

"flinty" to his friends.¹ The Heads of Colleges began to be restless. Newman could fancy "the old Duke sending down to ask" whether the agitators could not be silenced. In 1839 Pusey set forth in a Letter to the Bishop of Oxford a full and elaborate statement of the Tractarian case. But already the more extreme disciples were beginning to show where their footsteps pointed. A new current of thought had intervened.² W. G. Ward's racy and remorseless logic was labouring to make the breach with Protestantism wider. Jack Morris was frightening the Vice-Chancellor's family away from St. Mary's. The drift to Rome had unmistakably begun.

IV

The crisis came for Newman in the Long Vacation of 1839. Betaking himself once again to the study of the early Fathers, to the history of the Eutychian controversy, the works of Dionysius the Areopagite and St. Leo, he suddenly found a vista opening before him, to the end of which he could not see. The shock was a thunderbolt to him and to his friends.

"My stronghold was Antiquity; now here, in the middle of the fifth century, I found, as it seemed to me, Christendom of the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries reflected. I saw my face in that mirror, and I was a Monophysite."

It was difficult to make out how the Eutychians or Monophysites were heretics, unless Protestants and Anglicans were heretics also. There was "an awful similitude" between "the dead records of the past and the feverish chronicle of the present." What was the use of the *Via Media*, what was the use of struggling to defend his position, if all the while he was "forging arguments for Arius or Eutyches, and turning devil's advocate against the much-enduring Athanasius and the majestic Leo?" Dare he lift up his hand against the Saints? Sooner than that, perish not only the Protestant Reformers, but the whole company of seventeenth century divines! But hardly had he brought this course of reading to a close when a second shock assailed him. The *Dublin Review* for August was put into his hands by friends more favourable to the cause of Rome than he. There was an article there by Dr. Wiseman on the Donatists and the Anglican claim. Newman at first read it without concern. But a friend pointed out to him certain "palmary" words of St. Augustine in

¹ "But then," adds Lord Blachford, "you occasionally saw what this flintiness cost him. And when you came to frank explanation, there came from the rock a gush of overpowering tenderness" (Newman's *Letts. and Corr.* II, 271).

² See *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement* (Chapter VII).

one of the extracts given in the Review : *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. He repeated those words again and again. They kept ringing in Newman's ears when he had gone. They applied not only to the Donatists but to the Monophysites as well. They were simpler than any rule of Antiquity : nay, St. Augustine was an oracle of Antiquity himself. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. It was like the "Turn again, Whittington," of the old English chime. "By those great words of the ancient Father, the theory of the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverized." Newman had seen the shadow on the wall. He has revealed to us with transparent candour the strange, pathetic wanderings of his mind.¹

From that time forward Newman's position as a defender of Anglicanism became more and more impossible. He was sore, he says, against the Anglican divines, as if they had taken him in. In February 1840 he opened his heart to his sister.² As he saw the world, everything was miserable. He mistrusted his age and he mistrusted himself.³ The forces of infidelity were gathering. There were "those wretched Socialists on the one hand, then Carlyle on the other." Carlyle, though a fascinating writer, was clearly not a believer. Newman had had hopes, vain hopes, that he would come round. Then there was Arnold's school doubting the inspiration of Scripture, and Milman's History of Christianity, which was worse than his History of the Jews, and the political economists who could not accept the Scripture rules about almsgiving, and the geologists who gave up parts of the Old Testament. "All these and many more spirits seem uniting and forming into something shocking." Was any religious body strong enough to withstand the league of evil except the Roman Church? For the time he forced his doubts back as far as he could force them. In November 1840, he told Rogers, he was more comfortable.

"I think that, though St. Austin is against us, yet that the case of Meletius is certainly for us, and that our position is much more like the Antiochene than the Donatist."⁴

But the "ghost" returned and returned. He meditated the resignation of St. Mary's, a retirement to Littlemore, the building of a "*μονή*," a species of monastic school. He felt a great and growing dislike to speak against the Roman system, and this feeling inevitably showed in what he wrote. It became a "matter of life and death" to prove that the doctrine of "the

¹ See Newman's account of this crisis in the *Apologia* (208-13).

² *Letters and Correspondence* (II, 299-300).

³ These words are used of him in J. F. Mozley's article on *Newman's Opportunity* in the *Quarterly Review* for January 1926.

⁴ *Letters and Correspondence* (II, 319).

Old Church " was the doctrine of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and Tract 90, published in February 1841, was the result.

Newman, if capable of deceiving himself, was wholly incapable of wishing to deceive others. Subtlety and simplicity, curiously mingled, were the prevailing characteristics of his mind. And in arguing that there was little in the Thirty-Nine Articles irreconcilable with the creed of Rome, he was probably only endeavouring to answer the perplexities torturing his soul. But to men suffering under no such necessity his argument seemed to involve grave misinterpretation. He set to work to prove that doctrines which the Articles did not specifically condemn might be held by Anglo-Catholics as matters of private belief, that it was a duty to interpret the Articles " in the most Catholic sense they will admit." The " old Catholic Truth " was there. The wording of the Articles had been left intentionally vague in order to preserve it. They said that faith must be proved from Scripture, but did not say *who* was to prove it. They said that the Church had authority in controversies, but did not say *what* authority. They said that works *before* grace *and* justification were worthless and that works *after* grace *and* justification were acceptable, but they did not speak at all of works *with* God's aid *before* justification. They said that Councils called by *princes* might err, but did not determine whether Councils called in the name of Christ might.¹ They condemned the Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Images and Reliques, but that did not necessarily mean that they condemned these observances themselves. They said that the sacrifices of Masses were " blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." But from this Newman drew the singular conclusion that they did not speak " against the Mass in itself." ² Even when his argument was finished, both he and Keble seem to have been quite unconscious of the depth of feeling it would rouse.³ He was content to have asserted a great principle, " that the Articles are to be interpreted, not according to the meaning of the writers, but (as far as the wording will admit) according to the sense of the Catholic Church." ⁴

¹ I quote the argument of the *Apologia* (169): but it should be compared with the wording of the Articles. " It is hard," comments Dr. Brilioth (p. 155), " not to affirm a certain double-dealing when one compares Newman's later presentation of the matter with the contents of the disputed document." But over-refinement, self-persuasion are terms I should prefer.

² See Tract 90 (p. 65).

³ *Letters and Correspondence* (II, 326). But there is a long letter from R. W. Church to F. Rogers, written from the Tractarian standpoint, describing the ferment created (*Ib.* 327-34).

⁴ *Ib.* (336).

Newman soon realised that he had got into "a scrape." In Mr. Gladstone's words, he had "burned his fingers." He found the Heads of Houses "fierce" against him. But he did not at once realise how severely he had wounded the movement to which he had devoted his life. His friends stood by him, even some like Palmer who were being drawn in the opposite direction. But the shock given to public opinion was very great. The idea which had been slowly gaining ground, and which had found expression in Parliament and in the Press, that the Tractarians were disloyal to the Church of England and were preparing to transfer their allegiance to the Church of Rome, seemed to receive a striking vindication. Four prominent Tutors at Oxford—Tait's is the most famous name¹—wrote to the Editor of the Tracts expressing their grave apprehensions, and urging that on so solemn a subject the anonymity of the writer ought not to be maintained. The tone of their letter was moderate and courteous, but they did not disguise their fears. If such interpretations of the Articles were permitted, there was no security that "the most plainly erroneous doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome might not be inculcated in the lecture-rooms of the University and from the pulpits of our churches." A week later, on the 15th March 1841, the Heads of Houses published a strong protest against a method of interpreting the Articles which evaded their plain meaning and which might be reconciled with Roman views. Newman set to work to defend his statements. But he wrote a submissive letter to the Vice-Chancellor—too humble and polite for James Mozley's taste. And when the Bishop appealed to him, he replied in a tone of humility so fine and unaffected, showed, while defending his arguments with dignity, such readiness to obey the Bishop in anything he asked, that Dr. Bagot was moved to warm appreciation. It was agreed that the Tracts should stop. For a moment it seemed as if the ferment would subside. But feeling was too deeply stirred for any interchange of courtesies to quell the trouble. All Bishops were not like Dr. Bagot. One took occasion to express contempt for "the stinking puddles of tradition." Another declared that the "foundations of apostasy" were laid. A third discovered that Tractarianism was "the masterpiece of Satan": and these utterances did not stand

¹ The others were Churton of Brasenose, Wilson of St. John's and Griffiths of Wadham. R. W. Church's letter of 14 March 1841 (*Letts. and Corr. of Newman*, II, 327-34) attributed largely to the activity of C. P. Golightly of Oriel, an early friend of the Tractarians shocked by these Romanising views, an opposition which had deeper roots. The letter of the four Tutors is printed in Pusey's *Life* (II, 168-9) and in Tait's (I, 81-2).

alone. All Newman's friends had not his tact. Ward of Balliol determined to push the argument about the Articles still further. They must, if necessary, be interpreted in a "non-natural" sense. "I wish Mr. Ward would not write such pamphlets," sighed Dr. Jenkyns in despair.¹ Lowe, who had won a Fellowship at Magdalen,² replied with pungent comments on "a sort of logical phaenomenon or curiosity, such as we are not likely soon to see again." Stanley wrote to Tait "in a fever" from Rome, begging for news of "this fearful drama." He added "Remember Hampden—remember the Supra—and Sub—lapsedarians; remember me."³ Sewell of Exeter, in a Letter to Pusey, protested against the idea that the Articles were a bondage rather than a safeguard, and that their latitude was an evil to be palliated by forcing the sense of the language. Dr. Faussett and others inevitably joined in the fray.

The tide had turned against the Tractarians and fresh incidents added to the current. In October 1841 it became known that England and Prussia had agreed on a scheme for establishing a Bishop at Jerusalem, with jurisdiction over English and German Protestants. Newman was instantly up in arms. It was an "atrocious" scheme, a "fearful business."

"It seems," he wrote, "we are *in the way* to fraternise with Protestants of all sorts—Monophysites, half-converted Jews and even Druses. If any such event should take place, I shall not be able to keep a single man from Rome."⁴

A Bishop with no true Church principles was to admit to communion Protestant heretics who might not even hold the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration! Newman could not restrain his anger. He forwarded a vehement protest to the Bishop of Oxford, which Pusey agreed with but which Keble disapproved. About the same time two Professorial changes in Oxford helped to emphasise the growing estrangement between the Tractarians and the bulk of University opinion. Dr. Arnold's feelings had in no way abated. He still regarded a Roman Catholic as an open enemy, "a Newmanite" as a treacherous friend within the camp. But he still hoped to find in the Newmanites at close quarters excellences which he could not discover from afar.

¹ And then, almost in the same breath, "I wish Mrs. Jenkyns would take care of the flowers instead of the cabbages." (See Stanley's *Life*, I, 297.)

² But he had lost it on his marriage in 1836.

³ This delightful letter, beginning "O My Dear Belvedere"—Tait's curly hair had won him that name—is printed on pp. 92-4 of the first volume of the Archbishop's *Life*. Tait, replying to "My Dear Child," discusses the Letter of the Four Tutors, and adds "I rejoiced that you were not in Oxford, lest you should have died of excitement."

⁴ *Letters and Correspondence* (II, 352-3 sq.).

When he came up as Regius Professor of Modern History to lecture, in a Theatre packed to overflowing, on behalf of a Chair which had been practically useless for many years,¹ he held aloof from controversial questions, and delighted to spend his leisure in revisiting old haunts on Shotover, by Ferry Hinksey and by Bagley Wood. But no Professor, Stanley thought, had produced such an effect for centuries. Arnold frankly could not bear the Middle Ages, those "centuries of dirt and darkness" where some ecclesiastics loved to grope. But there floated ever before him "an image of power and beauty in History," which he tried in vain to realise in prose: and not a few Oxford men felt that he brought a new breath of vigour and enthusiasm into an atmosphere heavy with the dust of theological disputes. The two great antagonists encountered each other one evening at Oriel. "Arnold, I don't think you know Newman," said the Provost simply. They talked in good fellowship of all matters "which it was safe to talk on," parted as friends, and never met again.² In the same winter Keble's tenure of the Chair of Poetry ended, and Isaac Williams of Trinity was suggested as his successor. Nobody doubted that Williams was a poet. No one believed in the poetical capacity of the rival candidate, Garbett of Brasenose. But Pusey unwisely put out a circular recommending Williams for his religious views—Williams, whose advocacy of Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge had caused the widest indignation in the Church. Dr. Gilbert, the Principal of Brasenose, a friend of the Tractarians in early days, retorted that, if those considerations counted, Garbett was the safer man. Opinion was rising in Oxford. "I have a dread of Convocation," wrote Newman, "exceedingly great." Pressure was put on Williams to withdraw, even the Bishop intervening. The election went to Garbett, and it was thought that the Tractarians had received a check.

Nor was that all. Newman's position was now so uncertain that attendance at his sermons was discouraged. Roman Catholics spoke freely of his approaching conversion, and even Pusey warned him that "a vague sort of uncomfortableness" existed on the subject.³ A fresh stir arose over the Hampden controversy. The Heads of Houses proposed to repeal the decision against the Professor, but in June 1842 Convocation rejected that idea. Macmullen of Corpus, an aggressive supporter of the Tractarian movement, applied for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. Hampden by a stretch of authority required him

¹ Arnold's Inaugural Lecture was given on 2 December 1841, the rest in the Lent term following. He died suddenly in June 1842.

² See Newman's account of this incident (*Letts. and Corr.* II, 440-2).

³ See the letter of August 1842 given in Pusey's *Life* (II, 292).

to dispute on certain propositions. The candidate refused, and a sharp conflict followed. Macmullen brought an action against Hampden, won it in the Vice-Chancellor's Court, but was defeated on appeal to the Delegates in Convocation.¹ In the end Macmullen secured his degree, and two or three years later he joined the Church of Rome. Towards the end of 1842 Newman publicly retracted all the hard things he had said against that Church. In 1843 a curious scene occurred at Commemoration. A group of Tractarians discourteously resolved to protest against the degree offered to the American Minister. They discovered that he had held Unitarian views. But a group of undergraduates had determined to protest on the same day against an unpopular Proctor. After an hour of uproar the Vice-Chancellor had to dismiss the Congregation, and in the uproar the American Minister's degree slipped through. "The cannonade of the angry youngsters drowned the odium of the theological malcontents ;

' Another lion gave another roar,
And the first lion thought the last a bore.' " ²

The feeling between the Tractarian party and the Hebdomadal Board grew daily more acute. The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Wynter, proved unable to control the conflicts of opinion. The Provost of Oriel, the Warden of Wadham and the Principal of St. Alban Hall³ came to be regarded as the leaders of those who felt that a stand must be made in the University against dangerous developments of the Tractarian movement. Unhappily the grounds for such stands are often ill-chosen. On the 24th May 1843 Dr. Pusey preached a sermon on the Eucharist of a high Anglican type. In quiet times it might have passed unnoticed : Pusey was a man whom few people wished to attack. But the deplorable practice of heresy-hunting, which the Tractarians had encouraged, recoiled now upon their heads. Dr. Faussett, prominent in earlier controversies, "delated" the sermon to

¹ Dr. Church's account of this controversy (320-4) should be checked by Cox's *Recollections* (316-19) and some others. The questions to which Macmullen was asked to respond were these : " 1. The Church of England does not teach, nor can it be proved from Scripture, that any change takes place in the elements at consecration in the Lord's Supper. 2. It is a mode of expression calculated to give erroneous views of Divine Revelation to speak of 'Scripture and Catholic Tradition' as joint authorities in the matter of Christian Doctrine."

² The Proctor was W. E. Jelf of Christ Church. See Tuckwell's *Reminiscences* (156-8), Cox's *Recollections* (311-13), and Dean Church's *Life and Letters* (39-44).

³ Dr. Hawkins, Dr. Symons and Dr. Cardwell. Hawkins' strong churchmanship and masterful tone carried great weight. He was even accused of bullying the Hebdomadal Council.

the Vice-Chancellor as heresy. Six Doctors were appointed to examine the charge. No public defence was permitted. Dr. Pusey was summarily condemned for teaching doctrines "*Ecclesiæ Anglicanae dissona et contraria*," and was suspended from preaching within the University for two years.

The wheel had come full circle. Pusey, one of the chief instigators of the attack on Hampden, suffered from the spirit of intolerance which he had been too ready to invoke.¹ The Tractarians seemed to have exhausted the patience of the public, and acute observers noted the change of feeling. Archdeacon Manning, already conspicuous, had been a sympathetic friend of Newman. But he now realised that "unsettlement" was spreading. It "seemed a call of God's Providence" for him to preach against the Pope.² On the 5th November 1843 he delivered his "testification" at St. Mary's Church in Oxford. He could no longer, he told Pusey, stand on the brink of he knew not what. He was "reduced to the painful, saddening, sickening necessity" of saying what he thought about Rome. Circumstances were ere long to render him more charitable, at least to the Church of his adoption. In the meantime he called at Littlemore in vain. Battle was now fully joined. On both sides the fiercer spirits refused to be silenced. In September 1843 Newman resigned the living of St. Mary's.

"I am not a good son enough of the Church of England," he wrote to James Mozley, "to feel I can in conscience hold preferment under her. I love the Church of Rome too well."³

His doubts had paralysed his action, left him in no position to defend his cause. Even to Mr. Gladstone he seemed to be "in the general view a *disgraced man*," his words "more like the expressions of some Faust gambling for his soul, than the records

¹ Dean Church, while severely condemning the censure of Dr. Pusey, makes little allowance for the profound uneasiness which recent developments of Tractarian doctrine had produced. It must, I think, be admitted that there is a marked difference of tone in his treatment—candid and distinguished as it always is—of the proceedings against Dr. Hampden on the one side and of the proceedings against Dr. Pusey on the other (*Oxford Movement*, Chaps. IX and XVI). Dean Stanley contrived to be fairer to both sides. I find I have used, but I need not alter, a phrase used by him in his pamphlet *Nemesis*, published in Feb. 1845. Dr. Brilioth's survey of the whole great controversy is one of the most recent, careful and detached. His second Appendix (*The Anglican Revival*, 334-42) gives a good account of the literature of the subject, and the bibliography by S. L. Ollard in *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (vol. XII, pp. 453-63) is valuable and thorough.

² See Manning's reasons for preaching his sermon as set out in Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning* (I, 250). See also J. B. Mozley's *Letters* (148-9).

³ *Letters and Correspondence* (II, 423).

of the inner life of a great Christian teacher.”¹ In 1844 the Tractarians determined to challenge the election of Dr. Symons as Vice-Chancellor—an extreme and unwise course. But Symons was elected amid great excitement by a majority of some seven hundred votes.² In the same year Ward of Balliol brought out a noble-minded but provocative book on *The Ideal of a Christian Church*. He had ceased to be a Tutor and Lecturer at Balliol, to the Master's undisguised relief. He had for some time been writing in the *British Critic* disparaging articles on the Church of England. He had been busy in conferences with Newman at Littlemore and in visits to Romanist communities. He demanded “a sustained and vigorous attack on the principles of the Reformation.” And now, throwing over the argument of Tract 90, he asserted that the Articles were in some respects not Catholic at all, and that in places they must be explained away or subscribed “in a non-natural sense.”³ He noted the “rapid strides” made by Roman sympathies among High Churchmen. He admitted that the distinction between Catholic and Roman, on which the *Via Media* was built, could not in logic be maintained. And he boasted that, convinced as he was of Roman doctrines, he continued to be a Fellow of an Oxford College.

“Three years have passed since I said plainly, that in subscribing the Articles I renounce no one Roman doctrine; yet I retain my Fellowship which I hold on the tenure of subscription, and have received no Ecclesiastical censure in any shape.”⁴

For censure, however, of this open defiance he did not have to wait for long.

Ward's book was published in the Long Vacation. It offended all parties alike. In October 1844 Archbishop Whately wrote to the Vice-Chancellor a letter summing up the position as it appeared to many who took no extreme view.

“At first principles were advocated which appeared to some persons (though not to others) to be fundamentally at variance with those of the Reformed Church, and to lead, if fairly followed out, to Romanism, or something equivalent to it. By degrees stronger and stronger complaints against our Church, and censures of the Reformers, were put forth; and ultimately a bitter detestation of

¹ See Lord Morley's *Life of Gladstone* (I, 311-12).

² Mr. G. R. M. Ward reprinted in his *Oxford University Statutes* (II, 316-22) the *Oxford Herald's* account of the proceedings in Convocation on October 8, 1844.

³ See *The Ideal of a Christian Church* (479). Pusey, curiously enough, thought that Ward was “greatly benefitting (*sic*) the Church by his practical suggestions” (*Life*, II, 421).

⁴ See Ward's *Ideal* (567). But Ward's ideal Church was to be based on a real philosophy of religion.

the Reformation was avowed, the most exceptionable tenets of the Romish Church were defended, the censures that had been at first passed on that Church were retracted, the Articles were explained away in a 'non-natural sense,' and men were taught to look forward with hope to a penitent submission of our Church to that of Rome." ¹

Whately's summary may have been fair or unfair. But it represented a widely-held and growing opinion. The Heads of Houses were driven to take action, and their action was in some respects unwise. But there seems to be no reason to censure them as fanatical or willingly unjust.² They proposed to condemn Ward's book and to deprive him of his University degree. And they proposed also to add a declaration, to be made by University men who subscribed the Articles, stating that they accepted them in the sense in which they were published and imposed. For the first two proposals a large majority was certain. But strong opposition was raised to the new declaration. Moderate men disliked the idea of a new test. Bethell and others advised against it, and the proposal was dropped. But in its place another proposal was put forward, for the condemnation of Tract 90. This movement, says Mozley, "mounted up tremendously" and received a remarkable measure of support. The country clergy seemed now to be as anxious to disavow the views of Newman as they had been to censure those of Hampden a few years before.³ In February 1845, in a scene of tumult and excitement, Ward's book was condemned by a majority of three hundred and ninety-one out of eleven hundred and sixty-three votes. The proposal for his degradation, the legality of which was doubtful, was carried in a rather smaller House by a majority of only fifty-eight. And the proposal for the condemnation of Tract 90 was vetoed by the Proctors, Henry Guillemard of Trinity and Richard Church of Wadham. Guillemard's voice was "heard like a trumpet," but Church's influence may have been the stronger of the two. Mr. Gladstone, who came up to vote, thought the result "very fair for a mob." He regarded Ward's book as deplorable, but could not join in an attack on its author, still less in an attack on Newman. Arthur Stanley

¹ See Whately's *Life* (I, 60).

² Dean Church who, as a young man in Oxford, was strongly and generously drawn to the Tractarian leaders, does perhaps less than justice to the difficulties of the Hebdomadal Board between 1841 and 1845 (*Oxford Movement*, Chaps. XVI and XVIII). But even Dean Stanley felt that they were swayed by popular clamour and by readiness to sacrifice an unpopular author (*Life*, II, 338).

³ Many, no doubt, wished the University to disavow the interpretation of the Articles given in Tract 90. But anything which reflected upon Newman roused at once indignant opposition. (See Stanley's *Life*, II, 336.)

was more impressed with the unsatisfactory nature of the whole proceedings. Had it been the sixteenth century, instead of the nineteenth, he reflected, the same men with the same arguments would have been voting not for degradation but for burning. Ward's defence, delivered by leave in English, had humour, power and dignity. He was, as Tait once said of him, "the prince of controversialists." But even James Mozley was amazed to find that so many members of Convocation gave him support. "If he said once, he said twenty times in the course of his speech, 'I believe all the doctrines of the Roman Church.'"¹ Addresses and requisitions upon both sides followed. Ward found consolation for his lost Fellowship in matrimony, wrote to the *Times* an astonishing letter about his marriage and his religious opinions, and within a few months joined the Church of Rome. He became one of the most extreme supporters of the Pope's authority, one of the most devoted adherents of Manning. But the lines which Tennyson in no spirit of partisanship dedicated later to the "most generous of all Ultramontanes," the "most unworldly of mankind,"² show that he retained in ample measure the lasting if bewildered affection of his friends.

Ward's action soon found imitators. Familiar figures disappeared from Oxford. Prominent Tractarians laid down Fellowships, livings, curacies, and left the Church.³ For a while their leader at Littlemore, absorbed in study, prayer and self-examination, gave no sign. But those who loved him realised only too well the direction of his mind. "God be with you in storm and in sunshine," wrote Keble in February 1845.

"I am distressing all I love," wrote Newman in March to his sister, "unsettling all I have instructed or aided. I am going to those whom I do not know, and of whom I expect very little. I am making myself an outcast, and that at my age. Oh, what can it be but a stern necessity which causes this?"

Early in October he resigned his Fellowship at Oriel. A few days later he was received into the Roman Church. "The crash is to me most overpowering," wrote one who had been his disciple. "I dare not criticise any action of his. . . . I cannot follow him." The thunderbolt had actually fallen, said Keble. He felt as if the spring had gone out of his year.

¹ On these incidents see *inter alia* J. B. Mozley's *Letters* (157-65), Cox's *Recollections* (323-31) and Prothero's *Life of Stanley* (I, Chap. X). A full report of the meeting of Convocation appeared in the *Times* of 14 Feb. 1845. The numbers voting are sometimes differently given.

² *Demeter and Other Poems* (1889, p. 173).

³ Dean Church names several, Capes, Oakeley, Ambrose St. John, Albany Christie, Faber, Dalgairns, Coffin, Meyrick, etc. (*Oxford Movement*, 394).

"My dearest Newman . . . you are so mixed up in my mind with old and dear and sacred thoughts that I cannot well bear to part with you, most unworthy as I know myself to be. And yet I cannot go along with you. I must cling to the belief that we are not really parted: you have taught me so, and I scarce think you can unteach me. And having relieved my mind with this little word, I will only say, God bless you, and reward you a thousand fold for all your help in every way to me unworthy, and to many others! May you have peace where you are gone, and help us in some way to get peace."¹

On the 23rd February 1846 Newman bade good-bye to Oxford. He was never to live there again. He was confident at first that Pusey would follow him. He could not conceive Pusey remaining where he was, "keeping souls in a system" which rested upon no authority besides his own.² Pusey answered with tenderness and patience. He would not blame his old comrade. He tried to think that, like Jonah, he might have a special and peculiar call. But to the invitation to follow him he could not respond. Newman was separated from his two noble-hearted friends. He had spent his life so far in fighting against the liberal spirit in religion, and he was destined to realise to the full all that the opposite of that liberalism meant. It is difficult to doubt that in the years which followed there were long moments of bitter repining, a sense of loneliness, uselessness, misunderstanding, of great gifts wasted, of a great mission unfulfilled.

"O my God," he burst out once in 1860, "I seem to have wasted these years that I have been a Catholic. What I wrote as a Protestant has had far greater power, force, meaning and success than my Catholic works."

"What am I doing," he asks in 1869, "what have I been doing for years, but nothing at all?" He tried in vain to comfort himself by repeating that he had always done what others had told him, that subordination to authority was the duty of a Catholic, that no good ever came of resisting the appointed pastors of the flock. "Trust the Church of God implicitly, even when your natural judgment would take a different course from hers." Submissive precepts could not have seemed any easier when the Church spoke through the mouth of Archbishop Manning. But the note of futility, of disappointed hopes, of

¹ For the passages quoted above see Newman's *Letters and Correspondence* (II, 456, 459, 472-4) and J. B. Mozley's *Letters* (169).

² See Newman's letter of 26 Feb. 1846, printed in Pusey's *Life* (II, 508-9). The language used in the *Apologia* (138) is very different. But the *Apologia*, for all its transparent sincerity, does not always represent with exactness what Newman had thought and said twenty years before.

vain effort and inconsolable failure, is the sad note which so often recurs. "What have I been doing with my time?" he asks again, nearly thirty years after his conversion. "It is enough for me to prepare for death . . . for . . . there is nothing else to do."¹

The Church which Newman left suffered inevitably by his desertion. It reeled, said Disraeli, under the blow. Newman's followers in Oxford found it difficult to answer the assertion that all the force and logic of his teaching led to Rome. But men like Keble and Pusey, Charles Marriott and James Mozley stood firm, and faced without flinching the separation from their friend. Their cause was for the time discredited, their party broken. Pusey, who became its leader, incurred some fresh unpopularity by his determined effort to establish Anglican sisterhoods, by his support of ritualistic practices, by his advocacy of the confessional, by his unchanging dread of liberal views. Bishop Wilberforce took action to prevent his preaching in the diocese, and some of the clergy who seceded to Rome charged him with inconsistency for not following their example. But the piety and devotion which had been the strength of the Tractarians told in their hour of tribulation, and round those qualities there gathered later ideals of Anglicanism less perilous to the Church. The tide of University affairs flowed on. Other controversies rose up to claim attention. In 1847 Mr. Gladstone was brought forward as a candidate for one of the University seats, an honour which he desired with an "almost passionate fondness." The proposal was considered by many at first "a sort of Tractarian puerility," said James Mozley in a lively letter to Richard Church. Cardwell and other strong candidates were mentioned. Protestant interests were doubtful and suspicious. Mr. Round was brought out to represent them, and the College Heads for the most part supported Round. The Provost of Queen's rashly admitted that he "would rather be represented by an old woman than by a young man." Gladstone was feared for his independence, "as a possible reformer and a man who thinks."² But the High Churchmen, the Liberals, the younger men of force and character, were on his

¹ For these and similar utterances, see Mr. W. Ward's *Life of Cardinal Newman* (especially vol. I, Chap. XIX, and vol. II, pp. 254 and 398-400), and Mr. J. F. Mozley's article, "Newman in Fetters," in the *Quarterly Review* for April 1926. No doubt, Newman's mood varied and there were happier utterances at times. But it is very difficult to reconcile these statements with Mr. R. H. Hutton's dictum (*Cardinal Newman*, 190) that Newman's years as a Roman Catholic were "the freest and happiest" of his life.

² See Northcote's letter quoted in Morley's *Life of Gladstone* (I, 334). See also J. B. Mozley's *Letters* (183-7).

side. Pusey, Stanley, Jowett and Temple supported him. Peel came up to vote for him. Northcote and Coleridge, Arthur Clough and John Ruskin were only a few names on a memorable list. Mozley speaks of the indomitable canvassing done by Haddan of Trinity, Harris of Magdalen and Woollcombe of Balliol. The forlorn hope gradually became a winning cause. The victory, said Northcote, was regarded not as a Puseyite victory but chiefly as a victory of the Masters over the Hebdomadal Board. Many of Gladstone's opponents, Mozley thought, were by no means broken-hearted at the issue. The new Member was soon being received with rowdy but unauthorised applause by Christ Church undergraduates, and consulting his chairman as to how long a visit he could decently pay to his constituents in the October term. In the same year, 1847, there was a momentary revival of an older conflict. Lord John Russell offered Dr. Hampden the Bishopric of Hereford, and there was an attempt to renew the outcry against him. Thirteen Bishops protested. The Dean of Hereford announced his intention of opposing the election, and the Prime Minister curtly noted the Dean's determination to violate the law. The Dean of Carlisle, on the other hand, who had voted with the majority against Hampden in 1836, wrote that he regarded that vote as the most unsatisfactory which he had ever given. Lord John drily pointed out to the Bishops that their opposition was founded on a decree of the University of Oxford passed eleven years before, that several of those responsible for it had since joined the Church of Rome, and that for years past the Bishops had required candidates for Ordination to produce certificates of attendance at Hampden's lectures. James Mozley was "rather amused at the touchiness of the Bishops, now that there is a chance of their having Hampden on the same bench." But it is pleasant to find Charles Marriott admitting that for years he had had "a painful sense" that Hampden had "been really misapprehended and misrepresented."¹ It was an admission worthy of a high-minded man.

More serious in its results was the controversy which arose when Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter, who never flinched from battle, refused to institute Mr. Gorham to a living because he denied the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. Mr. Gorham took the case to the Courts, and the Courts finally over-ruled the Bishop. Archdeacon Manning realised to his horror that the Royal Supremacy over the Church of England was still a living thing. Urgent meetings were held in 1850, one or two at Mr. Gladstone's

¹ See J. B. Mozley's *Letters* (188-9). Bishop Wilberforce before long admitted that his opposition to Hampden's elevation could not be maintained.

house in London, where the High Church leaders drew up a declaration of protest, which Mr. Gladstone felt himself unable to sign.¹ But the fiercer spirits were soon convinced that they must go further and "break with Pusey and Keble." After some months of anxious hesitation Manning was reconciled to the Church of Rome. Other High Churchmen adopted the same course. And the fresh outbreak of secessions, coupled with talk of Papal aggression and with facts like the establishment of a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England, created some not unnatural alarm. At Oxford these storms had their reverberations. Ecclesiastical dissensions rarely failed to find an echo there. But many men were beginning to feel that the University had other interests to consider, to ask whether the best remedy for these unceasing conflicts of faith, indifference, superstition, might not be to make education real. With the decline of the Tractarian Movement the last call of mediaeval Oxford died. In August 1850 the first University Commission was appointed. Reform became a vital issue. The liberal reaction had begun.

¹ The 13 who signed included Manning, Pusey, Keble, Robert Wilberforce and James Hope. (See Purcell's *Life of Manning*, I, 533.) The details given in Manning's *Life* should be corrected by Lord Morley's *Life of Gladstone* (I, 379 sq.).

CHAPTER XXV

THE COMMISSIONS AT WORK

THE deep interest roused by the Tractarian Movement, the ideals of duty, energy and sacrifice inspiring many of its disciples and not a few of its opponents, were signs of a new spirit stirring in University affairs. But the years which followed the triumph of Parliamentary Reform and led the way to the repeal of the Corn Laws, were occupied with other matters besides contentions in the Church. Those years saw the Whigs entrenched in power and threatening apparently every Tory interest. They saw the Duke of Wellington standing by and surveying the perplexities of government, as he surveyed University problems, with dry serenity and common sense. They saw the new Queen quietly beginning to obliterate the traditions which the Regency had left behind it. They saw the friends of revolution busy in many troubled quarters of Europe, drawing together the elements of political and social discontent. They saw Peel dominating the House of Commons, leading at first a shattered party, re-establishing it with his genius and authority, and then shattering it with noble inconsistency again. They saw Gladstone, "the deepest, truest, most attached, most effective advocate for the Church and Universities,"¹ moving as surely towards the same predominance, and as certain as Peel to alienate in his turn the University's support. They saw Carlyle disburdening his heart in *Past and Present*, determined to "awaken here and there a slumbering blockhead to rub his eyes and consider what he is about in God's creation."² And they saw in the new generations of boys coming up to Oxford from all the great schools in the country, but especially from one school into which Dr. Arnold had infused "a sort of fire of zeal," some of the finest material to work on that any teachers could desire.

¹ The words are Dr. Moberly's when Mr. Gladstone was elected for the University in 1847. (See G. W. E. Russell's short *Life of Gladstone*, 85.)

² See his letter of January 1843 in Froude's *London Life of Carlyle* (I, 285).

I

In this new era the University, no doubt, retained as long as possible its ancient characteristics. Unregenerate undergraduates in Newman's day could still find delight in stealing door-knockers, of which the fountain in Christ Church quadrangle yielded, when cleaned out, a plentiful supply. The railway was still in 1838 an object of alarm and opposition: ¹ Convocation thought the existing means of communication quite enough. The penny post of 1840 encountered many protests. Wordsworth, welcomed with great acclamation, and Prince Albert received in turn the honour of degrees.² At Henley Oxford and Cambridge met each other in a memorable boat-race, when seven from Oxford—Fletcher Menzies, the stroke, fell ill at the last moment ³—triumphantly vanquished the Cambridge eight. Boating and cricket, if not in infancy, were still in adolescence; the first University boat-race had taken place in 1829, the first University cricket-match in 1827. Football and athletic sports had not yet entered into their kingdom. Hunting and driving were still in fashion. But an afternoon walk was the commonest form of exercise. Commoners wore their gowns abroad, flowing gowns, not disreputable tippets. Music was making way, though degrees in music were still regarded lightly. Newman and Blanco White were devoted to their violins. Charles Reade, a Demy of Magdalen in 1831, a pupil of Lowe and a Fellow later, knew as much about Cremona fiddles as he did about the drama and romance. One Chaplain of New College and Magdalen was a famous tenor. One Fellow of Queen's, destined for an Archbishopric, was a famous baritone.⁴ In 1844 Hullah held classes for music at Merton. An Amateur Musical Society followed, and was well taken up. In 1848 Jenny Lind visited Oxford and sang in the Theatre—her voice "divine enchanting ravishment," her smile, "with the exception of Dr. Pusey's, the most heavenly" ever beheld.⁵ Still something of the old idea, that music was no occupation for a gentleman, lingered: Max Müller noticed its ascendancy in Oxford in 1846. Sir Henry Bishop, who succeeded Dr. Crotch as Professor of Music in 1848, did

¹ The Great Western Railway was opened to Steventon near Didcot in 1840, the branch to Oxford in 1844. (See Cox's *Recollections*, 284, 297, and Brodrick's *University of Oxford*, 218.)

² In 1839 and 1840 respectively.

³ George Hughes, Tom Hughes' brother, took his place. They rowed the race without a bow (Tuckwell, *Reminiscences*, 113-14).

⁴ William Thomson matriculated in 1836, and became a Fellow of Queen's in 1847. Mr. Tuckwell's Chapter on "Calliope in the Thirties" (*Reminiscences*, 69-81) is full of lively, if not invariably exact, details.

⁵ See J. B. Mozley's *Letters* (195-7).

not quite succeed in breaking it down. It was still rather a strange thing for Frederick Ouseley, a Baronet at Christ Church and a godson of the Duke of Wellington, to go in deliberately for a musical degree. But Ouseley not only rendered music respectable. He established an effective examination for the Doctorate, and he made that distinction valued as it had never been before.¹

Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, who could not resist Jenny Lind's fascination, though he had no ear for music except for the music of the drum, is one of the most representative figures of the younger generation, which rose to influence in the University as Tractarianism declined. There are few more lovable figures in the story of Oxford or in the story of the Church. The small, shy, tender-hearted boy, of whom they said at Rugby that he needed a stool to stand on and a barrow to carry his prizes away, whose sums were his despair, who stopped at football to contemplate the sunset and patiently hoped he might learn to like cricket in time, loved and admired his Headmaster, Dr. Arnold, "to the very verge of all love and admiration that can be paid to man." He won a Scholarship at Balliol in November 1833, and went into residence in the following year. One of his first experiences was a sermon from Dr. Pusey, which he thought long, ill-proportioned and weak. One of his first acquaintances was Charles Marriott, one of his first excitements a glimpse of Newman in the street. Some of the College lectures he found useless; but Moberly of Balliol, who was soon to leave Oxford, ranked with Johnson of Queen's and Sewell of Exeter among the best of Oxford Tutors. As a follower of Arnold Stanley revolted against the "monstrous doctrine" of Apostolical Succession. But with William George Ward and Frederick Faber he soon became intimate. He would not succumb to Ward's theology. He could barely tolerate Ward's love of music. But he appreciated his fearless love of truth. He went to hear Keble lecture on Homer and prove that Homer was a down-right Tory. Stanley himself was an uncompromising Whig, and was pummelled for it one day at breakfast by his Cheshire friends. He dined with Dr. Shuttleworth and was introduced to Archibald Tait, afterwards his Tutor and his lifelong friend. He heard Newman preach and felt sure that he and Arnold were "of the very same essence" after all. In the controversies of the day he was by instinct and training on the liberal side.

¹ Sir F. Ouseley succeeded Bishop as Professor of Music in 1855. On his great gifts see *inter alia* M. C. F. Morris' *Yorkshire Reminiscences* (Chap. VII). It is possible that the prejudice against music as an ungentle occupation was due largely to eighteenth century influences when the Gentleman Commoner held sway.



OLD FRONT OF BALLIOL COLLEGE

But he was always singularly capable of finding merit in those who differed from him. He even ventured to tell his hero, Dr. Arnold, that he regretted the famous outburst in the *Edinburgh Review*, and he received "a beautiful letter" in return.

Stanley was a determined student, reading at one time eleven hours a day. Even with Ward's help he found mathematics hopeless. But in 1837 he won the Ireland, after more than one "desperate" attempt. His papers on the first day were so good that the Examiners for a moment brought themselves to believe that somehow or other he must have seen the questions beforehand. And the raging indignation of his College and the "preternatural fury" of Massie of Wadham, his coach, perhaps did less to convince them of their error than the ease with which the candidate, so wantonly insulted, carried all before him in the papers which followed.¹ No wonder, when he came out first, that "there was shouting from one end of Balliol to the other." In the same year he secured the Newdigate and a First in the Classical Schools. When he recited his poem on *The Gipsies* in the Theatre, his old school-fellow, Charles Vaughan, who had swept the board at Cambridge, was there to prompt him, and many another friend was there to cheer. There was a moment perhaps in 1838 when Stanley may have asked himself if he was "turning Newmanist." But the moment passed. A Fellowship at University offered. Balliol, uncertain of his theological opinions, allowed him with deplorable judgment to go. But the new, strange atmosphere, the parting from his old College, the "utter impossibility even of procuring toast for breakfast," weighed upon his mind. A year later, in 1839, he took Orders, after a sharp struggle over the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed. He thought, as he once confessed to his friend Pearson, that the besetting sin of the clerical profession was "indifference to strict truth." In 1842 he became a Lecturer and soon afterwards a Tutor at University College. He was no philologist and no metaphysician: he may have had some drawbacks for the post. But the interest which he lent to history and divinity no pupil could withstand.

"The fascination, the charm, the spell, were simply irresistible; the face, the voice, the manner; the ready sympathy, the geniality, the freshness, the warmth, the poetry, the refinement, the humour, the mirthfulness and merriment, the fund of knowledge, the inexhaustible store of anecdotes and stories, told so vividly, so dramatically—I shall not easily enumerate the gifts which drew us to him with a singular, some of us with quite a passionate, devotion."²

¹ The examiners' apology was preserved in the Library of Balliol College. These details are drawn from the *Life of Dean Stanley* (I, 122 sq.).

² See Dean Bradley's testimony, quoted in Stanley's *Life* (I, 355-6).

Arnold's death was for Stanley a great calamity, the greatest he had ever known. He would not listen to the suggestion that he might succeed him. But he had at least the comfort of writing his old Master's life. In the welter of ecclesiastical controversy round him Stanley pleaded ever for the kindest, most tolerant judgments. Tract 90 clearly meant to him that Roman Catholics might become members of the Church and Universities of England. But Ward remained one of his dearest friends. Circumstances presently compelled him to resign his Fellowship.¹ But, as the battle of theology subsided, he found the opportunity to agitate for academical reforms. In 1850 he was appointed Secretary to the University Commission, a post for which he had special qualifications and for which no happier choice could have been made.

Stanley stands out conspicuous and lovable among the many young, distinguished men who gathered in those years at Balliol and elsewhere. If the old University was passing, its traditions were still worthily upheld. Stanley's early friends included Lake and Goulburn, both Scholars of Balliol and future Deans like himself, both prominent in the work of education, both candidates once for the Headmastership of Rugby, a competition in which Goulburn prevailed.² Lake remained for some years a Tutor at Balliol, a well-known and able teacher, but, as his nickname of Serpent suggested, not always a popular man.³ Cardwell was a little older. Tait and Ward were older still. Tait's influence as a Tutor grew steadily. He and Ward had won their Balliol Fellowships in 1834: Stanley notes as characteristic their continuing friendship through all the sharp differences of later years. Tait passed on in 1842 to the Headmastership of Rugby—most men would have found it harder to fill Arnold's place—and in the year when he left Rugby for a Northern Deanery he was appointed to serve on the University Commission. Robert Scott became a Fellow of Balliol a year

¹ The death of his father and his two brothers (1849–50). Stanley succeeded to property which made his Fellowship untenable. He refused the Deanery of Carlisle, but he accepted a Canonry at Canterbury in 1851.

² He succeeded Tait in 1849, but was not so successful as his immediate predecessors.

³ Mr. Tuckwell speaks fully, if not very sympathetically, of Dean Lake (*Reminiscences*, 206–12). He quotes the skit written when in 1849 young Henry Lancaster, not unknown to celebrity later, was sent down from Balliol for screwing up a Tutor's oak.

“The Serpent's brow was calm, and the Serpent's voice was low;
‘I'm sorry, Mr. Lancaster, but really you must go.
The fact has come so clearly before the Tutors' knowledge,
And if we once pass over this, what rules can bind the College?’”

The skit goes on to give Lancaster's pointed and adequate reply.

after Tait, and shared his high repute and his tutorial duties. Herman Merivale, an earlier Fellow, was Professor of Political Economy when Stanley took his degree. Arthur Clough and Stafford Northcote won Balliol Scholarships in 1836. Clough made an astonishing impression on his friends. He "seemed to me," said Frederick Temple, "when first I knew him, the ablest and greatest man I had ever come across."¹ But it was vain for a mind like Clough's to determine to "leave the discussion of *Τὰ Νεανδρωπικά*, κ.τ.λ., all snug and quiet for after one's degree."² He could not wait their passing. He must ever seek an answer to his "answerless desires." John Duke Coleridge, with his charm and wit and beauty, came up in 1839:

"Fair-haired and tall, slim but of stately mien,
Inheritor of a high poetic name."

Coleridge at first was inclined to be miserable, convinced that the place would never suit him. He found no one to whom he dared communicate what was moving in his mind. Among the Tutors he admired Scott. He did not much like Tait, who seemed to him uncourteous, very Low Church and too much of a Don. He was fascinated by Newman. He became a great speaker at the Union. He shone in the "Decade," the little group of intellectual debaters whom a Balliol scout would call the Decayed.³ John Shairp, who was to write of the Scholars of his day so gracefully,⁴ followed Coleridge to Balliol in 1840. Matthew Arnold, "wide-welcomed for a father's fame," joined them in 1841.⁵

Two other Scholars of those years were to leave an even deeper mark upon the College. The throwing open of the Scholarships at Balliol⁶ enabled "a little puny, boyish, chubby-faced youth"⁷ from Colet's School in London to carry off in 1835 a distinction which none of Colet's schoolboys had yet gained. The morning after the election the young Scholar was waiting in cap and gown to see the Master, in the dining-room where he was so often to over-awe other Scholars in his turn, when Dr. Jenkyns came in quickly and stopped with startled

¹ See *Memoirs of Archbishop Temple* (I, 52 n.).

² See Clough's *Prose Remains* (78).

³ See E. H. Coleridge's *Life of Lord Coleridge* (I, 63-77).

⁴ See his poem on *Balliol Scholars*, from which I have quoted.

⁵ Many other distinguished Balliol men of those days might be noted, Lord Farrer, Jowett's first pupil, Lord Hobhouse, Sir B. Brodie (the younger), J. Wickens, W. Rogers, etc. (see *Jowett's Life*, I, 49-50).

⁶ In 1828, largely owing to G. A. Ogilvie, a Tutor under Dr. Jenkyns.

⁷ The description is by a contemporary whom he beat for the Hertford (*Ib.* I, 46).

severity before him: "Do my eyes deceive me, or do I see a gentleman in my dining-room with his cap on?" Undeterred by episodes of this kind, Benjamin Jowett made his way. He had to live very carefully. He did not play games. He was shy and reserved. But contemporaries noted behind the "pretty, girlish looks," the quiet voice and gentle manner, a robust masculine understanding and a "passionless tenacity" in thinking for himself. He won the Hertford in his first year. He was elected a Fellow of the College before he took his degree: and in acknowledgment of this "most wonderful achievement" he was nearly pulled to pieces and was carried round the quadrangle shoulder-high. Dr. Jenkyns is credited with having told one of the unsuccessful candidates that they had chosen, in preference to him, "a little child." Through the theological conflicts of those years Jowett passed not quite untroubled. He knew and valued men upon both sides. "But for some divine providence," he said once, "I might have become a Roman Catholic."¹ He had resolved to read through the Fathers, but the vacation ended before he had finished his task. He came to think that the Tractarians would have done more good to the Church if they had not "fallen into a maze of casuistry." But he was always charitable towards them, and wished that they would become a little more charitable too. He voted with Stanley against Ward's degradation, but felt that Ward's marriage, which followed so suddenly, turned the whole episode into *opéra bouffe*.² Long afterwards Ward reminded him of the charges of shallow logic and misty metaphysics which they had once brought against each other. Jowett took Priest's Orders in 1845. "Samuel of Oxford," he wrote in confidence to Stanley, "is not unpleasing, if you will resign yourself to be semi-humbugged by a semi-humbug." But he thought the Bishop a kind and excellent man.³ He worked hard with his pupils.⁴ He read German philosophy. He became an eager student of Hegel and of Plato. He planned with Stanley an edition of St. Paul's Epistles. He was inevitably drawn with Stanley into the movement for University reform.

Frederick Temple was a few years younger. He did not reach Balliol as a Blundell Scholar till 1839. Dr. Jenkyns had a poor opinion of Blundell Scholars. "Coming up as you do," he once said to Temple, with that apparent tactlessness which may have been a peculiar form of humour, "very *inferior* men into the society of very *superior* men, some of you are improved

¹ Jowett's *Life*, I, 74.

² *Ib.* (I, 95).

³ *Ib.* (I, 120-22).

⁴ For Jowett's pupils see later, Chapter XXVI.

by it, and some are not." But he once slipped a ten-pound note into the young Scholar's hands: he knew how hard his struggle with poverty was. Temple lived at Balliol with stern and brave frugality, maintained himself by Scholarships, denied himself a fire in winter, kept close and careful accounts. The bills which he laid before the University Commission showed that a man who determined to do so could keep his expenses at Balliol down to some eighty pounds a year. He worked with extraordinary vigour and tenacity. His mathematics were very good from the beginning, but he made his classics also good enough for a *proxime* to the Ireland and a Double First.

"I begin work at five o'clock," he writes to his mother in April 1839, "and work till three, which includes also being in chapel, breakfast, and lectures. I then go out till dinner-time, which is at four, and after dinner till chapel time, which is at half-past five. After the chapel service is over I walk about in the garden, or get anything I want in the town till about 7 or 6.30, and then go to work again till I go to bed."

And the testimony of those who knew him best shows that he did all this without in any way losing the sympathy, companionship and admiration of his friends. To Jowett especially he always seemed "the finest young man whom we ever had at Balliol." His genial laugh never faltered. His high spirits could even be a little uproarious. He never got the chill of poverty out of his bones, says one friend, because "he never had it in him." Both as boy and as man, as Scholar and as Tutor, he proved a tower of strength to his friends.

"I remember nothing which he said or did during his undergraduate career at Oxford which was foolish or weak or wrong. His character and conversation were a blessing to all who knew him."¹

As a mathematician Temple came under Ward's influence, but he was unable to follow Ward's theology. He could feel that a sermon of Pusey's touched every chord of his heart in succession: but he could not fail to notice the indifference or hostility to science which so many Tractarians displayed. In November 1842 he succeeded Ward as a College Lecturer.² A Fellowship followed. A Mastership at Rugby under Tait was declined. Like Stanley and Jowett, two close friends, he was drawn into the new educational movement. In 1848 he became an Examiner in the Education Office. Soon afterwards the University

¹ For these facts and references see the *Memoirs of Archbishop Temple* (I, Chap. V).

² He gave each week three lectures on Rhetoric, three on Thucydides, two on Livy, two on Plautus, four on mathematics and one on Latin prose (*Ib.* I, 65, n.).

Commission called on him for evidence which few Oxford men were better qualified to give.

Stanley, Jowett, Temple were not the only outstanding figures in those stirring years. Among their contemporaries and pupils they numbered several remarkable men. William Rogers' first appearance at Oxford is worth noting. He came up for the Balliol Scholarship in 1836, driving from Eton in a post-chaise with Thomas Farrer, Arthur Hobhouse and Pocock, all in the highest possible spirits. The high spirits lasted through the examination, and the competitors being left much alone by the Dons, there was a good deal of noise and conversation in the Hall. Dr. Jenkyns sent for Rogers, asked him some questions, and then told him not to go back to the Hall. But the boy could not refrain from putting his head in just to tell his friends how he had fared. "That ugly little devil"—he began: then he stopped and fled abruptly. Tait, a Tutor, was standing just behind the door. His "unseasonable mirth" nearly cost him admission to Balliol. But mediation and apologies prevailed. Rogers became a great oar at Oxford, a great London clergyman later. Jenkyns revenged himself only by asking him to dine. "Won't you take a glass of port with the ugly little devil, Mr. Rogers?" And once at a large and formal dinner-party he insisted that Rogers should sing his only song. When the stammering undergraduate began,

"Jolly Nose! the bright rubies which garnish thy tip,"

and the chorus was taken up by boating-men below in the quadrangle, the Master probably repented of his joke.¹

Beyond the walls of Balliol other scholars and students were conspicuous. Roundell Palmer of Trinity won a Fellowship at Magdalen in 1835. Richard Church passed on from Wadham to Oriel, where he found more congenial companionship, in 1838. John Ruskin entered Christ Church as a Gentleman Commoner in 1837, "a very wonderful gentleman commoner," with his odd dress, his odd tastes, his great gift of drawing, and his Latin the worst in the University.² He lodged in Peckwater Quadrangle and looked out upon the massive Library, "vexed a little" that it was not a Gothic Chapel. The same year saw James Fraser at Lincoln and Ralph Lingen at Trinity, both "sensitive to every breath of truth." No Bishop, no

¹ I hope this story may be forgiven. It is characteristic of the *Reminiscences of William Rogers* (pp. 21-7).

² Liddell's well-known description of Ruskin is quoted in Mr. Thompson's *Life of the Dean* (p. 215, n.). Ruskin's mother took lodgings in High Street and stayed in Oxford during his University career (Cook's *Life of Ruskin*, I, 53). See also *Praeterita* (vol. I, Chap. XI).

official, could ask for higher praise. In the same year too Richard Congreve brought to Wadham the high-minded earnestness and the taste for new ideas which Arnold inspired in so many of his boys, while John Peard of Exeter, whose size and feats of arms had delighted Oxford roughs in Mr. Gladstone's day, was called to the Bar with Francis Doyle. Peard was to find a fitter field for his great physical activities as "Garibaldi's Englishman" in after years. Henry Acland had already been at Christ Church since 1834. Henry Liddell, "one of the rarest types of nobly-presenced Englishmen," had won his Double First still earlier, in 1833. Robert Lowe and Charles Canning, Robert Scott and John Jackson¹ belonged to the same group of scholars. Scott was already settling down to work upon the Lexicon; he took from Christ Church to Balliol his fine scholarship and dignity of mind. Liddell stayed on at Christ Church till appointed Headmaster of Westminster in 1846. One "inexorably idle" pupil, afterwards a singularly charming and distinguished man,² never forgot how Liddell locked him up in his study, to enable him to concentrate his mind. John Burgon, another Dean of later days, who matriculated at Worcester at the age of twenty-eight, only won his Fellowship at Oriel in the year when Liddell left Christ Church for Westminster, and when Henry Liddon came there with his "sweet, grave, thoughtful" face. But some years previously Burgon had been working at his life of Gresham and visiting the libraries of Oxford, "an infernally ill-governed place." Mark Pattison was elected to a Lincoln Fellowship in 1839—"no moment in all my life has ever been so sweet as that Friday morning"—and found the atmosphere of his new College chilling to a devoted follower of Newman. In the same year Henry Mansel became a Scholar of St. John's. Edward Freeman was a Scholar of Trinity in 1841. Thomas Hughes, who was to do more than even Stanley to immortalise his old Headmaster, followed his brother George to Oriel in 1842. And that year at Exeter, where Sewell still wielded great authority, James Anthony Froude was elected to a Fellowship. His singular incursion into the biography of St. Neot followed. Jowett, meeting him in November 1844, could not refrain from commenting on his surprising change of views. In 1843 Thorold Rogers, a more whole-hearted disciple of the Oxford Movement, went up to Magdalen Hall, and John Conington's Scholarship won him a Demyship at Magdalen College. Conington, a brilliant man, became a Fellow of University later. A boy who could repeat a thousand lines of Virgil before he was eight years old, had clearly qualified to be an editor, if not a translator, of the poet :

¹ Bishop of London 1868-85.

² Lord Leveson, second Earl Granville

and his advanced views on "the working classes"—a rash generalisation, it was suggested, from his scout—made Conington prominent among the advocates of change. His great friend Goldwin Smith, "vastiest Goldwin," also became a Fellow of University in 1850, and was not long afterwards appointed Assistant Secretary to the first Commission. William Stubbs, who was one day to succeed Goldwin Smith as a Professor, was a servitor at Christ Church in 1845, nick-named Stobaeus by the Dean, and grateful for the kindness shown to him by George Kitchen as they studied the Differential Calculus together. George Bradley was at University already: his degree dated from 1844. And in that year Francis Jeune, an undergraduate twenty years earlier, returned as Master to Pembroke College, to show himself a highly efficient Head, the best man of business in his day at Oxford, an uncompromising supporter of the liberal movement and a vigorous agent of University Reform.

II

The years preceding the appointment of the Commission were full of voices advocating change. As early as 1831 Sir William Hamilton set forth in two remarkable articles in the *Edinburgh Review*¹ the reasons why Oxford, "of all academical institutions at once the most imperfect and the most perfectible," accomplished in his judgment so little when it ought to accomplish so much. The University and the Colleges, he argued, were essentially distinct. The University had been "founded solely for education." It existed for the advantage of the nation, and was "necessarily open to the lieges in general." The Colleges, "founded principally for aliment and habitation," were created "for the interest of certain favoured individuals," and the privileges claimed for College education had been in fact "unlawfully usurped." The University system, designed for public utility, was ancient and statutory: the College system, sacrificed largely to private monopoly, was recent and illegal. In the ancient, authorised system education was given in all the Faculties, by a body of teachers chosen for their merits, each concentrating his ability on a single object. The classes were large, competi-

¹ The two articles on the State of the English Universities, with special reference to Oxford (1831), and the two later articles on the Right of Dissenters to Admission (1834-5), were reprinted in Hamilton's *Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, Education and University Reform*, in 1852 and in subsequent years. The Appendix on University Reform, contrasting Oxford as it was with Oxford as it might be (pp. 741 sq. of the edition of 1866), is of later date, and it is interesting to compare some of its recommendations—e.g. the dictum (p. 769) that Disputation was "in a certain sort, the condition of all improvement"—with the actual work of the first Commission.

tion was keen and unremitting, degrees in all the Faculties were solemn testimonials of study and of competence, qualifying the holders for exclusive privileges in the Church, in medicine, in the courts of law. In the unauthorised, "superseding" system, on the other hand, only elementary tuition in the lowest Faculty was offered. Every branch of learning was monopolised "by an individual privileged to teach all, though probably ill qualified to teach any." Emulation was killed by small and ill-assorted classes. Degrees in all Faculties, "except the lowest department of the lowest," had become nominal distinctions only, certifying neither proficiency nor study. The system of Professorial teaching still, it was true, existed in theory, and was stereotyped in the Laudian Code. But in fact the old methods had been completely changed. The Professors were no longer supposed to furnish the instruction necessary for degrees. Their places had been usurped by the Fellows of Colleges. Oxford was no longer a public University but a collection of many private schools. But College Fellows were not necessarily qualified to be instructors. They were chosen under all sorts of peculiar conditions, and the Fellows selected to act as Tutors were by no means always those best able to teach.

"We assert, without fear of contradiction, that, on the average, *there is to be found among those to whom Oxford confides the business of education, an infinitely smaller proportion of men of literary reputation, than among the actual instructors of any other University in the world.*"

The italics added a touch of ferocity to the accusation. In a series of slashing and inaccurate antitheses the whole system of College education was impeached.

Hamilton's sketch of the rise of the Colleges was vitiated by the assumption that they had deliberately set themselves to destroy the Professorial system, to "annihilate" the University and to absorb its privileges and rights. Historically speaking, College teaching only grew up, at first with very little system, because it was needed to supplement the teaching of the older Regents which was failing, and the teaching of the more modern Professors who never completely took the Regents' place.¹ There was more force in his contention that the growth of the Hebdomadal Board had turned into an oligarchy what had been a republic. But even here he over-stated his case, and assumed that the Heads of Colleges were in a conspiracy to keep the Professorial system down.

¹ But it is of course arguable that, if the Colleges had not established their teachers, the Professors might have done more to fill the Regents' place.

"The great interests of the nation, of the church, and of the professions, were sacrificed to the paltry ends of a few contemptible corporations; and the privileges by law accorded to the *public University* of Oxford, as the authorised organ of national education, were by its perfidious governors furtively transferred to the unauthorised absurdities of their *private*—of their *domestic* discipline."

The Heads who had thus abrogated the University Statutes, which they had sworn to observe, were denounced as guilty of perjury and broken faith, and an inquiry was demanded into the "corruptions" revealed. Such charges of course produced a strong protest. In reply Hamilton returned to the attack, and laid down again with fresh wealth of assertion and invective his three main propositions, that the Oxford system as existing was illegal, that it had been surreptitiously intruded into the University "by the heads of the collegial interest, for private ends," and that it was acknowledged to be inadequate to accomplish the purposes of a University even by those for whose sake it was maintained.

Equally outspoken were the two articles which followed later, and which were evoked by the Bill of 1834 for enabling Non-conformists to be admitted to the Universities. Hamilton again exhibited his prejudice against the Collegiate system. But he admitted that it would be impracticable to force the Colleges to take Dissenters in or to alter their rules for that purpose. The remedy in his view, as neither University afforded "any public education worthy of the name," was to render the Universities efficient once again, and capable of offering to Non-conformists the education which the Colleges denied. And if Hamilton enforced his argument with some needless acerbity and some dubious history, it is at least clear that he knew more about the origins of Universities than many of those who engaged in the dispute. He urged that the re-establishment of Halls or Hostels under proper conditions would give the Nonconformists the opportunity they needed. He contended that there was no practical objection to the admission of Dissenters on grounds of religion. The theological Faculty would, no doubt, continue to teach the doctrine of the Establishment, as before. But no one would be compelled to attend its instruction except those who were destined for the Church. As a matter of fact, the Anglican Church was already the one example in Christendom of a Church whose members were not prepared for Holy Orders by systematic instruction in theology. Dr. Pusey himself had borne witness to this. The Arts course did not attempt to teach theology. So that no practical difficulty arose. The plea that the removal of tests might fill the great places of the Universities with men indifferent to religion, was considered and dismissed

with much contentious learning. Speeches by the Bishop of Exeter and Sir Robert Inglis in defence of the existing system were searchingly examined, and their authors, and the Duke of Wellington also, claimed as partisans of Radical reform. To the Bishop and Inglis, who declared that the Heads of Houses were trustees, and that no man had ventured to accuse them of violating their obligations, Hamilton replied that the abuse of trust at Oxford was "unparalleled in the annals of any other Christian institution," and that his own exposure of it had not produced a single word in its defence. To the plea that religious motives were the reason for refusing admission to Dissenters, he answered that conscience was sometimes made merely a stalking-horse to cover temporal and worldly motives. To the claim that the oaths taken to observe the Statutes rendered indulgence to Nonconformists impossible, he retorted that the Legislature could make and unmake "the statutes of the national schools," and that any authority which imposed oaths for the maintenance of laws could relieve men from those oaths when the laws were abrogated. Bishop Berkeley had declared that the habit of false swearing was "a national guilt." But if the perjury of England stood pre-eminent in the world, the perjury of the Universities stood pre-eminent in England. More practical interest perhaps attaches to the Appendix added later to Hamilton's work, comparing Oxford as it might be with Oxford as it was, and giving a table which showed at least approximately the honours won in the Schools by the different Colleges in the ten years preceding 1848. In that list Balliol is credited with twenty-three Firsts, taking classics and mathematics together. Trinity comes second with thirteen, University and St. John's third with twelve each. Christ Church and Exeter each have eleven, and Lincoln, a much smaller College, claims eleven also. Worcester achieves nine. New College carries off only one.¹

Hamilton's onslaughts were only one indication that a new departure was needed in the academic world. The monopoly of the old Universities was indeed already broken. The London University, though not yet a serious rival, had been launched in 1826. His articles did not go unanswered. Other defenders besides Sir Robert Inglis and Bishop Phillpotts entered the field. Christopher Wordsworth addressed a letter to Lord Althorp from Trinity College, Cambridge, pleading for subscription and

¹ See the Table given in Hamilton's *Discussions on Philosophy and Literature* (ed. 1866, pp. 744-5). The numbers of undergraduates there credited to each College are Balliol 84, Trinity 83, University 63, St. John's 66, Christ Church 186, Exeter 134, Lincoln 56, Worcester 94 and New College 20.

conformity as essential, if the character of the Universities, the rights of Colleges and the needs of Christianity were to be maintained. Dean Turton pointed to the terrible results where educational institutions had tried the experiment of theological laxity in their rules of admission. Thirlwall replied in letters to Turton. Whewell published remarks on the letters of Thirlwall. Motions in Parliament suggested inquiry and called on the University to set its house in order. Ministers expressed their sympathy with these demands. And some of the best minds at Oxford were anxious that the University should face the need of change. In 1839 the Hebdomadal Board proposed to Convocation to institute new Professorships, and to require all undergraduates to attend Professorial lectures. The proposal was thrown out. But in the same year Tait, in an important pamphlet, to which Stanley contributed his help, advocated the development of Professorial methods, and suggested Professorial lectures for all students who had passed their examination for the Bachelor's degree.¹ Tait was certainly no enemy of the Tutorial system. He would develop it on its own lines, and would enable Tutors to give more time to the moral supervision of their pupils. But he realised that Professorial lectures ought to have a different function, and might well be attended by undergraduates for a year between their final Schools and the taking of their degree. As soon as the excitement over the Tractarian crisis abated, these discussions at Oxford took a practical shape. Stanley, Jowett and others threw themselves into the controversy, and drafted questions which a Parliamentary inquiry might adopt. Jeune drew up for a Committee of the Hebdomadal Board in 1846 a scheme for a reform of the Examination Statute. Jowett suggested in 1847 that Roundell Palmer might turn his attention to the subject. He feared—it was nobody's fault—that the University could not reform itself. But he could not believe that it would be allowed to remain for twenty years longer “the one solitary, exclusive, unnational Corporation,” with studies incapable of including new branches of knowledge, with “enormous wealth without any manifest utilitarian purpose.” In March 1848, a year of Revolution, a large number of College Tutors signed a Memorial advocating changes in the examination system. And in the same month a pamphlet appeared, explaining the views of the memorialists, admitting frankly that Oxford was falling behind the times—“ours is the criticism and philosophy of the past”—and urging that

¹ For Tait's proposals see his *Hints on the Formation of a Plan for the Safe and Effectual Revival of the Professorial System at Oxford*, and Stanley's *Life* (I, 224 and 230-2).

University teaching needed more specialisation, more men of real learning to encourage research. The authors, whose anonymity failed to disguise the views of Stanley and of Jowett, urged that "the tide of opinion" could not be escaped.

"Our only defence against attacks from without is to build up from within, to enlarge our borders that we may increase the number of our friends. We have no one to fear but ourselves."¹

Stanley and Jowett went on to work out their ideas in more detail. And other young and distinguished members of the University, Mark Pattison, Congreve and Conington among them, came forward and joined in the agitation for reform.

Meanwhile changes were gradually being made in the Laudian Statutes, and none were more significant than those which affected medical education. Slowly but steadily science was asserting its right to invade the clerical domain, and even at Oxford the teaching of medicine had at last become of some practical account. Theology still, no doubt, overshadowed scientific progress. Dr. Kidd laboured to prove that scientific studies illustrated and enforced orthodox religion. Dr. Buckland showed how geology and palaeontology ministered to the glory of God.² But Kidd contributed vigorously to almost every branch of science. A Student of Christ Church in 1793, he was appointed to post after post at Oxford—became Chemical Reader in 1801, Aldrich Professor of Chemistry in 1803, Reader in Mineralogy and Lee's Reader in Anatomy later, Regius Professor of Medicine in 1822. And his large practice as well as his academic activities qualified him to be a medical reformer. Buckland, who succeeded Kidd as Reader in Mineralogy in 1813 and became Reader in Geology a few years after, taught Oxford men that scientific exploration could be made a highly stimulating and amusing thing. The two Duncans³ worked for the development of science and steadily improved the Ashmolean collections. Charles Daubeny of Magdalen, who was under thirty when he succeeded Kidd as Reader in Chemistry and far from old when he became Professor of Botany in 1834, was an active and wide-minded worker in the same cause. And James Ogle, who won a Trinity scholarship in 1811 and returned to Trinity as a medical man, to coach in Newman's day in mathematics, to

¹ See the pamphlet of *Suggestions for an Improvement of the Examination Statute*, and Jowett's *Life* (I, 174-5 and 190).

² They both contributed to the Bridgewater Treatises, intended to prove the power and goodness of God as manifested in the Creation. J. S. Duncan, Keeper of the Ashmolean, also wrote on *Botanical Theology* in 1825.

³ Especially P. B. Duncan, Fellow of New College in 1792, who succeeded his brother J. S. Duncan as Keeper of the Ashmolean in 1826.

practise at the Radcliffe Infirmary and to teach as Medical Professor,¹ took a leading part with Kidd and Daubeny in securing the new Examination Statute for medical degrees. By that legislation of 1833 the antiquated rules of the Laudian Code were revised. The candidate for the Bachelorship of Medicine must still take as a preliminary the examination for the Bachelorship of Arts, but he need no longer take the Master's Arts degree.² The Bachelor of Medicine required at least seven years of study, the Doctor three years more. The examination was to be partly oral, partly written. It included the theory and practice of medicine, anatomy, physiology, pathology and "materia medica," and also chemistry and botany, in so far as those sciences threw light upon the medical art. But the ancient writers were not forgotten. Hippocrates and Galen retained their credit, though their monopoly was passing away. And candidates were called on to show that they had attended the treatment of diseases as well as lectures at some hospital of repute. The University had at last accepted beyond question the need of something more than theory in the training of a medical man.

Other changes gradually followed. In 1835 the Aularian Statutes of Laud's day were remodelled, their provisions in some respects altered, but their frame-work generally retained. In 1837 the old prohibition against students lodging in private houses was reconsidered but repeated. In 1839 the rules for Public Lecturers³ were modified, and provisions for new Lecturers, new books, new studies, introduced. In 1840 there was another Examination Statute. In 1842 decrees were needed to regulate the two Lecturerships in Pastoral Theology and in Ecclesiastical History founded by the Queen. In 1847 the arrangements for the Taylor Institution were completed. Nine Curators were appointed, a Professor of Modern Languages at four hundred pounds a year, a Librarian at a hundred and fifty pounds, to reside in the building, and two teachers, one of French and one of German, with similar stipends of a hundred and fifty pounds each.⁴ The building itself, erected in 1841 and the years which

¹ He became Aldrich Professor or Lecturer in Medicine in 1824 and Clinical Lecturer in 1830.

² This was insisted on by the Laudian Statutes (*Tit. VI, S. v, c. 1*), and earlier.

³ See *Tit. IV, S. i* of the Laudian Code. In Mr. Ward's translation of the *Oxford University Statutes* (II, 235 sq.) the Professors and Lecturers of 1839 are set out.

⁴ A teacher of Italian was added in 1856 and a teacher of Spanish in 1858. The Modern Language teachers appointed by the Professor of Modern History under the Royal endowment of 1724 had before this ceased to teach. See the Statute of 1847, the Report of the Commission,

followed, was paid for entirely out of the income of Sir Robert Taylor's great bequest.¹ The age of pious Founders might be over. But few of them had shown a larger liberality than the distinguished architect of Georgian days, who had no early memories of Oxford to establish a claim on his purse or his affection. Finally, in 1849 and 1850, Convocation anticipated the work of the Commission by important new Examination Statutes. In 1849 the rules for Responsions were revised and the standard of the whole examination raised. And in 1850 a new examination was introduced between Responsions and the Final Schools, known technically as the First Public Examination, but better known as Moderations to many an anxious generation since.² The subjects of the new examination were to be the Holy Gospels in Greek, polite literature and mathematics: but a test of classical scholarship was the chief aim in view. Seven moderators were appointed, four to examine in a School of Greek and Latin literature and three in a School of mathematics. Honours, First and Second Classes, were to be awarded to those who did best. At the same time the arrangements for the Final Schools, the Second Public Examination, were enlarged. Side by side with the older Schools in Classics and in Mathematics new Schools for Natural Science and for Law and Modern History were set up.³ Each had four Classes in which Honours could be gained. The University still insisted that every candidate for the Bachelor's degree should pass in *Literae Humaniores* first, should take Classics as one of the two Final Schools required.

1852 (*Evidence*, 268 sq.), and a Memorandum prepared by the Taylorian Curators in March 1917 for the Committee on Modern Languages in the Educational System of Great Britain. Later Statutes of course have modified these arrangements.

¹ The bequest under the will of Sir Robert Taylor, to found an institution in Oxford for the teaching of the European languages, seems to have amounted to some £65,000 when the University received it in 1835-6—it was reduced by stamp duties and legal expenses to less than £60,000—and to have brought in practically £2,000 a year. (See the Memorandum quoted above). Some will regret that the name Taylorian has been dropped.

² "By some singular arithmetic," says Professor Freeman (*Contemporary Review*, vol. LI, p. 821), "Responsions not being counted, the second examination was called the first," and the two Final Schools together, which all then had to take, were called the second. Moderations, a meaningless term, signified the First Public Examination before Moderators. Masters of the Schools examined in Responsions (Smalls), and the Examiners proper were reserved for the Final Schools (Greats). The term Greats came to be used specially for the Final School in *Literae Humaniores*.

³ Jurisprudence (Law) and Modern History were divided into two Schools in 1872. A new School of Theology was added in 1870. The two original Schools were thus increased to six.

But it was at last persuaded that for the second School a larger choice of subjects might be needed, might even redound to the credit of its teachers and to the benefit of those they taught.

III

But before the last changes came into operation the blow dreaded by those who loved the ancient ways had fallen. In April 1850, on a Parliamentary motion for an inquiry into the state of the Universities, Lord John Russell startled the academic world by announcing the Government's resolution to appoint a Commission. Stanley, who had just been urging on the Prime Minister the need of throwing Fellowships open and of strengthening the Professorial system, could not help feeling some doubts about the Commission, when it came. "Put not your trust in Prime Ministers," he wrote to Jowett. But he signed, with Jowett and Lake and Goldwin Smith, a memorial thanking Lord John, and he determined to carry things through with the best heart that he could. The Prime Minister explained to the Duke of Wellington that the Commission was not intended to go beyond inquiry and report. Changes were recognised to be inevitable, even by the Universities themselves. The Commission would smooth the path of change by ascertaining the effect of the regulations recently adopted, and the obstacles, such as College Statutes, which impeded the full development of study. The Duke contented himself with forwarding Lord John's letter to the Hebdomadal Board; and on the 16th May the Board replied that the objects which the Commissioners proposed to themselves were neither needed nor desired, that College Statutes offered no obstacles to improvement, and that a Royal Commission could only obstruct the natural progress of academical reform. The studies had been not only recently, but constantly and continuously, improved. The Laudian Code was in itself an example of judicious progress.

"Two centuries ago—in 1636—the University revised the whole body of its statutes, and the academic system of study was admirably arranged at a time when not only the nature and faculties of the human mind were exactly what they are still, and must of course remain, but the principles also of sound and enlarged intellectual culture were far from being imperfectly understood."

The Duke of Wellington sent on this answer with practically no comment to Lord John. But the volume of protest behind it, both in Oxford and outside Oxford, grew. The fears of the old order found Parliamentary expression in speeches by Mr. Gladstone, Roundell Palmer and Sir Robert Inglis. With Mr. Gladstone it had once been "*a sine qua non*" that the Universities

“should not be vexed by the interposition of Parliament.”¹ The final debate took place on the 18th July, within two or three weeks of Peel’s tragic death: and Mr. Gladstone wound up his powerful criticism of the Government’s proposals by a fine and touching reference to the great son of Oxford who had so long been the greatest figure in the House of Commons, and who had continued to love his University “to the very last with maiden ardour.”² Yet it is possible that, had Peel survived, he might not have shown himself, any more than Mr. Gladstone, permanently and inexorably opposed to University reform.

On August 31 the promised Commission was appointed. It had to inquire into the state, discipline, studies and revenues of the University and Colleges of Oxford. Seven Commissioners were named. Dr. Hinds, the new Bishop of Norwich, was the Chairman. He had once been an undergraduate of Queen’s, and afterwards Vice-Principal of St. Alban Hall and closely associated with Archbishop Whately. Dr. Jeune of Pembroke alone represented College Heads, and few Heads could perhaps have been found less likely to represent their collective opinions.³ But Tait and Liddell had been distinguished College Tutors. Baden Powell was Savilian Professor of Geometry. George Johnson, also in his time a Savilian Professor, was a well-known Fellow of Queen’s. John Dampier was a well-known Master of Arts. Stanley was appointed to act as Secretary and Goldwin Smith was very soon made his assistant. The character and temper of the Commissioners were beyond reproach. But their opinions were beyond disguising, and it was not only Tractarians and mediaevalists who viewed their nomination with alarm. To Oxford Tories it seemed almost intolerable that men notoriously Liberal in politics and, it might be thought, Latitudinarian in religion, should be called in by Government to meddle where for generations the Church and her authority had ruled, to desecrate the University of Wykeham and of Waynflete, of Wolsey and of Laud. Sewell of Exeter broke out in angry mockery. In four pamphlets of elaborate facetiousness he professed to examine Lord John Russell’s postbag, and to reveal to the public the secrets it contained.⁴ He pictured the University which the reformers would create. He foresaw twelve Proctors and thirty-six Pro-Proctors struggling in vain

¹ That was in 1835.

² See *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates* (Third Series, vol. CXII, col. 1512).

³ To Dr. Routh, for instance, Jeune probably still seemed a “forward young man.” (See Maclean’s *Hist. of Pembroke College*, 464.)

⁴ See *The University Commission, or Lord John Russell’s Postbag*, in four instalments (1850).

for discipline and obedience, a Regius Professor of General Religion assailed by questions which he could not answer "without betraying some inclination to some opinion or another," a Professor of Meteorology arriving at Oriel with six children and three nurse-maids, taking over room after room from the undergraduates for the social entertainments which his wife required, the quadrangle at Merton overcrowded by the families of Professors of Osteology and Guano, but quite convenient for the children to play in so long as the undergraduates were forbidden to pass through. He portrayed Mr. Pepys as a member of the Commission confiding to his diary how the strings were pulled, noting down his visits to Chesham Place and his private talks with my Lord in his study. He broke into verse to describe "the great Miss M-rt-n-u" preparing a lecture on Eudaemonology, and summing up the "most unintelligent society" which she found in the University town:

"Old dreary dismal Dons, like oysters,
Shut up in their Cimmerian cloisters,
Who never yet have learnt the vanity
Of Churches, Creeds, and Christianity."

And he could not refrain from pointing out that, useless as All Souls and its libraries might be, there was elsewhere, at Blenheim for instance—a national grant and therefore easy for the nation to resume—a great range of unoccupied saloons, an immense collection of books never touched, a vast extent of uncultivated ground, and a large number of convenient bedrooms, "which might be so profitably filled up with young men of the middle classes pursuing their education." To a later generation, relieved of Sewell's apprehensions, his irony may seem a little long-drawn-out. But these skits and other contemporary pamphlets illustrated the profound antipathies which the new Commission must expect to face.

The Commissioner's meetings began in October 1850. Their first step was to announce their appointment, and to invite the assistance of the Vice-Chancellor and University officials, of College Visitors and College Heads. Their next was to prepare a list of questions on subjects on which they desired information, and to forward these to a number of people well-qualified to reply.¹ The questions covered many points—the possibility of diminishing the expenses of education, the University's powers of enforcing discipline and of making and altering Statutes, the relations between the University and the Colleges, the best means of extending University benefits more widely, of improving the examinations, of developing Professorial teaching,

¹ These questions will be found in Appendix B to the Report of 1852.

of providing theological instruction for candidates for Holy Orders. They included other debatable matters, the expediency of abolishing the privileges of Gentlemen Commoners, the effect of the limitations imposed upon Fellowships, the system of private tuition, the keeping of University accounts. And they asked for details of duties and emoluments, of lectures, salaries, expenditure, endowments, which those affected might well be disinclined to give. The Commissioners' inquiries were for the most part acknowledged with civility, but the civility, which was not universal, did not always disguise a determination to resist them by every possible means. The answers indeed of many individuals recalled the answers made by the seventeenth century Royalists to a Visitation far more odious and encroaching at a time when deeper passions were at stake. The Vice-Chancellor in November 1850 did not feel at liberty to make any reply. But he intimated the University's intention of contesting the legality of the Commission. In March 1851 Counsel's opinion, condemning it as "not constitutional or legal," arrived, signed by four distinguished advocates, of whom Richard Bethell's is the best known name to-day.¹ But the Government's Legal Advisers arrived at an exactly opposite opinion—so many-sided and elastic are the skilled interpretations of the law. And after a petition to the Crown from Convocation, which the Privy Council advised the Sovereign not to entertain, the question of the Commission's legality was gradually allowed to drop.

Some University authorities, however, did not share the Vice-Chancellor's self-control. The Bishop of Exeter, never unequal to a contest, was compelled to express his solemn conviction that the Commissioners had no right whatever to make the inquiries they proposed, and he warned the Rector and Fellows of Exeter to beware how they complied with such demands. The Bishop of Lincoln, Visitor of three Colleges,² would help only so far as his duty to their Founders permitted. Other Visitors were more encouraging, but others again did not answer at all. The Proctors and University officials generally limited their acquiescence to what their duty might allow. One Professor promised his best attention. Another asked to be enlightened further. A third respectfully declined to reply. A fourth had no wish to avoid inquiry, but had really nothing that he wished to say. The Professor of Poetry was more forthcoming. He denounced the Commission with the exuberance

¹ Dr. Liddell, as his correspondence with Dr. Acland, now in the Bodleian, shows, regarded this contention as "sheer nonsense," and thought it would be intolerably foolish if the University showed passion or sulkiness at so critical a time.

² Of Balliol then, as well as of Brasenose and Lincoln.

and fervour of a poet. " We crave peace and you give us chaos " was the key-note of an answer which lacked little in vehemence or length.¹ The Colleges generally declined to help in the inquiry, to supply the information, to exhibit the Statutes and documents required. Christ Church, even more laconic than its ruler, and Magdalen, swayed by its venerable President, refused to be drawn into making any response.² University and Brasenose withheld information. New College referred the question to its Visitor. Oriel and Queen's, Trinity, Jesus and Worcester, sent polite acknowledgments but nothing more. Wadham as a College gave no answer : but eight of its Fellows expressed their regret for this attitude. Balliol as a College refused to give evidence : but the Dean and Bursar supplied information in regard to documents, Statutes and finances, and some Balliol men were among the most valuable witnesses whom the Commission secured. A few Colleges, however, showed themselves more gracious. Corpus deputed its President to exhibit its Statutes and to give the Commissioners all the material they desired. All Souls and St. John's were equally helpful. Pembroke had in its Master an enthusiast for reform. Merton reserved its documents, but was ready to be of use in other ways. Lincoln referred to its Statutes in the Bodleian and furnished an account of its revenues. Magdalen Hall, St. Alban Hall and St. Edmund Hall also had information to supply. And many of the younger men especially, both University Lecturers and College Tutors, showed a strong determination to help forward the Commissioners' work.

Of the four subjects suggested for consideration one, the inquiry into revenues, yielded little result. On this point information was generally withheld by University and College officials, and the Commissioners had no power to compel the production of returns. A rough estimate was formed of the University's receipts from rents and fines, from fees and from investments. It was found difficult to calculate in terms of income the very considerable profits accumulated and paid over from time to time by the Press. But the ordinary income of the University was thought by the Commissioners to be little over seven thousand, five hundred pounds, of which fully seven thousand were required for its ordinary expenses. The Report recommended publicity for University accounts. It suggested that the University should abstain from spending money on non-academical objects,

¹ These replies to the Commissioners' communications will be found in Appendix B to the Report of 1852.

² To a personal letter from Liddell, an old friend and pupil, Dean Gaisford did reply curtly that the Commission could be productive of no good. (See Thompson's *Life of Liddell*, 128.)



OLD GRAVEL WALK AT MAGDALEN

while its own educational system was so imperfectly endowed. And among other points it called for the revision of fees, for the abolition of class distinctions among those who paid them, for the suppression of exorbitant charges like the Grand Compounder's, and for a full statement of the fees demanded and of the uses to which they were applied.¹ But on the state, the discipline, and the studies of the University the Commissioners were able to express themselves with more knowledge and effect. They began by reviewing the academic constitution as established by ancient Statutes, some of which they doubted the University's power to alter or annul.² They found that criticism was freely directed against Convocation and the Hebdomadal Board. The powers of the Board, in particular, and the way in which it used them, had become matters of outspoken complaint. The Heads of Houses, one very competent witness³ observed, did not generally follow literary or scientific pursuits, and had little direct connection with the instruction of the place. The "perpetual misunderstanding," said another,⁴ between the Hebdomadal Board and Convocation had greatly impeded useful reforms. The Heads of Houses, said a third,⁵ lived much together, and knew little of the changes going on or of the currents of thought in the University at large. The Hebdomadal Board and Convocation each looked on the other "as the great obstacle to all real improvement." On the other hand, the Commissioners found that Congregation was reduced to a shadow of its former self, and was chiefly occupied in dispensing with obsolete Statutes. Its legislative functions were dead. Its prestige as a House of teachers had vanished. It might well, it was urged, be "placed on an efficient footing,"⁶ and given a direct and active voice in legislation and in educational work. Pursuing their constitutional inquiries, they were forced to admit that the Proctorial Cycle was unequal in its working, that the method of appointing Examiners was open to objection, and that the election of Professors by Convocation was specially liable to abuse.

But within the frame-work of the old constitution the Commissioners found opportunities of reform. They were unwilling to increase the powers of Convocation, a large and scattered body, but they would leave it the final voice in legislation and

¹ See the Report of 1852 (pp. 125-8).

² But they proposed that the University should be indemnified, if necessary, for any irregular action in the past, and should have full power to alter Statutes in future (*Report*, p. 256).

³ H. H. Vaughan, Regius Professor of Modern History (*Evidence*, p. 82).

⁴ B. Jowett (*Ib.* 30).

⁵ F. Temple (*Ib.* 133).

⁶ See Bartholomew Price's suggestions (*Ib.* 59-60). But Jowett was afraid of creating "a vast debating society" (*Ib.* 31).

finance. They were not prepared to remodel the Hebdomadal Board, to take away its administrative powers or its right to initiate legislation. But they proposed to diminish the monopoly which it enjoyed, and to set up under an old name what was in effect a new authority beside it. To Congregation they would leave its customary rights. But to that venerable assembly of Regent Masters they desired to give fresh life and importance. They would convert it into a deliberative Council, representing academic interests of all kinds, and comprising not only Heads of Colleges, Proctors, Professors and Public Lecturers but the Senior Tutors of all Colleges and Halls. They would give it the power to originate Statutes, to discuss them in English, not only in Latin, to amend them and to submit them when amended to Convocation for acceptance or rejection without further debate. Congregation should appoint Delegacies for Committee work, and the Standing Delegacies which existed already, for the Press, for Accounts and for Appeals, should report to it every year. The Professors should form a new Standing Delegation for the supervision of studies, with the right to appoint Examiners and to supervise Libraries as well. The appointment of some Professors might be transferred to Congregation and the appointment of others left to the Crown. The method of electing the Proctors should be altered and their powers in some respects be modified. Their share in appointing Examiners, Professors and Preachers and their veto on the acts of Congregation ought to disappear.¹

A certain interest attaches to the Commissioners' estimates of numbers, though they were evidently inclined to exaggerate the figures of mediaeval days. The average number of matriculations in recent years is put at about four hundred,² the average number passing the Bachelor of Arts' examination at about two hundred and eighty-seven. The number of students in residence is given as thirteen hundred, the number of members of the University on the books as six thousand and sixty.³ The best Colleges were generally full. But new buildings had risen in the last half-century, and in some Colleges there was space to spare. Greater interest, however, belongs to the Commissioners' views on University discipline and on the expenses of University life. The Vice-Chancellor's Court was found to be inconvenient and expensive, and certain reforms in its procedure

¹ For these recommendations see pp. 12-17 and the summary of the Commissioners' conclusions on pp. 256-60 of the Report.

² As compared with an average of about 267 from 1800 to 1813 (*Report*, 17-18).

³ Undergraduates resident and non-resident 1,402, members of Convocation 3,294, other graduates 1,364. The number of graduates residing in Oxford is put at 300 (*Ib.* 18).

were proposed. Debts incurred *in statu pupillari* might with advantage be made harder to recover. But University discipline depended to a large extent on the personal character of the Proctors appointed, and suffered from the appointment of unsuitable men. On the whole it had improved considerably since the days of Vicesimus Knox. Extravagance there was still, too much gambling, too much hunting, too much spent on clubs and taverns, on riding and driving, on tobacco and meals. Too much credit was allowed. Too often Statutes were evaded. But flagrant extravagance was comparatively rare. Tutors could do a good deal to check it. Parents could do a good deal more. One or two of the Halls might still offer to unsatisfactory undergraduates a way of escape from the strictness of a College. Such a *locus penitentiae* might have its uses: but no Hall should become a *locus licentiae* as well. Privileges for men of rank could not be defended. The Gentlemen Commoners, the worst educated portion of the University, were the least inclined for study. The Gentlemen Commoners ought to go, though Archbishop Whately pleaded for them. After all the best way of promoting good conduct was to interest the great body of undergraduates in their work. Study and not amusement should be the University's law.¹

The Commissioners were genuinely anxious to diminish the expenses of Oxford life. They noted that it was possible for a student in a Hall at Durham to live on sixty pounds yearly, and that at Pembroke College three hundred pounds had in rare cases been made to cover the cost of a University career. But it was evident that such economy at Oxford was of a very exceptional kind. University fees were small. The cost of tuition was very reasonable. At Christ Church and at St. Edmund Hall fifty pounds would practically cover tutorial charges for four years, and at some other Colleges the charge for tuition for the whole academic course was nearer sixty than seventy pounds. Prices at St. Edmund Hall were particularly low. Two cases were quoted there where two hundred and forty pounds had covered four years of College bills, and other cases where three hundred and eighty pounds had sufficed for almost all expenses. At Pembroke the Commissioners estimated—perhaps a sanguine estimate—that three hundred and seventy pounds was the average inclusive cost of a degree. At Christ Church they found that it could be secured by an economical Commoner for even less.² But Frederick Temple's evidence showed that

¹ See the *Report* (27–29).

² Viz. £360, exclusive of dress and travelling. This is based on C. R. Conybeare's figures (*Report* 33 and *Evidence* 339). One would like to have heard the average Christ Church Commoner's views on the point.

at Balliol at any rate this figure would involve a stern and rare frugality. At Merton a man might possibly live for a hundred and fifty pounds a year, at University for little over a hundred. But the figure of seven hundred and twenty-five pounds quoted for one Worcester Commoner's expenses in four years was rightly stated to be low for the average Oxford man. The Commissioners did not overstate the case when they decided that a parent might congratulate himself if his son's education at Oxford cost him no more than six hundred pounds in all. And most parents would probably have paid down a good deal more than that with pleasure to be relieved of the expense involved.

The Commissioners' insistence on the possibility of economies at Oxford was part of a very general desire to extend University benefits to a poorer class. Not poor men only, but many merchants and professional men were, it was thought, deterred from sending their sons to Oxford by the high standard of cost and the low standard of work which prevailed. Members of the University had written pamphlets on the subject. In 1845 a number of distinguished persons, including Mr. Gladstone and Lord Ashley, had sent an address to the Hebdomadal Board, praying them to facilitate the admission of poorer students. And before the Commission various methods of securing this object were put forward and discussed. New Halls might be established. Private houses might be more freely used. Undergraduates might be admitted to the University without being compelled to join a Hall or College. Degrees might even be granted without residence. Freedom to experiment was what the reformers asked.

"We, in Oxford," said Mark Pattison, one of the most outspoken witnesses examined, "are weary of scheming, suggesting, and pamphleteering. Give us leave to be doing something. Untie our hands and open our gates, and let us at least try if we can attract here, and can usefully deal with that larger circle of youth whom we are told we ought to have here."¹

Bartholomew Price, a Pembroke Tutor, suggested that the Colleges should open affiliated Halls for poorer students, with a common table and lower fees. Or independent Halls might be started with lower prices. Or lodgings connected with the Colleges might be set up on an economical basis. But the Commissioners preferred the idea of poor students living in lodgings unconnected with the Colleges—as so many had done in early days. There they might keep their expenses on a simple footing, and perhaps find in a new system of Professorial lectures the

£350 for a single year was Gaskell's estimate about 1829. (See Lord Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, I, 49.)

¹ *Evidence* (p. 44).

teaching they required. Archbishop Whately and Frederick Temple, neither timid nor illiberal reformers, were afraid of the effect on morals which such freedom might produce. Opportunities of vice, said Temple frankly, were the chief evil of the University system.

“It is frightful to think of the large proportion of the undergraduates who are tainting their minds, not unfrequently for life, with the effects of an impure youth. To prevent this altogether would be doubtless impossible; but the difference between rendering vice easy or hard of access is immense. It is a duty to protect the weak by putting barriers in the way to evil. This plan would throw all barriers down.”¹

But the Commissioners were not to be alarmed. Regulation of the lodging-houses and proper superintendence of the students might, they thought, guard against the dangers feared. They were convinced that this was the most practical method of reducing the expenses of University life. Wider schemes still for extending University benefits—Sidney Herbert’s proposal to establish at Cathedral centres Theological Schools affiliated to the University, and William Sewell’s proposal to appoint Professors in Birmingham and Manchester, attendance at whose lectures might be a step towards a University degree—the Commissioners were inclined to disapprove. And the difficult question of removing tests, of opening the University to Non-conformists, they did not feel free to entertain. They contented themselves with observing that Subscription at matriculation was found in practice neither to exclude all who were not members of the Church of England, nor to include all who were.

In regard to University studies the Commissioners had important proposals to make. The course enjoined by the Laudian Code they found more comprehensive than any which the University had since attempted to enforce. But Laud’s system, though setting a high standard in its day—higher perhaps than it had ever been fully possible to attain—and though still highly commended by University authorities who would not hear of University reform, had long since broken down. Its provision for public lectures had sunk into decay. Its system of disputations had disappeared so utterly that “its very phraseology” could not be understood. And its scheme of examination, after ceasing to operate effectively, had in the nineteenth century been happily replaced. The Commissioners did not fail to pay tribute to the reorganisation of the whole examination system which the last fifty years had seen. The studies of the University had been rescued from their “abject

¹ *Ib.* (p. 126).

state." The "idlest and most careless Student" was "checked in his career of idleness by the approach of his Examinations." But they still found many points to criticise and improve. The requirements for a Pass degree were still low—a limited acquaintance with the Bible and the Articles, portions of Euripides, Herodotus, Livy and Horace, a little Euclid or a little Logic. And in the Honours School the range of authors had become too narrowly restricted: even Homer and Demosthenes, Cicero and Lucretius were dropping out. Pure scholarship in Oxford was not strong. An intimate acquaintance with the Latin poets was rare. And though some books, in history especially, were carefully and accurately studied, the teaching of philosophy was wanting in depth and independence, and the teaching of logic was old-fashioned and weak.¹ There was a want also of steadiness in the standards of examination. Some permanent element was needed in the Examining Board. Moreover, even under the latest Statutes the classical tradition still dominated Oxford life. Every student had to pass first through the School of *Literae Humaniores*. Fellowships depended on success in these studies: mathematical Honours counted for little. The men who succeeded in "Greats" monopolised academic prizes. Mathematics and Science had never yet received fair treatment, and all separate branches of learning had been allowed to decay. Oxford had "ceased altogether to be a school of Medicine." Its connection with the profession of Law was most "unsatisfactory." Its hold on the learned professions had been lost, while no hold on those outside them had been secured. Even for Theology there was no efficient training in this the privileged domain of the Established Church. A liberal education meant a narrow uniformity for every student. The retention of *Literae Humaniores* as compulsory it was no longer possible to defend.

The Commissioners admitted freely that the latest Statutes had widened the range and raised the standard of examinations.² But more was needed yet. They proposed that a new University examination should be imposed on all students before matriculation—a change which Archbishop Whately had advocated as "the very first step" towards reform. Proficiency in mathematics, they suggested, might in such an examination compensate for failure in Latin. They were convinced that the College

¹ See C. H. Pearson's comments on Aldrich's text-book, still the chief text-book on logic—"an epitome of almost every possible blunder" (*Memorials*, 51).

² The subjects of study and the books required for Responsions, for Moderations and for the Final Schools (Pass and Honours alike) are set out in detail on pp. 65-7 of the Report.

entrance examinations, in so far as they existed at all, were not enough. For the Final Schools they recommended more variety of subjects and greater liberty of choice. They thought that more specialisation was needed, and that more could be done to make Oxford a preparation for professional life. A School of Physical Science might prepare the way for Medicine. A School of Jurisprudence might help in the training for a legal career. A School of Theology ought surely to be possible in Oxford, where at present theological teaching did not seem to thrive. Oxford graduates had even found it necessary to seek theological instruction at Durham and Wells. The Commissioners would have made the Law School include ancient history and political economy. They would have liked to see a separate School created, with two departments, for Mental Philosophy and Philology, "out of the vast mass of matter which now goes under the name of *Literae Humaniores*." And they would have grouped Mathematics and Physical Science in another School of two departments, one for Pure and Applied Mathematics, the other for "the three Fundamental Sciences of Mechanical Philosophy, Chemistry and Physiology," but including also "all the Sciences subordinate to these three." To physical science they would have given far more importance, though they were not prepared to make it compulsory for all. They strongly urged the necessity of allotting to science a fair share of Fellowships and prizes, if its study was to be encouraged as it deserved. On the examinations for the higher degrees they had little to say. The examination for Masters of Arts had been abandoned. The examinations for Bachelors of Law, Medicine and Divinity were of small value. The Commissioners did indeed suggest that the Master's degree in Arts might be reserved for those who took two Final Schools or else the higher Honours in one. But in the tendency to treat the higher degrees as merely honorary distinctions they were not unwilling to acquiesce.¹

They had more definite views and more important proposals in regard to the method of imparting instruction and the parts to be played by Professors and College Tutors respectively in the scheme of academic life. It was an old and difficult question how far the Professorial and the Tutoiral systems were in conflict with each other, and the opinions of some of the witnesses on this point are among the most interesting portions of the evidence given. The Commissioners generally inclined to the theory that the Tutors at Oxford did a good deal too much and that

¹ "This was in effect," said Mark Pattison severely, "to give their high sanction to one of the greatest scandals of the English universities, the sale—no other word describes the transaction—the sale of our degrees" (*Suggestions on Academical Organisation*, 160-1).

the Professors ought to do a good deal more. They wanted at Oxford, Liddell wrote,¹ some element in University administration that would be "at once permanent and intelligent. The Heads of Houses are permanent but not intelligent. Tutors may be intelligent but are certainly not permanent." Real Professors might be both. Hamilton's charge that the functions of University teachers had been unscrupulously usurped by College Tutors had obtained more popularity perhaps than it deserved. The Report found that the College Tutors were "virtually the sole authorised Teachers of the great masses of the Students," and that "the Public Instruction of the Schools" had given way to "catechetical teaching in the Tutor's private apartments." It admitted that a good Tutor obtained good results, and that in some respects, in matters of influence and conduct, the Tutorial system had great advantages. But it regarded the disadvantages as greater still. And it was justified by the example of Universities in Scotland and all over Europe in thinking that the Professors could be made to contribute far more effectively to the education of the place. Robert Lowe stated with force some of the prevalent objections to the existing system of College tuition.

"It is a monopoly of education given to the Colleges at the expense of the efficiency of the University, and has very often been grossly abused by the appointment of incompetent persons. The Tutor has no stimulus to exertion beyond his own conscience; let his success be ever so brilliant, the termination of his career is not likely to be affected by it. The expected living drops at last, and idle or diligent, learned or ignorant, he quits his College and is heard of no more. The plan also of teaching in large lectures, while it gives but little instruction to the less advanced, is inexpressibly tedious and disgusting to the more forward student."²

But Lowe spoke with high praise of private tutoring or private coaching. He thought it far superior to the College system of public tuition: he had been a very successful Coach himself. He confessed to having little experience, as an Oxford man, of Professorial teaching, and he did not expect it to be of much service as a means of undergraduate education. But he rated the benefits of Professorial teaching high for those who had passed their examinations or who did not come up to take a degree. Mark Pattison would not even go as far as that. To his mind the Tutorial and not the Professorial system was "the true instrument of education." He realised how helpful a private Tutor or Coach might be. But he saw no reason why a College Tutor should not exercise all the "personal, eductive, stimulative

¹ In a letter to Dr. Acland of February 1854, now in the Bodleian.

² *Evidence* (p. 12).

power" which the good Coach possessed, "clothed with the authority of official position" and "detached from the cramming process." The College Tutor's catechetical lecture was the nearest approach to the Socratic principle.

"The Professorial system, on the other hand, as the main method of education, is fundamentally wrong in principle, and the disposition to favour it chiefly owing to the defective state of College tuition."¹

He could not believe that a Professor's lectures could ever have a stimulating power on undergraduates at Oxford. The Professor when not understood was wasted on his auditor. When half-understood he was merely mischievous. He tended to generate a state of understanding which had been the pest of Athenian education, "the conceit of knowledge where knowledge was not." A livelier example of the prejudice felt against Continental Professors was seen in a Commemoration skit of 1852.

"Professors we,
From over the sea,
From the land where Professors in plenty be;
And we thrive and flourish, as well we may,
In the land that produced one Kant with a K,
And many Cants with a C."²

The Commissioners proceeded to review the rise of Professors and Lecturers at Oxford, as the teaching of the Regents declined and the needs of the centuries advanced. Even the "torpor" of the eighteenth century had not prevented new foundations, in history and law, in language and in science,³ and in the nineteenth century the new foundations in science had notably increased. It was difficult to understand why with all these foundations Professorial lectures should be so ineffectual and so rare. The "temporary interruption" which the Hebdomadal Board admitted seemed to have lasted for "at least a century

¹ *Ib.* (p. 48). But Mr. Pattison afterwards became a strong advocate of the endowment of Professors, and realised that "a whole academical system" could not be based upon tutorial influence alone. (See his *Memoirs*, pp. 258-9 and his *Suggestions on Academical Organisation*).

² See *Phrontisterion* (p. 13), attributed, and with justice, to Mansel.

³ The Commissioners' history may not always be beyond criticism. But in Appendix F to their Report there is a useful list of the Professorships and Lecturerships established between 1497 and 1847, beginning with the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity and ending with the Professorship of Modern European Languages. It comprises not only the Tudor and seventeenth century foundations, but the later foundations of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, from the establishment of the Professorship of Poetry in 1708. The subjects of these later foundations include History and Law, several branches of Language, of Science and of Medicine, Experimental Philosophy, Logic, Political Economy and Theology.

and a half." College activities had apparently stifled the demand for Professorial teaching. The endowments of some Chairs might be too poor to attract the best men. The narrow range of the public examinations discouraged students from pursuing science. But more learning was needed in Oxford, more activity not only in teaching but also in research. The Commissioners could not accept Mark Pattison's theory that Professorial lectures created an inferior stamp of mental cultivation, and led to "tumid verbiage" or the encouragement of "untrained thought." Professorial lectures need not be superficial.

"It is difficult to divine any reasons which should lead us to anticipate that the labours of the most learned, eloquent, thoughtful men should, as soon as they are elevated to the Professorial Chair, degenerate into mere show."

It was a mistake to distrust enthusiasm and eloquence in teaching: the critical atmosphere of Oxford might be relied on to keep those qualities under control. The mere fact of having to interest a large audience ought to stimulate a teacher to exertion. In science especially it was difficult to see how Tutorial instruction could cover the ground. The truth was that the rivalry between the two forms of teaching was needless. Each had a special field to fill, and it was both possible and desirable to combine them. The Hebdomadal Board seemed not unfavourable to these suggestions: it had recently proposed to Convocation to increase the pay of Professorships worth less than three hundred a year by a sum of twenty-three thousand pounds taken from the sixty thousand handed over by the Delegates of the Press. Important witnesses were agreed that Professors and Tutors could work side by side. Mr. Jowett saw no reason to fear any collision between them. The Tutorial system in his view was excellent so far as it went, and to give it up would be to give up "a great good" which was closely connected with the Oxford College system. The two spheres were partly different. On many subjects fit for Professorial lectures the Colleges afforded no means of instruction. Other subjects were clearly better in a Tutor's hands.

"Our wealth gives us the means of combining the two and of carrying out the spirit of each more perfectly. The Tutor begins the work which the Professor is to take up and complete."¹

Professor Vaughan,² while a strong believer in the Professorial

¹ *Evidence* (p. 37).

² H. H. Vaughan, Regius Professor of Modern History since 1848, was regarded by some as the most brilliant of Arnold's pupils. (See Jowett's *Life*, I, 123 n).

system—he thought that the absence of it was largely responsible for Oxford's comparative silence on scientific and literary subjects—was prepared to work out a combination of the two. And Mr. Bonamy Price, who had published a pamphlet on this topic, believed that such a combination offered the only practical means of securing that “progressive career of ever advancing improvement in knowledge” which he regarded as “the very kernel of University reform.”¹ The problem of fusing the two theories of instruction may not even yet have been completely solved in Oxford. But there can be little doubt that the Commissioners were right in suggesting that that was the object to be kept in view.

The Report recommended a vigorous reorganisation of the Professorial Staff. The Professors were to be increased in numbers, and their pay was to be substantially augmented by fees and by contributions raised from College funds. Four Boards of Professors, it was proposed, should be created, to regulate studies in the four Schools designed—a Board of Theology, for which sufficient Professors existed already; a Board of Mental Philosophy and Philology, which would include Moral Philosophy, Logic, Poetry, Art and all branches of language, classical, oriental and modern; a Board of Jurisprudence and History, which would include the existing Chairs of Law, History and Political Economy, but would require to be supplemented by others; and a Board of Mathematics and Physical Science, which would include a reconstituted department of Medicine and the different branches of Mathematics and Science. It might be difficult under existing arrangements to form a Medical School in Oxford, properly so called. But the University, Dr. Acland urged, could at least give “a general liberal education to Medical Students,” and instruct them “in the preliminary sciences,” if it could do no more.² Of the various ways in which Professors were appointed the Commissioners preferred nomination by the Crown.³ Assistant Professors should also be created, drawn from College Fellows and appointed by the Boards. Existing restrictions on Professorships should be abolished. Their holders should be allowed to marry. Restrictions on University Scholarships and Prizes should at the same time be removed. The miserable salaries attached to some Chairs—the Greek Professorship was

¹ But Mr. Price (*Evidence*, p. 93) would apparently have limited Professorial teaching to the later stages of a student's career—a suggestion to which the Commissioners, on Prof. Vaughan's advice, demurred (*Report*, p. 100).

² *Evidence* (p. 235).

³ Or appointments made by specially constituted Boards. (See M. Pattison's list in 1868, and his own scheme for appointments by a Board of Curators (*Suggestions on Academical Organisation*, 213–14 and 222).

worth only forty pounds a year and several others did not exceed a hundred—should be raised uniformly to eight hundred pounds, to which fees might perhaps be added. The Delegacy of Professors should be entrusted with the management of the Bodleian and other Libraries. More College Libraries might be thrown open. Above all, the inadequate Museums should be supplemented and the provision for the practical study of science increased. No part of the Report was more emphatic than its demand for fair play for science in Oxford. The interest excited by the meeting of the British Association in 1847, and by the establishment of the new School of Natural Science later, had brought the friends of science to the front. Plans were on foot for a new Museum, to house the various University collections, to provide fitting laboratories and lecture-rooms, and to serve as a centre for scientific study. And though Convocation was still hard to move in the matter, the claims of science could no longer be ignored. Dr. Acland pleaded for a comprehensive Museum, gathering all the scattered scientific collections under one roof.

“In truth there are no proper lecture-rooms or laboratories for Students; and it is quite certain that, until provisions are made by which Students can work practically themselves without inconvenience, no real progress will be made by them.”¹

The Commissioners endorsed this plea and recommended that “a Great Museum,” to represent all departments of Physical Science, should be built.

In dealing with the Colleges the Commissioners were to some extent baffled by the passive resistance which they met with. Their information in regard to College revenues was imperfect. Their access to College Statutes was not made easy. And their account of College history was not in all respects exact. But these difficulties did not prevent the expression of some vigorous and definite opinions. It was clear that there were many points calling for reform. The Colleges had absorbed the University, taken over its government and monopolised its teaching. The Colleges were rich while the University was poor: College endowments were estimated at some hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year. College revenues might increase, but that did not always mean a corresponding increase in the number of Fellows. There were wide differences in the value of Fellowships, and in the ways in which College resources were used: it was strange to find a hundred and fifteen undergraduates at Magdalen Hall and only fifteen at Magdalen College. There was laxity in regard to residence, study and other ancient obliga-

¹ *Evidence* (p. 237).

tions. There were conditions and restrictions imposed on elections which interfered with the advancement of the best men. The removal of these restrictions upon Fellowships was the first step to be taken. Out of five hundred and forty-two Fellowships at Oxford only twenty-two, it seemed, were really open, uncontrolled by patronage or by conditions in regard to locality and kin.¹ Yet the advantages of open Fellowships could hardly be doubted. Balliol, with nearly all its Fellowships and Scholarships thrown open, had won twenty-two First Classes between 1841 and 1850. Christ Church, more than twice the size, with its Fellowships and Scholarships in the patronage of the Dean and Canons, had not won in the same period more than thirteen. And Balliol was only one example of the consequences which followed on the opening of Fellowships and Scholarships wherever it was tried.

“The system of election to Fellowships is, above all other defects at Oxford, that whose remedy is most needed and most important.”²

If Fellowships were thrown open and elections were honest, “all other reforms would follow.” The change would, no doubt, involve a “violent interference” with the intentions of Founders, and strong grounds for such interference must be shown. But nothing was so necessary to promote the interests alike of the University and of the Colleges, to reward merit fairly, to make the new system of examinations succeed. And the interference with Founders’ intentions involved was by no means so serious as some which had already taken place.

“In short a literal interpretation of the Founders’ wills has become a mere superstition. To secure the great object at which they aimed, the advancement of learning and religion, is a duty. To seek it by means which are now found not to reach it, or to tie it to conditions which are now found to render it unattainable, is absurd. . . .

No corporate body is really reformed till the best men are put at the head of it. The fellows have become the head of the University and cannot now be dislodged. The nation is bound to see that they are the ablest men which the University can supply.

When this is done there will be some meaning in the cry for ‘internal reform’: till then, any real reformation from within is impossible.”³

To such arguments the Commissioners could find no reply.

The Report proposed to abolish by Act of Parliament all limitations with a few exceptions imposed on the election of members of Colleges, the obligation to reside, the obligation to take Orders and the obligation to proceed to degrees beyond the Mastership of Arts. The Commissioners were not prepared

¹ *Report* (p. 149).

² See F. Temple’s views (*Evidence*, p. 129).

³ F. Temple’s evidence continued (*Ib.* p. 132).

to remove the obligation of celibacy. Married Heads and married Professors were allowable. But married Tutors, they feared, might prove fatal to the College system. Sewell's mockery on that point represented a feeling which was widely shared. They were not prepared either to limit Fellowships to a certain number of years. But they were strongly in favour of abolishing the abuses in elections, which made interest and favouritism count for so much at Colleges like Christ Church and Merton and All Souls, and which had so diminished the importance that a College like Magdalen ought to enjoy. Fellows should be elected in each case by the whole Society and their claims tested by examination. Steps should be taken to prevent any Fellowship falling below a hundred and fifty pounds in value or exceeding three hundred a year. A certain number of Fellowships in each College should be devoted to the newer branches of learning. The reform of Scholarships should follow the same lines. At New College, St. John's and elsewhere certain old traditions must be respected, though it was noticeable that New College, founded originally for seventy poor Scholars between fifteen and twenty years old, had only produced one First Class since it began to send up men for examination. But generally speaking Scholarships should be thrown open, their term limited, their number and value when necessary increased. Above all, the Colleges, which had practically shut the Schools and silenced the Professors, should be called upon to endow the teachers of the University afresh. Some of their Fellowships might well be apportioned for the support of Professors. Corpus, a prosperous little College, hardly needed twenty Fellowships for its own men. It could spare six to provide for two Professors. Magdalen, a very wealthy Society, had no less than forty Fellowships. It might devote twelve to endowing six Professors, and still have more than enough to reward the small number of undergraduates whom it maintained. Merton might spare six of its twenty-four Fellowships for Professorial endowments. All Souls with forty Fellows and four undergraduates could spare a good many more. Queen's and New College could well supply means for one Professor each. It was difficult for the Commissioners with their imperfect information to pronounce very definitely on financial questions. But even a partial review of College circumstances and resources suggested a good many opportunities for improvements of this kind. Years afterwards Jowett summed up in a few apt phrases ¹ the spirit which had inspired the work of the Commission. It was an effort to reform and to emancipate the University, to strike off the fetters of

¹ See his *Life* (I, 177).

mediaeval Statutes from the University and from the Colleges alike, to set Oxford free from the predominance of ecclesiasticism, to recall it to its proper work, to restore it to the nation.

IV

The Commissioners, largely influenced by Dr. Tait and Dr. Jeune, completed their Report in April 1852. "The great work," said their Secretary, who regretted its rather harsh tone, had been "to finish it at all." It was published in May, and in spite of some drawbacks it "struck root" and no one could ignore it. Its ability greatly impressed Mr. Gladstone, whose early prepossessions it could hardly help offending. And with rare vision and sagacity he set himself to convince his friends of the wisdom of facing the necessity of change. But in more than one quarter at Oxford its proposals were regarded as "preposterous and unjust."¹ The Government wisely allowed a breathing-space during which the University might express its opinions. In June 1852 the Hebdomadal Board appointed a Committee to consider the Commissioners' Recommendations, and the Committee secured evidence from several witnesses who had not been heard before the Commission.² The Report of this Committee was presented to the Board in December and was issued by the University Press in 1853.³ Its authors feared that the Recommendations, if adopted as a whole, would prove revolutionary in character and disastrous to Discipline, Studies and Religion. And while endeavouring to find something in them to approve, they could not disguise their dislike and apprehension. James Mozley thought the Committee's Report weak—"a sort of endless series of negations and protests, very little arguing or good statement."⁴ It condemned the new constitution proposed, but was not unwilling to add more members of Convocation to the Hebdomadal Board, or even to establish a new intermediate body between the Board and Convocation. It condemned the throwing open of Fellowships, but was willing to allow more College revenues to be used for University educa-

¹ See J. B. Mozley's *Letters* (218).

² The Committee included the Vice-Chancellor, the Dean of Christ Church, the Provost of Oriel, and the Heads of Corpus, Brasenose, Wadham and St. Alban Hall. The witnesses included Dr. Pusey, who would have appeared before the Commission, it seems, if they had invited him, Dr. Hussey, the Provost of Oriel, the Provost and Vice-Provost of Worcester, the Censor of Christ Church, Charles Marriott, E. A. Freeman and several other Fellows or ex-Fellows and Tutors. Mr. Justice Coleridge contributed some observations upon training in law.

³ *Report and Evidence upon the Recommendations of H.M. Commissioners presented to the Board of Heads of Houses and Proctors.*

⁴ Mozley's *Letters* (222).

tion. It condemned the establishment of independent Private Halls and lodging-houses, but was willing to sanction new Halls in connection with the Colleges. It condemned any undue interference with the system, the traditions, the customs of the past. Some witnesses, not all, were against a matriculation examination. Some, but not all, were against the abolition of existing oaths. Several were against the abolition of distinctions in rank. The Censor of Christ Church doubted if there was much real demand for University extension, and condemned a "vain and unpractical striving after equality." Dr. Pusey thought that inequalities in rank were facts in God's Providence which it was folly to disown. The Vice-Provost of Worcester considered such distinctions beneficial. He would regard the establishment of independent Halls for poorer students as a deadly blow to moral and religious well-being. And he found the whole scheme of the Commissioners "warped and obscured by the spirit of partizanship." Dr. Hawkins of Oriel had refused to answer the Commissioners' inquiries because he thought their whole proceedings unconstitutional and dangerous. Others would at all costs retain the exclusive rights of the Church of England and the basis of theological and classical studies. But it was strange to find among these witnesses Edward Freeman raising a vehement voice against the Commissioners' plans. He seems to have been thoroughly dissatisfied with their Recommendations. He thought the Cambridge Report "much fairer and more sensible than our own." He poked fun at the "misapplied and even grotesque antiquarian vein" which he detected. He talked of "meddling for meddling's sake." He mocked at the "grand chimaera" of a Professorial system. He objected strongly to the proposals for throwing open Fellowships, and to the needless uniformity which the Commissioners desired. He denounced the plan for remodelling Congregation. It would be "an illiberal revolution." It would infringe the glorious principle of self-government and strike "at the very root" of freedom. There were few points indeed on which this vigorous advocate of liberty did not find reasons for differing from the reforms proposed.¹

Some of the weightiest evidence was given by Dr. Pusey, who contributed "a long elaborate essay." He thought the whole tendency of the Recommendations would be to destroy the Collegiate system. He thoroughly disliked the idea of Halls or lodgings unconnected with the Colleges. He disliked any

¹ On these objections, urged by several witnesses, see generally the *Evidence* attached to the Hebdomadal Committee's report, and especially pp. 162, 183, 197, 251-2, 257, 313, 319-20, 347, 416-24, 427, 430 and 445-50.

proposal to "emancipate" students from theological studies. He disliked the Commissioners' praise of Locke's philosophy. Locke, a "forerunner of infidelity," was now acknowledged in Germany to be "one of the shallowest writers" who ever treated of the human mind. He was strongly opposed to relaxing the obligation to take Orders. In regard to the government of the University, while he disliked the Recommendations of the Commission, he was not altogether unprepared for reform. He was willing to create by the side of the Hebdomadal Board a new elected Board or Council to co-operate in the work of legislation. But to Pusey the most important issues were whether education in Oxford should be Professorial or Collegiate and whether it should be clerical or lay. Pusey's experience of Germany had filled him with distrust of Professors. He found that Professorial lectures in that country produced in theology and philosophy little but uncertainty and doubt. He had heard a German Professor pray in public that the Universities might "no longer be murderesses of souls." The German theological student had no past, no traditions, no literature to rely on. All books which dated back more than a quarter of the century had been swept away. Neither in intellect nor in morals, neither in speculation nor in criticism, neither in ethics nor in history could the German methods of teaching compare with the tutorial methods of Oxford.

"We have abundance of theories about the professorial system. We have no facts of its having produced any but evil traits." ¹

Equally positive were Dr. Pusey's opinions in favour of clerical as compared with lay instruction. It was a true and an inevitable comment that he viewed the whole question of University reform from a theological point of view. He had, he told Stanley, no fear of scientific education, provided science were religious and knew its own province.² But when Professor Vaughan took the field against him, and subjected his evidence to some severe criticism, Pusey, defending himself in a fair and candid pamphlet, frankly admitted what his attitude was. In every educational question the interests of religion must in his view be supreme.

"All things must speak of God, refer to God, or they are atheistic. History, without God, is a chaos without design, or end, or aim; Political Economy, without God, would be a selfish teaching about the acquisition of wealth . . . ; Physics, without God, would be but a dull enquiry into certain meaningless phenomena; Ethics, without God, would be a varying rule, without principle, or substance, or

¹ On these points of Dr. Pusey's see the *Evidence* (pp. 40, 42 sq., 64 sq., 78, 84, 86, 100, 111, 123, 144-5, etc.).

² See Pusey's *Life* (III, 391).

centre, or regulating hand ; Metaphysics, without God, would make man his own temporary god, to be resolved, after his brief hour here, into the nothingness out of which he proceeded." ¹

All sciences might do good, but those who followed them must recognise their place and not try to carry them beyond their sphere. The object of a University was not simply to cultivate the intellect. Discipline might be of more value than intelligence. The intellect must always be subdued to God.

" The problem and special work of an University is, not how to advance science, not how to make discoveries, not to form new schools of mental philosophy, nor to invent new modes of analysis ; not to produce works in Medicine, Jurisprudence, or even Theology ; but to form minds religiously, morally, intellectually, which shall discharge aright whatever duties God, in His Providence, shall appoint to them."

No churchman of the Middle Ages was ever more deeply persuaded that in the age-long struggle between reason and authority, authority must at any cost prevail.

Others besides the Hebdomadal Committee and their witnesses came forward to impugn the Commissioners' conclusions. The Tutors' Association, inspired by James Mozley and Charles Marriott, issued some important *Papers*, well-informed and generally moderate in tone. Mozley had " a great hankering " to ask the public frankly, merchants, manufacturers, barristers and other professional men, what they felt was wanting in University education, and what could be done to make it suitable for the needs of their sons.² The Tutors' Association had strong objections to the idea of students living in independent lodgings, as violating the principle of College discipline. But they were prepared, unlike Dr. Pusey, to sanction both affiliated and private Halls. They could not accept the Commissioners' proposal to set up a remodelled Congregation side by side with the Hebdomadal Board. They would prefer a new and representative Board, to absorb and replace the Hebdomadal Body and to retain the sole initiative in legislation. They were afraid of an unrestricted Professorial system, which attached too much importance to the person teaching and too little importance to the things taught. They were still more afraid of substituting lectures for the study of books. They thought it would be revolutionary to give the Professors the control of examinations. They could not approve of the removal of religious tests. They

¹ See for these quotations Dr. Pusey's *Collegiate and Professorial Teaching and Discipline* (pp. 213-15). Critics objected that Dr. Pusey was too ready to identify his conception of God with one school of clerical and dogmatic teaching.

² See Mozley's *Letters* (219).

would not abolish the obligation of Fellows to take Orders. They would not suppress Fellowships in order to endow Professors, and they thought that Professors ought to be content with six hundred pounds a year. But they frankly admitted the need of some reforms. They would limit local restrictions on Fellowships and Scholarships. They would tax College property to increase the funds for Professorial teaching. They approved of some machinery for changing College Statutes, and agreed that on that point some compulsion might be required.¹ One independent critic of high standing, among others who published their opinions, expressed on much the same lines his own disagreement with the Commissioners' proposals and his preference for several points in the Tutors' plan.²

Professor Vaughan had taken a prominent part in the discussions before the Commission, and he could not refrain from replying to some of the objections raised. In a vigorous pamphlet³ he examined the arguments brought forward especially by Dr. Pusey and by the Tutors' Association. The opposition of the Heads of Houses he expected. They naturally wished to preserve their own power, and were not very anxious to increase the authority or to raise the pay of the Professors. But the Tutors were not blind to the need of improving the Professorial system, and Dr. Pusey, himself a Professor, ought to be able to appreciate the work that Professors could do. The importance proposed for the Professorial body had, no doubt, awakened some "sensitiveness" in other classes in the University. But the argument that it was revolutionary for Professors to control examinations could hardly be sustained in a University where the examination of candidates in divinity, medicine and law had long been entrusted to the Professors of those subjects. If partiality was feared, it was more likely to occur when examinations were regulated by Tutors in close touch with the work of the men. On some points the Tutors had misunderstood his own evidence.⁴ But he was chiefly concerned to support the proposed development of the Professorial system, and on this point Pusey's sweeping criticisms gave him an opening for a strong attack. In Vaughan's view Dr. Pusey had asserted that Professorial teaching was ill-adapted to communicate knowledge, to discipline the faculties and to advance the cause of truth. Pusey's experience in Germany had apparently convinced him that the Professorial system was a cause of immorality,

¹ The *Papers published by the Tutors' Association* appeared in 1853-4.

² See Roundell Palmer's pamphlet of *Suggestions* (1854).

³ Entitled *Oxford Reform and Oxford Professors* (1854).

⁴ To Vaughan's criticisms the Tutors afterwards issued a brief *Reply* (1854).

and that in theology Professorial teaching propagated heresy and schism. These allegations, into which he read perhaps more than Pusey had intended, Vaughan subjected to a searching criticism. He denied that Professorial teaching need be superficial, or was in fact either superficial or unsatisfactory in those Universities where it prevailed. He pointed out that oral teaching need not displace books but might be a valuable stimulus to reading. He made light of the objection to large classes, to imparting instruction in a popular form. He examined at perhaps unnecessary length the charge that the Professorial system was responsible for the corruption of morals at different periods in the Universities of Europe, and his retort that the Tutorial system had done little for morality in eighteenth-century Oxford was undoubtedly rather difficult to meet. In an appendix to Vaughan's pamphlet John Conington of University added a forcible note on German scholarship, which Pusey, while criticising the German system sharply, had altogether ignored.

"No one would suppose, from reading what he has said, that almost all the important contributions to the knowledge of classical literature which have been made of late years are due to those who have studied under a Professorial system at the German or other foreign Universities." ¹

The fertility, vigour and profundity of much Continental teaching it was neither fair nor convincing to deny.

To these strictures Dr. Pusey published an elaborate rejoinder.² He could not accept Vaughan's summary of his charges. He had never objected to the adequate endowment of Professors. What he did object to was "the *dominance* of Professors and Professorial teaching." He would not be moved from his argument that a system of instruction by lectures was a "retrograde" system as compared with the study of books, imperfect, superficial, "the worst form of teaching," far inferior to the catechetical instruction on which good tutorship relied. He defended his view that the German Professoriate was largely responsible for doubt and scepticism in that country. He had not said that Professors were causes of immorality. But he had said distinctly that "the positive evils" were on the intellectual side of the Professorial system, while negatively it was "wholly destitute of any moral training." It was the value of College discipline, and the impossibility of replacing it by any system of Professors, on which he desired to lay stress. This branch of the controversy led to a long disquisition on the evidence in

¹ *Oxford Reform and Oxford Professors* (p. 97).

² The pamphlet on *Collegiate and Professorial Teaching and Discipline* already quoted.

regard to discipline and morals in Universities abroad, into which Vaughan had already wandered too widely. But on that point perhaps the arguments of both Professors may be permitted to rest among the dead contentions of the past.

Dislike of the Commission had produced an alliance between Dr. Pusey and the Heads of Houses which roused at Oxford some wonder and amusement. Keble was sorry that Pusey should have found "such impracticable and damaging allies." Sir John Coleridge found it "difficult to believe them to be sincerely ready to make their power less." Newman in Dublin "smiled to find" that, after all the "rubs" which the Heads had given Pusey, they were obliged to have recourse to him as their best champion.¹ The Hebdomadal Board accepted in substance Pusey's proposal to retain the old Board and to set up beside it a new Board, elected by Convocation, to share its powers. And a petition to the Crown in favour of this proposal, recommended as Conservative and as coming from the University itself, was carried through Convocation in February 1854. But many people were now waiting for the Government to intervene. Lord John Russell and Lord Derby had followed each other out of office. Lord Derby had been installed as Chancellor, his face wrinkled into countless smiles, and Mr. Disraeli, "the great lion," had left the dinner at Worcester College without saying a word, because the Vice-Chancellor had insisted on speaking for two hours.² A new Administration was in office, in which Mr. Gladstone, the University's representative, had a commanding voice. And in March 1854, only a few days before the declaration of the war with Russia, the Oxford University Bill was introduced. Mr. Gladstone had been at work on the subject all the winter. He was principally responsible for the Government's measure. If he differed widely from the Commissioners on some points—to legislate "in the sense and spirit of the Commissioners" would, he thought, be "madness"³—he was convinced that the opportunity of reform must not be missed. His "whole heart," he confessed, was in the project. It was a welcome distraction from the perplexities of an unwelcome war. His mastery of the details astonished Dr. Jeune, and not Dr. Jeune alone. He corresponded with three-fourths of the Colleges, spared no pains to reassure his correspondents.⁴ He conferred

¹ See for these letters Pusey's *Life* (III, 394-5).

² See Mozley's *Letters* (221). He is writing on June 15, 1853.

³ There is an interesting letter to this effect from Mr. Gladstone, dated 21 July 1855, among Dr. Acland's papers in the Bodleian, in which he wishes that Dr. Liddell would show more moderation and more consideration for the difficulties involved.

⁴ He left, says Lord Morley (*Life of Gladstone*, I, 500, n.), 520 letters on the subject written by him or received by him between December

constantly with Lord John Russell, with Bethell, with Jeune and with Jowett. Jowett would have preferred to lay down the principles only in Parliament, and to leave the University to settle the details. But Mr. Gladstone, conscious that "sub-legislation" was unavoidable, proposed an Executive Commission with statutory powers, and the Cabinet adopted his view. The early drafts of the Bill which reached Oxford did little to allay the anxiety there. The Vice-Chancellor was filled with sorrowful anticipations. Dean Gaisford condemned the proposals as unjust and tyrannical. Dr. Pusey was convinced that the University was ruined and had received its death-blow at Mr. Gladstone's hands. But the support behind the measure was growing. The friends of reform were numerous and active, and they had found a champion whom no one could withstand—a "sentinel"¹ who warned them of the dangers threatening if they did not set their house in order while they could. Even in Convocation a petition against the Bill was only carried by the narrowest majority. And Mr. Gladstone's "superb" speech on the second reading filled many besides Arthur Stanley with delight.

"To see our labours of 1851-2 brought at last to bear on the point, to hear proclaimed on the housetop what we had announced in sheepskins and goatskins, to behold one's old enemies slaughtered before one's face with the most irresistible weapons, was quite intoxicating."²

Mr. Gladstone might have modified his opinions. But that did not prevent his entire belief in the value of the great "emancipating" measure he had framed. He foresaw for Oxford, set free from her encumbering weaknesses, an "immensely augmented energy and power." Her faith would not suffer. Her strength, were she only true to herself, would prove to be ten times greater than before.

The passage of the Bill was not easy. It was greatly altered if not maimed in Committee. Wisdom, firmness, temper, labour, wrote Jeune afterwards, had been needed to carry it through, and great courage in a University Member whose seat and popularity were at stake.³ Mr. Gladstone thought the discussions

1853 and December 1854. But Mozley's letter dated April 1, 1853, must surely be ante-dated. The University Reform Bill had not been drafted then. (See Mozley's *Letters*, 220 and 223.)

¹ This is Mr. Gladstone's own phrase. J. B. Mozley shared his view that "our line was clearly for an early settlement of the question" (*Letters*, 220).

² See Stanley's *Life* (I, 434).

³ Jeune's confidence in Mr. Gladstone had grown since in the previous year he described him as "Pusey in a blue coat" (Macleane, *Hist. of Pembroke Coll.* 450).

in Parliament often ill-advised. He had to face criticisms that seemed sometimes impatient and unreasonable from thorough-going reformers like Dr. Liddell.¹ He was not impressed on the other hand by Mr. Disraeli's preference for an Oxford left free with all its anomalies and imperfections. He had more sympathy with the Nonconformist claim for admission. But he felt bound not to include that proposal in the Bill. The House of Commons, however, took this matter into its own hands. A clause removing the test at matriculation was carried against the Government by a large majority. Mr. Gladstone found it necessary to meet this feeling, and a compromise was agreed on which abolished tests for matriculation and for the Bachelor's degree. The tests for the Mastership, for a vote in Convocation, and for Fellowships of Colleges survived. All "governing and teaching functions" at Oxford the Church of England retained—for a few years more. To Dr. Pusey, one of the most urgent and dejected of Mr. Gladstone's correspondents, even this guarded surrender seemed profoundly sad. But Convocation appeared to be divided on the subject. Lord Derby was half-hearted. Not a single Bishop was prepared to fight. "Every one seems to be for giving up something," wrote Pusey to Keble.² How different from the great days of 1834!

On the 7th August the great measure received the Royal assent. The first and most difficult stage in the long struggle for University Reform was over. The University bowed, however reluctantly, to the pressure of opinion, and it can hardly now be doubted that the intervention of Parliament cleared the way for necessary change. The Act of 1854,³ which appointed an Executive Commission with power to insist on the production of documents and accounts,⁴ reconstituted the government of the University on lines differing in many respects from those laid down by the Commissioners of 1850. The Hebdomadal Board was abolished: a Hebdomadal Council took its place and

¹ Liddell writes to Dr. Acland of Mr. Gladstone's "culpable weakness." He complains that Mr. Gladstone has "tampered with the Tutors" and has "set everybody by the ears." He declares that the Bill would be worse than no Bill. He adds once—"In fact I despair of the Republic, and shall try to forget that there is such a place as Oxford." Dr. Jeune seems to have taken a wider view of the difficulties to be met both in Oxford and in the House of Commons. (The letters are among the Acland papers, not yet fully catalogued, in the Bodleian.)

² See Pusey's *Life* (III, 399).

³ 17 & 18 Vict. Cap. LXXXI. Its provisions will be found conveniently set out in Shadwell's *Enactments in Parliament*, O.H.S. (III, pp. 153-70).

⁴ The Commissioners nominated were Lord Harrowby, Lord Ellesmere, the Bishop of Ripon, Mr. Justice Coleridge, the Dean of Wells (one of the Commissioners of 1850), Sir J. W. Awdry and George Cornewall Lewis.

took over all its powers. The new Council consisted of certain *ex officio* members, the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Proctors,¹ and of eighteen members elected by Congregation, six Heads of Houses, six University Professors and six unofficial members of Convocation of at least five years' standing.² A new Congregation was also created, consisting of all resident members of Convocation together with certain officials.³ The Vice-Chancellor was responsible for seeing that a register of those qualified to serve was kept. All Statutes framed by the Hebdomadal Council must be promulgated in Congregation and proposed for acceptance or rejection there. Members of Congregation might propose amendments in writing to the Hebdomadal Council,⁴ and might speak in English when new Statutes were discussed. When passed by Congregation, all Statutes must be laid before Convocation, which had the power to accept or reject them but no power to amend. Convocation, the Great Congregation of Regents and Non-Regents,⁵ retained in other respects its venerable powers, and continued to be the supreme authority in legislation and finance.⁶ It was remarkable that the Act left in existence also the ancient Congregation of Regents, which still remains for certain formal purposes like the conferment of degrees.⁷ Certain oaths were declared to be illegal, oaths to

¹ To these the ex-Vice-Chancellor or one of the Pro-Vice-Chancellors could be added. The custom grew up for the Chancellor generally to nominate the incoming Vice-Chancellor for the 12 months before he became Vice-Chancellor.

² They were elected, generally speaking, for 6 years. All Professors were eligible. Failure to reside 24 weeks during term each year vacated a seat. In 1915 the Heads were reduced to 3 and the independent members of Convocation increased to 9. The abolition of the separate classes or orders was recommended in the later Commission's Report of 1922 (p. 71).

³ The list included the Chancellor, High Steward, Heads of Houses, Canons of Christ Church, members of the Hebdomadal Council, Professors, Examiners, etc. Later legislation aimed at restricting membership of Congregation to those engaged in teaching and administrative work. Residence meant, under Clause XLVIII of the Act of 1854, 20 weeks spent within a mile and a half of Carfax in the 12 months preceding September 1.

⁴ The power of moving and carrying amendments came later. See *Statuta Univ. Oxon.* (Tit. X, S. iii, cc. 2 and 3), and Mr. S. Gibson's pamphlet on *The Congregations of the University of Oxford* (1926).

⁵ That is, all Masters and Doctors who kept their names on Hall or College books.

⁶ Decrees and money grants, though not Statutes, could be proposed directly to Convocation by the Hebdomadal Council. Some grants are now submitted to Congregation.

⁷ Recent proposals under the Act of 1923 would transfer the confirmation of the appointment of examiners from the Ancient House of Congregation to Convocation. They would also make the decision of Congre-

withhold information or to resist changes in University or College Statutes. Above all, oaths and declarations were no longer to be necessary for matriculation or for a Bachelor's degree. Permission was given for any member of Convocation licensed by the Vice-Chancellor to open his residence to University students,¹ who need not in that case join any existing College or Hall. The University was specially empowered to make Statutes and regulations for these Private Halls; many reformers regarded them as the most hopeful means of providing for poorer students. Colleges were authorised and invited to alter their Statutes, to amend the conditions in regard to Fellowships and endowments: and if they failed to exercise the powers given for this purpose, the Commissioners might step in and frame Ordinances instead. The University was allowed to alter trusts. But the right to abolish the preferences in elections enjoyed by certain schools was elaborately guarded, and appeals against new Statutes and Ordinances could be made by petitions to the Queen in Council or by addresses moved in either House of Parliament. In giving effect to their powers in respect of Colleges the Commissioners must have regard first to College needs, and secondly to the desirability of enlarging and endowing the Professorial body. For the latter object College revenues might be apportioned. Finally, among other provisions, the procedure of the Vice-Chancellor's Court was amended,² and stamp duties were abolished on matriculation and degrees.³

The effect of these comprehensive proposals was to inaugurate a quiet revolution in Oxford life. The old oligarchical monopolies in the University and in the Colleges began to disappear. The government of both became really representative. A new vigour was infused into teaching and administration. The Professorial system was reorganised and strengthened, and to some extent endowed from College funds. The prizes of academic life were set free for competition. Vested interests, obsolete regulations, encumbering restraints were swept aside, and endowments too long indifferently applied were made available for wider uses. New University Statutes affecting

gation (the reconstituted body) final in the case of Statutes and decrees accepted by two-thirds or more of its members. There would then be no need to refer the matter to Convocation. (See Gibson's pamphlet quoted above, II-12.)

¹ Provided it were within a mile and a half of Carfax.

² But in 1862 this clause (XLV) was repealed, and the Vice-Chancellor was empowered, with the consent of three High Court Judges, to make rules for the practice and procedure of the Court (*Enactments in Parliament*, III, 328).

³ And the University in exchange undertook to pay certain Professorial salaries till then voted by Parliament (*Ib.* III, 187-8).

some of the Professorships ¹ received the Commissioners' assent. Certain Colleges, Exeter, Queen's, Lincoln, Corpus, took the opportunity to recast their Statutes and secured for them the Commissioners' approval. But in most cases the Commissioners framed Ordinances, issued in 1857 and 1858, embodying reforms which without some measure of compulsion the Colleges might have proved unwilling to adopt.² These Ordinances generally followed the same lines. The rigid obligations of old College Statutes were abolished, and the ancient oaths annulled. Power to amend Statutes was reserved to Heads and Fellows in future. The rules for Fellowships and Scholarships on different foundations were consolidated. The happy days of privilege and nomination ceased. Inequalities in Fellowships were discouraged, though for some time differences of pay survived, and two hundred pounds was suggested as the proper income for a College Fellow. Superfluous Fellowships were suspended. Scholarships were in some cases increased in number and in value, and their tenure generally fixed at five years. The old preferences of birth and locality, of circumstance and kin, which had so long limited the election of Fellows, were brought to an end. Elections were to go by merit and examinations for Fellowships were made the rule. The obligation to take Orders was to a large extent removed, though some Colleges were careful to preserve a certain proportion of clerical Fellows.³ The number of Fellows, when fixed, was not to be varied without the Visitor's consent. And Colleges were invited to submit to their Visitors from time to time a statement of accounts.

Some of the College Ordinances contained individual points of interest, and imposed charges which it would once have been thought impossible to bear. All Souls was called on to suppress ten Fellowships and to establish two new Chichele Professorships in Modern History and International Law. Incidentally the Archbishop of Canterbury was deprived of a power of making Statutes which had not been invariably well used. At New College the seventy Scholars of Wykeham's foundation were replaced by thirty Fellows and thirty Scholars. Half of the

¹ Ten in all. For details see the Statutes referred to in the *Ordinances and Statutes* framed by the Oxford University Commissioners in pursuance of the Act 17 & 18 Vict. Cap. 81, published in 1863.

² St. John's College declined to accept the Commissioners' Ordinance, and the matter had to be referred to Parliament and to the Privy Council.

³ E.g. University, Oriel, Queen's and Trinity. At Christ Church 9 of the new Senior Students established were to be laymen and 19 clerics. At Magdalen, Worcester and St. John's one-third of the Fellows might be laymen, at Corpus 9 (nearly half), at Jesus 4. At B.N.C. and Exeter the obligation to take Orders was postponed for 10 or 15 years. But all Colleges, no doubt, relied on retaining some clerical Fellows,

Fellowships were reserved for old Winchester boys or New College men: half were in future to be thrown open. The Chaplains were reduced in number. Eight Choral Scholars were created,

“Nec cantare pares, nec respondere parati.”¹

And the College was invited to contribute three hundred pounds a year for each of the Savilian Professors. Magdalen was required to use some of its wealth, ten of its Fellowships, for University purposes, and to maintain, in place of the old Praelectors, four new Waynflete Professors, in Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, in Chemistry, in Mineralogy, and in Physical Geography, at salaries of six hundred a year each.² The Demyships were to be fixed at not less than seventy-five pounds a year, and ten new Demies and twenty Exhibitioners were to be established. But for the additional Demies and for two of the new Chairs the College revenues proved for a time insufficient. The powers of the President also were limited, and he lost his veto on the decisions of College meetings. Corpus again was called on to endow Professors—a Latin Chair worth six hundred a year at once, and a Greek Chair if revenues permitted later. Merton was asked to devote four Fellowships to the endowment of a Linacre Professorship of Physiology. At Queen’s, where the different foundations were consolidated, and the establishment fixed at nineteen Fellowships, two Bible-Clerkships and nineteen Scholarships and Exhibitions, two hundred and seventy pounds a year was reserved for the Sedleian Professor of Natural Philosophy. Christ Church was invited to leave two Canonries vacant, and to substitute for its hundred and one Students twenty-eight Senior and fifty-two Junior Students of a new type, the Seniors to receive two hundred pounds, the Juniors seventy-five pounds a year.³ Two of the Senior Students were

¹ They were abolished in 1866. (See Rashdall and Rait, *New College*, 226.)

² These new Professors were to be elected by the Chancellor and the Visitor and President of Magdalen, reinforced in the first case by the Regius Professors of Divinity and Civil Law, in the second and third cases by the Presidents of the Royal Society and the College of Physicians, and in the last case by the President of the Royal Society and the Astronomer Royal.

³ But the Westminster Students were to be raised ultimately to a much higher figure. It should be added here that the Christ Church Ordinances of Jan. and April 1858 were afterwards recast, and a new scheme, framed by the Primate, Sir J. Coleridge, Sir R. Palmer, Sir W. P. Wood and Mr. E. Twistleton, with substantial amendments, substituted by Act of Parliament in 1867. The new Ordinance, providing for 6 Canonries, mostly annexed to Professorships, and for Senior and Junior Students, Chaplains, etc., is fully set out in the Schedule to that Act (See Shadwell, *Enactments in Parliament*, III, 355 sq.)

to be Lee Readers in Anatomy and Chemistry. Twenty-one of the Juniors were to be Westminster boys, and the rest were to be open Scholars. Private patronage had to give way. The Senior Students, of whom nine might be laymen, and most of the Juniors were to be elected, after examination, by the Dean, the Canons, the Censors and the four senior Tutors. At Jesus the Commissioners, yielding to pressure, reserved practically all the Scholarships for Welshmen, but threw half the Fellowships open. They also asked the College to endow a Professor, but it was some years before this proposal took effect. Both at Jesus and at Worcester four Fellowships were to be suppressed and their endowments utilised for Scholars. Wadham was to reserve a Fellowship for the Reader in Experimental Philosophy, and St. John's, as soon as its Fellowships had been reduced to the necessary standard, was to contribute six hundred a year for a Professor's support. St. John's was also required to replace its old foundation by a scheme which provided for eighteen open Fellowships, five open Scholarships and twenty-eight Scholarships appropriated to the Merchant Taylors' and certain other schools.¹ The Society evinced a strong reluctance to comply with the Commissioners' demands. But while the Colleges might view with concern these encroachments on their ancient and profitable independence, the University, strengthened from College resources, began to come into its own once more. The stimulus given on every side to progress was as important as any specific reforms. Inveterate lovers of the past indeed continued to protest that the wisdom of the ages had been "overthrown by a revolutionary faction."² But in 1868 a shrewder judge declared that the years which included the University Reform Bill had seen "more improvement in the temper and the teaching of Oxford" than the three centuries which went before.³

V

Englishmen have never been unready to make the best of political and social changes, the introduction of which they may have stubbornly opposed. Dr. Pusey was one of the first Professors to be elected to the new Hebdomadal Council. There Dr. Jeune soon discovered that, instead of being "a mere theologian," he was "an admirable man of business," while Pusey on his side discovered that Jeune had an acute and powerful mind, and was "not the sort of man some of our friends have

¹ Twenty-one to Merchant Taylors', two each to Coventry, Bristol and Reading, and one to Tonbridge.

² See the lament of Dr. Philip Bliss, Keeper of the Archives and Principal of St. Mary Hall, a well-loved figure of his day in Oxford (*Reliquiae Hearnianae*, III, 189-91).

³ See Mark Pattison's *Suggestions on Academical Organisation* (24).

thought him." The useful work, which old adversaries could share together, "led by God's mercy to the healing of some wounds of former years."¹ But the religious issues, which the authors of the Reform Bill would fain have avoided, could not be suppressed. Were the Nonconformists, admitted now as undergraduates, to be examined in divinity? Could any form of divinity examination which excluded the doctrines of the Church of England be allowed? Were the new Professors to be required to conform to the Church, to communicate with the Church, or merely to promise to teach nothing detrimental to it? To Pusey any distinction between theological and non-theological Professorships was absurd. "All the sciences moved like planets round the sun of God's Truth." The Act of 1854 and the measures supplementing it² proved ere long to have no finality. Alike in the University and in the country the demand for the abolition of tests increased. Repeated petitions came up from Oxford and Cambridge, signed by names which carried weight.³ In 1863 Mr. Gladstone still thought that the government of the University must be kept in the hands of the Church, while Lord Robert Cecil declared that to abolish tests would be to abolish the Universities altogether. In 1864 the opposition to change was still strong. Mr. Gladstone would still confine membership of Convocation to churchmen. But in 1865 he ceased to be Member for the University. The breaking of a tie so old and dear was "very short and sharp." He accepted it with deep sorrow, "leavened perhaps with pride." But from Oxford and her children, he wrote, he was overwhelmed with kindness:

"Forebode not any severing of our loves."

¹ See Pusey's *Life* (III, 405).

² For these Statutes, 18 & 19 Vict. Cap. 36, 19 & 20 Vict. Cap. 31, 19 & 20 Vict. Cap. 95, 21 & 22 Vict. Cap. 44, 23 & 24 Vict. Cap. 59—these three dealing with College powers to sell and lease lands—20 & 21 Vict. Cap. 25, continuing the power of the Commissioners, 22 & 23 Vict. Cap. 19, repealing the ancient obligation imposed on the Mayor and citizens of Oxford by "His late Majesty King Henry the Third" to take an oath to preserve the liberties of the University, 23 Vict. Cap. 23, 23 & 24 Vict. Cap. 91, 24 & 25 Vict. Cap. 53 and 31 & 32 Vict. Cap. 65—both dealing with the use of voting papers in electing University Burgesses—25 & 26 Vict. Cap. 26, to extend the University's power of making Statutes, 30 & 31 Vict. Cap. 76, on Christ Church Ordinances, and 34 Vict. Cap. 23, on Ewelme Rectory, see *Enactments in Parliament* (III, pp. 187-8, 189-92, 217-19, 247-78, 301-11, 241-5, 291-5, 297-300, 311-13, 316-20, 382-4, 323-8, 355-79, and IV, 13-14).

³ The Oxford petition of 1863 was signed by 106 College Heads, Professors, Fellows and others, and in 1868 there were petitions from 80 academic residents of standing and from 123 non-resident Fellows and ex-Fellows (Brodrick, *University of Oxford*, 198).

And many friends of the Church in Oxford realised that they had deprived themselves of the services of the only man strong enough to save her monopoly there. In the same year Mr. Goschen, already a distinguished figure in Parliament, took charge of a Bill intended to throw open all but theological degrees.¹ Mr. Gladstone thought the demand aggressive and was sure it could not pass. He would "rather see Oxford level with the ground, than its religion regulated in the manner which would please Bishop Colenso."² But the pressure steadily grew. The flowing tide of liberal opinion was strongly in favour of the change. Dean Liddell held the objections to be in practice negligible. Sir John Coleridge, the Solicitor-General in Mr. Gladstone's Government, again introduced a private Bill removing tests. Mr. Gladstone still felt that the work was for others and not for him. But at last in 1871 he agreed to support it as a Government measure, and in spite of some protests in the House of Lords the University Tests Act passed successfully through Parliament. Except for theological degrees and Professorships, every man at Oxford was to be free to take degrees and to hold office without subscribing any article or formulary of faith. He need not make any declaration of religious belief, or attend any form of public worship, or belong to any specified church or denomination. The religious services and the religious instruction of Oxford were preserved. But no person was to be compelled to attend any lecture to which he objected on religious grounds.³ The change, though long expected, was profound. To Pusey and those who thought with him it meant that Oxford was "lost to the Church of England," that the last dam was carried away.⁴ But to others like Stanley it was a charter of emancipation. The pulpit of St. Mary's rang with his appeal to the Spirit of Peace and Holiness, to make Oxford, so long the battle-field of contending religious factions, in future a sacred and a neutral ground.

"Come from the ages that are dead and buried and from the ages that are yet in store for us, and breathe into these heirs of all the ages the mind to understand, and the heart to love, and the will to do what is right. 'And they shall stand on their feet, an exceeding great army, who shall follow Him that is called Faithful and True, who was dead and is alive for evermore.'"⁵

¹ The Bill had all but passed in 1864. (See Elliot's *Life of Lord Goschen*, I, 61-4.)

² See Morley's *Life of Gladstone* (II, 313).

³ For the Act of 1871 (34 Vict. Cap. 26) removing religious tests in the Universities see *Enactments in Parliament* (IV, 14-18).

⁴ See Dr. Pusey's language in March 1855 (*Life*, III, 408).

⁵ See for Dean Stanley's sermon of 25 February 1872 Jowett's *Life* (II, 25).

But it was hardly possible for that generation to lay aside in a moment the deep-seated prepossessions and estrangements of the past.

The year that saw the tests removed saw proposals for another Commission set on foot. The House of Commons, wrote Mark Pattison, had "only touched the ark of our property with half a heart." And in October 1871 Mr. Gladstone wrote to the two Vice-Chancellors, pointing out the need of a complete inquiry into the revenues and property of Oxford and Cambridge. He suggested either a Statutory Commission or a Royal Commission which could count on receiving "the free and full assistance of the Universities and Colleges themselves." On this point the requisite assurances of support were forthcoming, and in February 1872 the Duke of Cleveland was able to announce his appointment as Chairman of a new Commission.¹ A long series of questions was prepared in regard to property and income, and the uses to which they were applied. The questions, to be answered by University and College officials, ranged over a great variety of subjects. Every detail in regard to estates and endowments was laid bare. Every detail of College expenditure was asked for, Fellows' emoluments, officers' salaries, tradesmen's bills. Forms of Return were agreed on after some discussion with College Heads and Bursars. The co-operation of the authorities was generally secured.² Times had changed since the interference of the first Commissioners startled the academic world. And in launching the new inquiry the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford—Liddell, a member of the earlier Commission, had returned as Dean to Christ Church in 1855—proved to be a helpful and a reconciling force. Once the initial difficulties were settled and the basis of the Returns approved, the work of the Commissioners consisted chiefly in the collection and arrangement of a mass of statistics. In a brief Report, published in 1874,³ they classified under six heads⁴ the property which the

¹ His colleagues were Lord Frederick Cavendish, Lord Clinton, Mr. J. W. Strutt (afterwards Lord Rayleigh), Dr. Bateson (Master of St. John's College, Cambridge), Professor Bartholomew Price of Oxford and Mr. K. D. Hodgson.

² But New College made some difficulties about its returns, and at Cambridge the Master of Sidney Sussex caused trouble by refusing to give the information desired.

³ The Report occupies only 15 pages of vol. I. But there are three volumes of evidence, tables and figures. Vol. III is occupied with returns from Cambridge.

⁴ The 6 heads were (1) Lands, (2) House Property, (3) Tithe Rentcharges, (4) Other Rentcharges, such as fee farm rents and fixed charges, (5) Stocks, shares and other securities, (6) Receipts from fines, timber, minerals, etc. (*Report* I, 25-6). The University's rentcharges amounted to £1,224, those of the Colleges exceeded £83,000 (*Ib.* 28).

Universities possessed, examined and condemned the system of beneficial leases,¹ explained the situation created by the University and College Estates Acts of 1858 and 1860, and proceeded to set forth the income and expenditure of the Universities and Colleges in 1871. They found that the University of Oxford possessed seven thousand, six hundred and eighty-three acres and the Colleges and Halls of Oxford one hundred and eighty-four thousand, seven hundred and sixty-four. The land was almost all let on beneficial leases, or as copyhold and leasehold for lives, or at rackrent.² Of the wealthier Colleges they credited Christ Church with nearly thirty thousand acres and Magdalen with twenty-seven thousand. Both Corpus and New College had seventeen thousand, Merton twelve thousand, Queen's, All Souls and St. John's ten thousand acres each.³ The total income of the University they placed at forty-seven thousand pounds, and the total income of the Colleges and Halls at three hundred and sixty-six thousand. This included not only receipts from property,⁴ but "internal" receipts from University charges, College rents and dues and fees.⁵ They pointed out that in some of the poorer Colleges internal receipts were a very important consideration, and that in the case of the Halls they replaced endowments.⁶ Tuition fees, which were generally as low as twenty-one pounds a year, brought in some thirty thousand

¹ "Its distinctive feature is this, that only a small part, in most cases only a nominal part, of the annual value of the property leased is represented in the form of yearly rent, the remainder being paid for by the lessee in the way of fine, foregift, or premium, and that at fixed periods *in anticipation* of the term in respect of which this peculiar payment is made" (*Report I*, 26).

² But by far the greater part at rackrent. The University's land was situated in Kent, Somerset, Essex, Leicestershire, Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Durham and Gloucestershire. Its house property, all in Oxford, was let on beneficial leases, or at rackrent, or on building leases not exceeding 99 years under the Estates Act of 1858. (See *Report*, I, 27, and II, 3-7.)

³ But Trinity and Exeter had only some 2,000 acres each, and Balliol some 3,000 (*Ib.* I, 199).

⁴ The receipts from property alone were for the University £29,000 and for the Colleges and Halls £280,000—excluding loans. I use round figures. (See *Report*, I, 29.) The Report does not include the income and expenditure of Keble College, which had no endowment and which was still "in an inchoate state." But the Keble accounts showed a profit of £502 for 1873 (*Ib.* I, 31). Hertford College was not constituted till 1874.

⁵ The internal income of the Colleges varied greatly. Exeter raised in this way much more than its endowments. Christ Church raised £10,000, Magdalen little over £1,000 (*Ib.* I, 200).

⁶ The Halls were not incorporated and could not hold property, but certain endowments were held in trust by the University for them (*Ib.* I, 31).



OXFORD FROM THE WEST
From the painting by Peter de Wint

pounds altogether, and formed by far the greater part of the Tutors' and Lecturers' pay. And they drew up a table of College revenues in which Christ Church with fifty-seven thousand pounds of income, Magdalen with thirty-nine thousand and New College with thirty-one thousand headed the list. St. John's came next with practically twenty-five thousand, and then Merton and All Souls with nineteen thousand each.¹

The Commissioners also analysed in detail the accounts of academic expenditure in 1871. They estimated the total disbursements of the University at forty-three thousand pounds, and those of the Colleges and Halls at three hundred and sixty-nine thousand.² The University expenditure showed that some three thousand pounds a year went to University Officers. Over three thousand was allotted to the Bodleian, in addition to its endowment of two thousand nine hundred, and some two thousand to the Science Museum.³ The University also contributed to the upkeep of the Ashmolean, of the University Galleries and of the University Park. For the Park it had recently bought and laid out ninety-six acres in North Oxford, and on the new Museum and its buildings it had spent sixty-two thousand by the end of May 1866. It made substantial payments also to Professors, Lecturers and Examiners.⁴ But of twenty-five thousand pounds⁵ paid in 1871 to Professors and Readers, no less than fourteen thousand was attributed to College sources.⁶ And of the fifty-one Professors and Readers enumerated nine were then receiving over eight hundred pounds each, and ten others between five hundred and eight hundred a year.

The College expenditure was on a larger scale and contained some interesting details. The Commissioners found that College property was economically managed: little was paid to College Bursars and nothing generally to College Heads for this work. They avoided expressing a definite opinion on the condition of College lands and cottages, but they noted the smallness of

¹ Oriel and Queen's were credited with £17,000 each, Corpus with £16,000, Jesus with £15,000, Brasenose and University with £14,000 each. Balliol had under £11,000. Trinity, another successful College, little over £6,000. These figures do not include tuition fees (*Ib.* I, 200).

² This includes certain sums set aside for investments and balances.

³ The figure £1,916 given on pp. 45 and 198 of vol. I of the Report does not quite tally with the figures given on p. 47. But the latter may include some contribution from trust funds.

⁴ Compare the figures on pp. 46-7 and 198 of vol. I of the Report.

⁵ Strictly £24,925 (*Ib.* I, 47).

⁶ Of which £7,500 came from Canonries at Christ Church, annexed to the Chairs of Divinity (2), Hebrew, Pastoral Theology and Ecclesiastical History.

losses and the absence of arrears. There appeared to be room for some improvements in the keeping of accounts. And there were some cases where the marked disparity between the income of a College and the number of its members led to a disproportionate expenditure on establishment and staff. A general survey showed that the Heads of the nineteen Oxford Colleges received altogether some thirty thousand pounds, the Fellows a hundred and one thousand, and the Scholars and Exhibitioners twenty-six thousand.¹ Four times as much, said the critics, was spent on rewarding academical success as in aiding young learners. The emoluments of College Heads varied rather widely. The Master of Balliol and the President of Trinity drew little over nine hundred pounds a year, and the Provost of Queen's rather less. But to the Dean of Christ Church three thousand was allotted, and to the Heads of Magdalen, Oriel and New College between two and three thousand each.² The President of St. John's and the Principal of Jesus had incomes of eighteen hundred, the remaining Heads incomes varying from eleven to sixteen hundred pounds. The Principal of Magdalen Hall with an income of eleven hundred and forty-five pounds was the best paid of the Principals of Halls.³ Christ Church supplied fourteen thousand a year for its Canons and Senior Students, Magdalen twelve thousand a year for its Fellows, St. John's and New College nine thousand each. But neither Balliol nor Trinity could afford much more than two thousand a year as endowments for its Dons. The richest provision for Scholarships was offered by Christ Church, Jesus, Queen's, Magdalen and New College.⁴ The contributions made from College resources towards University Professorships were already substantial. All Souls gave almost seventeen hundred a year. Magdalen and Corpus were said to give twelve hundred each, Merton some seven or eight hundred, Christ Church some five or six hundred besides five Canonries.⁵ The contributions made for the upkeep of College Chapels also varied greatly. New College spent two thousand a year on its Chapel, Magdalen seventeen or eighteen hundred pounds, St. John's and Queen's

¹ "Out of the corporate income of the Colleges" (*Report* I, 34).

² The income at Oriel included a Canonry at Rochester and a Rectory at Purleigh. The Canonry was severed from the Provostship and attached to a Professorship in 1882.

³ The Principal of St. Edmund Hall drew over £1,000, the Principal of St. Alban Hall only £148 (*Report*, 1874, I, 201).

⁴ They varied from over £5,000 to a little over £3,000. Balliol, with £2,900 a year for Scholarships and Exhibitions, came next to New College (*Ib.* I, 201-2).

⁵ These at least are the figures given for 1871 on p. 201 of the Report of 1874.

over four hundred each.¹ But Balliol seems in 1871 to have contented itself with sixty-five pounds, Brasenose with thirty-one pounds, Oriel with only eight.²

The Commissioners' tables serve to remind us how widely the circumstances of the Colleges differed. Christ Church with its great wealth and its peculiar constitution stood on another footing from the rest. It maintained a hundred and forty-five undergraduates and contributed effectively to Professorial teaching. All Souls, on the other hand, with its revenue of nineteen thousand pounds, maintained only four Bible clerks besides its Fellows, and could well afford to find for Professors nearly seventeen hundred a year. Balliol, with as many undergraduates paying tuition fees as Christ Church, had only ten or eleven thousand pounds of income to rely on; and Trinity, another vigorous and growing College, had little more than six thousand pounds a year for its seventy-five undergraduates and its efficient staff. New College again had the same number of undergraduates as Trinity, but an income nearly five times as large.³ Jesus, with fifteen thousand a year, numbered at most forty-five undergraduates, while Exeter, with much the same total resources, maintained a hundred and seventy or more. St. John's and Magdalen, with sixty-three Fellows between them and united revenues of sixty-four or sixty-five thousand pounds, were responsible for fewer undergraduates than Exeter alone.⁴ It was obvious that the education of undergraduates was not regarded as the most important charge upon College finance. The poorer Colleges could not be expected to contribute to Professorial teaching. But it was noticeable that St. John's, with an income of nearly twenty-five thousand, still subscribed nothing for this purpose, while New College still contributed less than three hundred pounds.⁵ Fellowships generally in 1871 yielded something between two hundred and three hundred a year. They were being cut down, but a good many of them were still worth with allowances over three hundred pounds.

¹ The expenditure of Christ Church on the Cathedral was as much as £2,679 in 1871.

² Out of trust funds, however, Oriel found an additional £4 6s. for an Easter Preacher (*Ib.* I, 66).

³ It should be added that the figures for undergraduates given in Table B, p. 200 of this Report, are figures for undergraduates paying tuition fees.

⁴ St. John's had 54 and Magdalen 91. Brasenose and Queen's had the largest number after Exeter, Christ Church and Balliol. Merton, with £19,000 a year, had 54, Oriel, with £17,000, 49. From all these statements of income fees paid for tuition are left out.

⁵ Only £295, in 1871, according to the Table given on p. 201 of the Report.

And there were fortunate survivals, at Magdalen and St. John's especially, where the figures rose a good deal higher. It could hardly be said that individual Fellows often absorbed too large a share of College funds. But it was clearly a question whether certain Colleges did not maintain more Fellows than their services to the community required. With a self-restraint almost amounting to self-effacement the Commissioners forbore to draw from the mass of statistics collected any definite conclusions as to the use or misuse of academic wealth. But the Report must have confirmed the popular impression that it was possible to employ in the active work of education a far larger proportion of the revenues expended in maintaining the comfort and seclusion of Oxford life.

When this opinion took shape in legislation, Mr. Gladstone's Government was out of office. And it is significant of the changed attitude towards University reform that a Conservative Administration found it possible to carry on Mr. Gladstone's work. Lord Salisbury, who had been elected Chancellor of Oxford on the death of Lord Derby in 1869, and who valued the distinction perhaps more than any of his dignities, took a prominent part in the new legislation. His outspoken criticism of "idle" Fellowships was not allowed to pass without challenge. But he proved a powerful advocate of the policy of diverting more Collegiate revenues to University objects, of enlarging the field of University studies and of promoting the interests of science and research. Commissions and Parliament had done much to improve the old system, to abolish privilege, to encourage intellectual competition. The new method of University Government had on the whole worked well. But able critics like Mark Pattison and Goldwin Smith urged the wisdom of confining membership of Congregation to those engaged in teaching, as Mr. Gladstone had originally proposed. It was evident that Congregation needed larger powers to debate and amend the propositions brought before it. It might even be advisable to abolish the legislative powers of Convocation.¹ The attempts to provide for poorer students outside the Colleges had met with only moderate encouragement. The University had adopted the principle, but the scheme for Private Halls had, except in one or two cases, made little way.² The provision for educating

¹ See M. Pattison's *Suggestions on Academical Organisation* (1868) and G. Smith's *Elections to the Hebdomadal Council* (1866) and *Reorganization of the University of Oxford* (1868).

² Mr. Cox mentions Litton Hall, the "Aula Privata Magistri Butler" and a larger scheme proposed by Magdalen College (*Recollections*, 373, 382, 391). But Charsley Hall was more successful, and Balliol Hall was presently established in St. Giles' under the charge of Mr. T. H. Green.

Unattached Students, though Mark Pattison had no doubt of the value of the experiment, was still inadequate and meagre.¹ Studies were expanding, but they needed to be thoroughly reorganised. Oxford training, Pattison urged, in the shrewd and searching examination of the whole system which he published in 1868, was, as education merely, unbeaten in Europe. But it was not science, and it was not knowledge: it was only the instrument, the preparatory stage. A graduated Professoriate was needed—his views had been modified since the first Commission sat. Oxford Professors must not be only Professors of teaching; they must be Professors of learning too. Compared with some foreign Universities, with the University of Berlin for example, Oxford was in many subjects gravely under-staffed.² Oxford endowments needed to be redistributed.³ Research was neglected. Theology was still over-endowed.⁴ Science and other subjects were under-valued. Boards and Faculties were needed to develop studies.⁵ Pass degrees should be abolished: they were merely evidence that a young man could afford "to live three years among gentlemen, doing nothing, as a gentleman should." For Honours the classical monopoly, or what remained of it, would have to go. College Fellows must be allowed to marry: some existing College buildings might even be appropriated to married Fellows. Professors and College Tutors had still to determine their relations to each other. College Heads were still left without fixed duties. Academic interests at Oxford were still sacrificed to political and ecclesiastical considerations. Few unbiassed observers could doubt that there was room for a fresh instalment of University reform.

Nevertheless the first Bill on the subject, introduced by Lord Salisbury in 1876, did not meet with unanimous approval. It was obviously intended to put down sinecures and to benefit the University at the Colleges' expense, and it roused the opposition of some distinguished men. Archbishop Tait, Mr. Lowe and Mr. Goschen defended Prize Fellowships as valuable things.

¹ See the *Minutes of Evidence* given before the Commissioners of 1877-78 and published in 1881 (pp. 1-2, 14, 43, 153, 160, etc.). The Statute enabling students to live out of Colleges dates from 1868.

² See Pattison's *Suggestions* (174-90). See also, on other points, pp. 80, 97, 155, 157, 161-73, 210, 261, etc.

³ An interesting table in Mr. Pattison's book (*Ib.* 107) estimates that in 1868 £3,000 went to teachers of theology, £5,400 to teachers of science, £4,000 to teachers of philology, £3,500 to teachers of history and philosophy, and £2,200 to teachers of law.

⁴ This was the view of Mr. Goldwin Smith.

⁵ Various Boards of Studies to supervise examinations were established by the University in 1871-72, and four Faculties, of Theology, Law, Arts, and Natural Science, were established by the Commission which followed. (See the Commissioners' *Statutes of 1882*, p. 47.)

Lowe declared that every farthing diverted from the Colleges to the University would be diverted from the encouragement of learning for the benefit of laziness. The University of Oxford educated nobody at all. The Bill of that year failed to pass. But observers like James Bryce predicted that its general plan would be accepted, and that, from the point of view of the reformers, it was a much better plan than they might have expected. Bryce agreed with its authors in condemning unnecessary Fellowships. He pointed out the waste involved in maintaining in each College an independent teaching staff. He was convinced that educational work at Oxford must be built on something wider than a College basis. He insisted that Parliament should leave all details for Commissioners to settle—all questions of the tenure and conditions of Headships and Fellowships, of the management of College property, of providing for lectures, teaching and research. They would be compelled to propose a comprehensive scheme to reorganise University education; and that in turn would involve the reform of every College.¹ In the following year Lord Salisbury's proposals met with more success. And in the Act of 1877 Parliament took another long step in the process of adjusting the teaching and endowments of Oxford to what were believed to be educational demands.

VI

The Act made no disguise of its intention to utilise College revenues for University education, and to alter materially the conditions on which Fellowships were held. It appointed seven Commissioners for Oxford, under the chairmanship of Lord Selborne,² with large executive powers, to continue till the end of 1880, or, if need be, till the end of 1881. The principle of religious equality laid down in the recent Tests Act was confirmed: but churchmen had no reason to fear that a Commission appointed by Lord Salisbury and presided over by Lord Selborne would be in any sense unfriendly to the interests of the Church. Until the end of 1878 the University and the Colleges were to enjoy, subject to the Commissioners' approval, any power of altering their Statutes which the Commissioners possessed. But after that date the Commissioners might make Statutes for both University and Colleges, having regard alike to the main designs

¹ See Prof. Bryce's article, *A Few Words on the Oxford University Bill*, in the *Fortnightly Review* for May 1876.

² The other six were Lord Redesdale, Mr. Mountague Bernard, Mr. Justice Grove, Dr. Bellamy (President of St. John's), Professor Henry J. S. Smith, and Mr. M. W. Ridley. They were generally regarded as a happy selection.

of Founders and to the interests of education, learning and research. Before the Commissioners approved or altered any Statutes made by Colleges, they were to publish a statement of the chief purposes for which they proposed to make provision under the Act, the sources from which funds for those purposes should be obtained, and the principles on which College payments for those purposes should be made. The objects of the new Statutes to be framed were widely stated. The work of the new Commissioners, as of the older Commissioners, would be, it was clear, two-fold, the expansion of teaching, to include new subjects of study, and the expansion of the University, to include as far as possible poor men. To attach College revenues to University uses, to create out of College contributions a common University fund, to alter the terms, conditions and emoluments of University and College offices, to modify trusts, to suspend, convert, consolidate endowments, to create new buildings, to found new scholarships and prizes, to diminish the expenses of University life—these were among the comprehensive aims set forth. The Commissioners were to arrange for a better system of accounts, for the union, when desirable, of Colleges and Halls, for a combined educational system in which different Colleges might join. But they were bound to communicate their proposals for new University Statutes to the Hebdomadal Council first, and to take the Council's views into consideration. And, when recasting the Statutes of a College, they were bound, not only to give notice of their intention, but to associate with themselves, as Commissioners for the time being, three representatives of the College concerned.¹ A right of appeal against any Statute of the Commissioners was given to those affected; and for this purpose a Universities Committee of the Privy Council was established,² with power to disallow any Statute or any part of it, if they thought fit.³ Statutes or Ordinances made by the Commissioners could be altered after the expiry of their powers, but only by University or College Statutes made under the provisions of the Act.⁴

¹ Or the Principal in the case of a Hall. Schools whose rights were affected by new Statutes were also given certain safeguards for their protection. See Clauses XXXIX to XLIII of the Act.

² The Committee was to include the President of the Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor and the Chancellor of the University (if a Privy Councillor).

³ Statutes not petitioned against and disapproved by the Universities Committee were laid before Parliament, and passed into law unless an address was carried to disallow them.

⁴ And subject to the assent of the Privy Council and of Parliament. The provisions of the Act of 1877, 40 & 41 Vict. Cap. 48, are conveniently set out in Shadwell's *Enactments in Parliament* (III, 65 to 92).

Mr. Bryce was justified in thinking that Lord Salisbury's measure would entail large and comprehensive reforms. The evidence offered to the Commissioners in 1877-78 showed that several of the problems which had puzzled their predecessors still remained. New Professorships and Readerships were suggested in all kinds of subjects, in English Literature, Comparative Philology, Classical Archæology, Applied Mechanics, in Physical Science, Chemistry, Biology, Pathology, while Dr. Liddon and Dr. Pusey led the demand for more Theological Chairs. The old difficulty of combining an efficient Professorial system with the established system of College teaching was as far from settlement as ever. But more than one witness urged the appointment of University Readers, to act as a link between Tutors and Professors and to absorb perhaps the higher forms of College teaching. Professors and Readers might be appointed for a limited term of years. Some pleaded that the Professors at Oxford were not given a fair chance. "You pay professors to make bricks and you do not give them straw."¹ The control of teaching by the Colleges was as pronounced as of old, and the combination of certain Colleges for purposes of lectures,² started by Laing of Corpus, Shadwell of Oriel, Creighton of Merton and Talbot afterwards Warden of Keble, was beginning to work well. But the arrangement of the combined schemes was often defective, and they tended unconsciously to oust the Professors even more than before. Professor Fowler of Corpus, an experienced College Tutor, thought that College teaching was often immature and too ambitious. He would transfer most of the higher teaching from the Colleges to the University: Oxford and Cambridge were the only Universities in the world which did not insist on attendance at Professorial lectures. The Tutors enjoyed the strongest protection, the Professors had none. He would use Professors mainly for learning and research, University Readers for the purposes of higher teaching. But in Oxford the profession required to be organised. "Except accidentally" there was "no career whatever" for a teacher there. Posts like the Headships of Colleges might be made to serve the purposes of education. That was a point which the earlier Commission had ignored.³

Mr. Goldwin Smith, on the other hand, who had been a distinguished Professor, and who was certainly no blind supporter of the past, thought that a good College Lecturer could teach

¹ See Prof. Montagu Burrows' statement in the *Minutes of Evidence*, 1881 (p. 48). And for other evidence on this large question see the same volume (pp. 16-18, 74, 92, etc.).

² For the origin of this see Mr. R. Laing's evidence (*Ib.* p. 80).

³ For Dr. Fowler's views see the *Minutes of Evidence*, 1881 (92-7).

modern history better than a Professor, and was inclined to relegate Professors to Physical Science and research. Dr. Bradley, the Master of University, was a strong believer in the College system,¹ and Dr. Bright, who was soon to succeed him, thought Collegiate teaching useful for young men, while admitting its want of elevation and learning. But Professor Bonamy Price was sure that a graduated teaching profession was required. Oxford was for teaching purposes "the worst organised teaching institution in the whole world." He would have all teaching provided by the University, and all payments for teachers paid into a common fund. Mr. Thorold Rogers of Worcester was even more emphatic in his censures. He declared that the Colleges had exterminated the free teachers, and were starving the higher studies.² The College teachers ought to be reserved for Pass men. As things were they monopolised the teaching, and the more they married the more the higher teaching would be lowered. Public opinion in Oxford was dead. If a Professor neglected his duties, it was treated as a joke. There had been no research in the University since the days of William III. Politics and theology dominated University life. To men who had studied abroad the Oxford system seemed singular and faulty. If you have Professors, Max Müller insisted, you should assign definite rights and duties to them. He agreed with Jowett, who had laid it down as a principle that a Professor ought to have some pupils. But at Oxford, if the whole Professoriate were abolished, the results in examination would be just the same. Young men were warned against Professorial lectures because they did not pay. A teaching system ought to be organised in which the College Tutor would have his chances of advancement and the Professor his legitimate place. The interests of both should be considered. The functions of each should be better defined. He would make the Professors into teachers, the Tutors into guardians and guides. Education in a German University was for a student a source of keen interest and enjoyment. A man could choose his own teachers, and naturally went to the best he could find.³ Mr. Macan of Christ Church, who had also studied in Germany, contrasted the two ideals of supervision and freedom. He urged that in Oxford Professorial teaching had no fair chance of success.

"The Professors are called on to teach in the grand style, but there are no students in the grand style to attend their lectures."⁴

The University, not the Colleges, ought to give the higher teaching. Advanced students should have more liberty to select their

¹ *Ib.* (105, 125-6).

² *Ib.* (121-3, 168).

³ *Ib.* (208-13).

⁴ *Ib.* (303).

teachers for themselves. At Oxford readers of philosophy were thrown to the mercy of this man or that. Readers of Hebrew could learn it only from an English clergyman. All had to pass a compulsory examination in the rudiments of faith and religion, with little advantage to knowledge, character or belief. Mr. Ray Lankester wanted to recognise all teachers as University teachers, to establish an alliance between the University and the Colleges, to bring Professors, Tutors, Lecturers together upon Boards of Studies, to group them in Faculties according to the subjects taught.¹ And while the Rector of Lincoln grimly deplored the decay of Oxford learning, the slavery of examinations, the "gold fever" for academic prizes, the absence of contact with superior minds,² voices from Balliol, more practically helpful, pointed again to a combination of University with College teaching as the obvious solution of the problem. But it was a solution easier to advise than to achieve. You must try to harmonise the two systems, Jowett pleaded, if they are to go on existing side by side. Make your Professors members of Colleges and useful to the students. Find them a place in the College system. Identify the Tutors with the Professors. Let College Tutorships lead to University Readerships and Professorships as the natural prizes of the educational career.³ R. L. Nettleship, Strachan-Davidson, T. H. Green concurred in these conclusions.⁴ University Readerships, held for a term of years, might well be made a link between the rival systems, and help towards the combination needed. Green alone seems to have suggested that the proper function of Professors was to teach advanced students who had taken their degrees.

Witnesses well worth attention⁵ spoke of the need of remodeling studies, of reviving the old Faculties, of developing the Boards of Studies which existed, of doing something to lessen the pressure of examination. Research had its advocates, but the weight of opinion was rather against life-endowments for research and in favour of temporary appointments for special pieces of work. Modern subjects also had their advocates. More might be done to develop the Taylorian Institute. For seven years past the four teachers of languages there had had less than forty students between them to teach.⁶ More also could be done for chemical studies, if there were sufficient laboratories in which the men could work. Monier Williams pleaded for an Indian or Oriental Institute; candidates for the Indian

¹ *Evidence* (337-9).

² *Ib.* (255-7).

³ *Ib.* (156-7).

⁴ *Ib.* (224-5, 234-5, 201-5).

⁵ E.g. J. R. Thursfield of Jesus (*Ib.* 116-17), R. L. Nettleship (*Ib.* 225-6), and E. R. Lankester, noted above.

⁶ *Ib.* (165).

Civil Service were being drawn to Oxford ; students from India had appeared there already. "Of course they may have this Indian Institute," said Dr. Pusey with undisguised acerbity. "I only object to a heathen being the teacher of our young men." Under the late Act there had been "no reason whatever why any one student should not be an atheist."¹ The claims of Medicine were set forth by Dr. Acland with a moderation to which some medical men demurred. He wished to use the University to develop the scientific side of medicine, the scientific preparation for it, as thoroughly as might be. But he believed that in Oxford there was no sufficient opportunity for developing its practical side. Able witnesses like Ray Lankester and Dr. Payne could see no objection to the development of a great practical School of Medicine in Oxford, and indeed thought such a development essential if Acland's scheme of scientific education in Medicine was to prosper.² But the less ambitious view of Dr. Acland finally prevailed.

Other men of science came forward with demands for more Fellowships, for better apparatus, for better lecture-rooms. The need of more space for the University to work in was emphasised with a force which no Commission could withstand. The Vice-Chancellor began by insisting that the University must have more accommodation for its teaching and its business. Professor Bryce, who lectured in a wretched, noisy, uncomfortable room at the top of the Clarendon Building, could not find any satisfactory quarters. Other Professors had to go round begging for a lecture-room. The University needed not only rooms for teachers—sixteen lecture-rooms was Jowett's demand—but new buildings and offices for all kinds of purposes, for College students, for the Unattached. The development of the Non-Collegiate system made slow progress. Perhaps it had never been treated on sufficiently broad lines. Jowett and his supporters at Balliol were always advocating the claims of poor students and suggesting schemes on their behalf. But the Elizabethan tradition was hard to break down. The lodging-houses were still looked at askance, and the new Private Halls had made no great mark in Oxford. Only two Tutors had been appointed for the whole Non-Collegiate body,³ and these only helped their pupils up to Moderations. After that they had to find tuition for themselves. Jowett urged that Tutors should be provided for every twenty-five or thirty students and paid for out of University funds. He wished to give the Unattached men also their fair share of

¹ *Ib.* (298-9).

² *Ib.* (181-5, 341-2, 346-52).

³ The total number of Unattached students about 1877 is differently given by different witnesses. But their own Censors put it at 275 (*Ib.* p. 160).

Scholarships and lectures, a hall, a Library, a meeting-place of their own. So far as cheap living was concerned, it seemed that they had solved the problem. Many were able to find lodgings in the suburbs for payments of eight to twelve shillings a week, and the lodgings were admitted to be free from the evils which critics of the system had been too ready to expect.¹ Meanwhile the old Halls languished. Strong evidence was forthcoming to show that their day was over.

"Societies must suffer in reputation," said the Principal of St. Mary Hall, "when they are habitually viewed as the legitimate refuge of those who, from whatever causes, are deemed unfit to be retained elsewhere."²

The Halls, it was urged, suffered gravely from poverty. They should be either endowed or suppressed. St. Edmund Hall stood on a different footing from the others. It had established a valuable tradition, and had shown how much could be done to reduce the cost of College life. But there seemed to be strong grounds for merging St. Alban Hall in Merton and St. Mary Hall in Oriel. New Inn Hall, Dr. Chase thought, might be sold with advantage, and the proceeds used for the benefit of the Hall of which he was the Head.³

Among these various and divided counsels the Commissioners took their way. The Statutes issued by them in the years which followed⁴ adopted many of the suggestions offered them and effected large changes in Oxford life. For finance a Common University Fund was created, to which Colleges were required to contribute according to their means.⁵ A special Delegacy⁶ was appointed to administer these new resources, out of which Professors, Readers, Lecturers and specialists might be endowed. Certain University funds were thus set free, for the maintenance of buildings and for other objects. Careful rules were formulated

¹ *Evidence* (164). But the general idea, as Sir C. Firth has pointed out to me, was to adapt College machinery to Non-Collegiate purposes rather than to handle the Non-Collegiate problem, as it might have been handled in Scottish or foreign Universities, on University lines.

² *Ib.* (38).

³ Unless St. Mary Hall were merged in Oriel.

⁴ See the *Statutes made by the University of Oxford Commissioners* in pursuance of the Act of 1877, published in 1882. A small number of *Supplementary Statutes* were published in 1888.

⁵ The graduated system adopted at Oxford was more satisfactory than the flat rate adopted at Cambridge. The charge at Oxford in most cases began with two per cent. on the total net revenue.

⁶ Consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, 10 members of Convocation (nominated half by the Hebdomadal Council and half by Congregation), and one member nominated by each of the Boards of Faculties. (See *Statutes of* 1882, p. 116.)

for the keeping and publication of University and College accounts. And a sum of a thousand pounds a year was set apart for the benefit of Unattached students.¹ In the election of Professors and Examiners Boards or Committees, already to some extent adopted, were substituted for the older methods of election, to which some suspicion of favouritism clung.² For the regulation of studies four Faculties were established, in Theology, Law, Arts, and Natural Science,³ with Boards charged to prepare and publish schemes of lectures and to include the Professors in their plans. For research, owing in part to the failure of funds which it was thought would be forthcoming, the provision made was less adequate than some had hoped. New ordinances were issued for Professorships and Readerships in a great variety of subjects, Law, Science, Logic, History, Literature, Language, Philology, Archæology, and the Interpretation of Scripture.⁴ The Readers, it was proposed, should be appointed for five years. The wealthier Colleges were called on to contribute freely to the support of new Chairs. Professorial lectures were generally thrown open without payment. But while it was made obligatory for Professors to lecture, it was not made obligatory for students to attend. Little was done to interfere with the College monopoly of education, to bring Professors, Tutors, Lecturers into one great educational system, to dispel the tradition which regarded the Professor as something outside the teaching for the Schools. Yet the Professors were tied down to give a definite, even an excessive, number of lectures every year. Recollections of eighteenth century Oxford probably suggested the proviso. But a wiser liberality left the University of Cambridge free to settle that point for itself.⁵

¹ After 1883 the Curators of the University Chest were to pay £400 a year for a Censor or Censors, and £600 a year for Tutors, Lecturers and Scholarships, for the Unattached (*Ib.* 134-5).

² Mark Pattison gives a useful list of the Chairs existing, and the methods of election to them, in 1868 (*Academical Organisation*, 213-14).

³ Arts and Natural Science might be subdivided. In 1885 the Faculty of Arts was divided into three, one for *Literae Humaniores*, one for Oriental Languages, and one for Modern History, and the Faculty of Natural Science into two, one for Medicine and one for Natural Science. The Boards were to consist of *ex officio* Professors and Readers and of Members of Convocation elected by authorised teachers in the subjects of the Faculty. (See the *Statutes of 1882*, pp. 49-50, and Sir C. Firth's pamphlet on *The Faculties and their Powers*, p. 9.)

⁴ For details see the first section of the Statutes made in 1882.

⁵ Professor Freeman, who had hardly a good word to say for the Commission of 1877 in his two lively articles on *Oxford after Forty Years* in the *Contemporary Review* for May and June 1887, complained that the Professors had been treated like ushers and "put under every possible kind of fetter" (vol. LI, pp. 621-2). But the criticisms in these papers seem sometimes a little captious.

More striking were the changes made with the help of College representatives in College Statutes. The Colleges found their establishments fixed, and their whole system of Fellowships remodelled. Their revenues were taxed for University purposes. Rules were revised, funds redistributed, sinecures swept away. Headships indeed remained substantially unaltered, posts of dignity and comfort to which few positive duties were attached. Only one College called on its Master to retire upon reaching a definite age.¹ The old-fashioned Fellowships, tenable for most part of a lifetime without effective service, disappeared. A certain proportion of Prize Fellowships without obligations of work or residence were indeed retained, to launch young men of promise in the world; their number was destined to diminish as the demand for teaching Fellows increased. But their tenure was limited to seven years and their incomes were fixed at two hundred pounds. More definite obligations were laid on the resident Fellows, the working Staff, who undertook Tutorial duties with increased though often inadequate pay, and for whom a continuing career at Oxford was designed. For them tuition funds were organised and pension funds set up.² Provision was made for keeping some of them at least as residents in College, and for restraining them from marriage, at any rate in their earlier years.³ But otherwise the old condition of celibacy was at last relaxed. The influence which Richard de Bury had so dreaded⁴ invaded even those cloistered courts. And if the old, close, corporate feeling, the old, intimate comradeship of men and boys, was in some measure weakened, it cannot be said that the change proved in any sense fatal to College life. A shrewd observer, returning to Oxford in 1886, admitted that something had been lost, but felt that in happiness and wholesomeness more had been gained. Prolonged celibacy as College Fellows had tended to make men dreary and vinose. "And it was horrible to look forward to having one's eyes closed by a scout."⁵

¹ University College made retirement compulsory at 75. Balliol, Merton and Exeter only hinted at the possibility of retirement at 70.

² Pensions were also made available for College Heads and other Officers in the event of retirement. I am here summarising generally provisions which sometimes differed in details.

³ Various safeguards against the failure of bachelor Fellows (and also of clerical Fellows) were imposed. At Brasenose official Fellows were only permitted to marry by a vote of two-thirds of the Fellows taken, by a secret ballot (*Stats. of 1882*, p. 468).

⁴ See *ante* (vol. I, p. 137).

⁵ See Mr. Goldwin Smith's letter in the *Oxford Magazine* of June 2, 1886. There may be something in Professor Freeman's argument that permission to marry tended to block the succession to Fellowships. But he surely overstates the case in declaring that it destroyed College life. (See *Contemporary Review*, vol. LI, pp. 611, 614-15.)

Provision was made at the same time for the maintenance of College Chaplains and for the maintenance of College services and Chapels, sometimes on an ample scale.¹ But in most respects the clerical obligations, which had so long ruled the University, disappeared. The conditions for Scholarships were reduced to a uniform standard, though old, historic foundations survived. Six Winchester Scholars were to be elected at New College each year. The Westminster Scholars continued at Christ Church, the Somerset Scholars at Brasenose, the Merchant Taylors' Scholars at St. John's. The ancient Halls were for the most part sentenced to extinction. New Inn Hall was to be united with Balliol, St. Alban Hall with Merton, St. Mary Hall with Oriel, St. Edmund Hall ultimately with Queen's. At Oriel the Canonry of Rochester was severed from the Headship and annexed to the Ireland Professorship of Exegesis. At various Colleges building funds were formed. Merton took powers to raise as much as forty thousand pounds for the purpose. Trinity contemplated an expenditure of fifteen thousand. Exeter, Wadham and New College proposed to set aside for this object three hundred, four hundred and five hundred a year. The new Statutes of every College contained inevitably some special clauses.² But in principle the demand for work in return for endowments, for a better organised and more efficient service, for freedom from the old restrictions and abuses, and for a more generous contribution to University purposes, prevailed.

In the case of some of the wealthier Colleges the contributions suggested and already initiated were now significantly large. Merton undertook among other obligations to find three hundred pounds a year for the Bodleian and five hundred a year for a new Professor.³ Oriel was to provide six hundred a year for the Regius Professor of Modern History.⁴ Queen's agreed to increase the endowment which it found for the Sedleian Chair of Natural Philosophy. New College was invited to do more. It definitely assigned Professorial Fellowships not only to the Savilian Professors of Geometry and Astronomy but to three new Wykeham Professors of Logic, of Ancient History, and of

¹ For Magdalen £2,500 was allowed, for New College £1,250.

² For details see the *Statutes of 1882*. Lincoln College alone obtained no new Statutes, because those proposed for it were rejected, on the motion of its Visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln, in the House of Lords (Clark, *Lincoln College*, 199).

³ The Merton Professorship of English Language and Literature was established in 1885. Merton was paying in all £2,293 for University objects in 1886. (See the published *Abstract of Accounts of the University of Oxford*, 1883-86.)

⁴ To which the University added £300 a year. But only £220 was forthcoming in 1883 and only £400 in 1886 (*Ib.*).

Physics, named after the Founder of the College.¹ At Magdalen, besides the four Waynflete Professorships already proposed, and now apportioned to Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, to Chemistry, to Physiology, and to Pure Mathematics,² the Professor of Botany and the Professor of Mineralogy were to receive subsidies from College funds. Magdalen, moreover, agreed to maintain its Grammar School with annual grants amounting to eight hundred pounds, and to give its choristers a free education there. Besides its Staff, its Fellows and its ordinary Demies, it was to establish for advanced study and research a limited number of Senior Demyships worth a hundred a year for four years. And it was empowered to spend five hundred a year in granting Exhibitions to needy students drawn either from the College or from outside. Brasenose undertook to pay for the University teachers of Ancient History sums rising from two hundred pounds a year in 1882 to seven hundred and sixty pounds in 1893. Corpus, like New College, became mainly responsible for five Professors. Not only the Professor of Latin and the White Professor of Moral Philosophy, but a Professor of Jurisprudence, a Professor of Comparative Philology and a Professor of Romance or Neo-Latin Languages and Literature were to be added to its Staff. Corpus also agreed to devote two or three Extraordinary Fellowships to the encouragement of special studies for a term of years. The new Statutes of Christ Church confirmed the arrangement which vested in the Dean, the Canons and the Students the government and property of that magnificent foundation.³ Five Canonries were already appropriated to theological Professors.⁴ And the Governing Body were called on—they had already agreed—to pay five hundred a year to the Professor of Greek, and to make up his income to nine hundred

¹ With grants which helped to bring up the Professors' incomes to £800 or £900 a year. Besides the Fellowships assigned to Professors, New College revenues up to the end of the century only permitted 23 ordinary and tutorial Fellows to be appointed, though the new Statutes contemplated 36 Fellows in all (Rashdall and Rait, *New College*, 229). In 1886 New College was paying £800 a year for Professors, besides some £300 for other University objects. (See the *Abstract* of University and College accounts for that year.)

² For a Professorship of Pure Mathematics the College might substitute a Professorship of Mechanics and Civil Engineering or a Professorship of Applied Mechanics. Each Waynflete Professor was to draw £600 a year and had a Fellowship attached to his Chair. The Professorship of Pure Mathematics had to wait for recovery from agricultural depression. But Magdalen was contributing £2,711 to University purposes in 1886 (*Ib.*).

³ Except in so far as the Christ Church Oxford Act of 1867 remained unrepealed. (Cf. that Act in Shadwell's *Enactments in Parliament*, III, 355 sq. with the *Statutes of 1882*, pp. 528–62.) Certain other persons might under the new Statutes be made members of the Governing Body.

⁴ Including the Professorship of Hebrew, held by Dr. Pusey.

pounds if he became a Student of the House. They also maintained the three Lee Readers, who had duties to the University as well as to the College. St. John's, whose wealth was increasing, was asked to find not only four hundred and fifty pounds yearly for Archbishop Laud's Professor of Arabic, but a sum rising from five hundred to eight hundred pounds a year for a Professorship of Mechanics and Civil Engineering. At Jesus, where half the Scholarships were now thrown open, a Professor of Celtic was to hold a Fellowship in virtue of his Chair. Lincoln, which dispensed with new Statutes, was to be responsible for a Professorship of Classical Archæology and Art, Wadham to contribute to the support of a Professor of Experimental Philosophy. And All Souls was inevitably invited to make a handsome provision for the University's needs. The Chichele Professors of International Law and of Modern History, the Professor of Political Economy, the Regius Professor of Civil Law and the Vinerian Professor of English Law were all admitted to have claims upon its funds. Besides that the College was invited to provide for Research Fellows and Law Readers,¹ to subscribe up to a thousand a year to the Bodleian, and to find further sums for the maintenance of undergraduate students. The endowment and maintenance of its own great Library was another advantage offered to members of the University studying law.

Time, money and good-will were needed to carry through these large proposals. It was only by degrees that the contributions expected for University purposes came in.² In 1883 several Colleges still made no contribution to University objects, though one College, All Souls, was apparently making payments more lavish than it was able to maintain. But three years later the situation had altered. In 1886 only two Colleges still postponed their gifts. The subscriptions to the Common University Fund were growing: even Hertford, among the youngest Colleges, was giving seven pounds a year. And the contributions of some of the wealthier foundations were on a generous scale. All Souls indeed had been obliged to reduce the large payments made in 1883.³ New College and St. John's had not yet fulfilled

¹ One of these was to be a Reader in Indian Law.

² In 1909, as Lord Curzon pointed out (*Principles and Methods of University Reform*, 149), the Commissioners' demands had not yet been paid in full. But the contributions given by several Colleges at that date were very substantial. Magdalen led with £9,000; but Christ Church, All Souls and several others were giving largely. (See the *Oxford Magazine* for May 14, 1908.)

³ And its contribution to the Bodleian had fallen to £300. In 1887 it fell to nothing, but an un-named member of the College generously gave thirteen donations of £100 each from 1887 to 1900. (See *Report of Bodleian Library*, 1882-7, and *Pietas Oxoniensis*, 1902, p. 25.) By the

all expectations. But Magdalen was paying for University purposes two thousand seven hundred pounds, and was proposing to pay more. Merton was giving some two thousand three hundred for various objects, Corpus over two thousand, Christ Church two thousand besides its great Canonries. The poorer Colleges were doing something, and only unforeseen embarrassments and genuine economic difficulties had prevented the richer ones from doing more.¹

At the close of that year, 1886, the University system was still to some extent in a state of transition. The work of the Commissioners had been supplemented by frequent changes in the Examination Statutes.² But on any issue which threatened the predominance of the Colleges, the Colleges still held their own. Old defects had been largely remedied. New standards of work and order had been introduced. The eighteenth century Don, with his easy conscience and unexact duties, had been replaced by a generation of strenuous, high-minded Tutors, whose chief danger lay in the risk of over-work. An important movement had begun for the better organisation of studies. The whole field of instruction had been usefully enlarged. Science had asserted her right to a place beside Philosophy. Modern History, Modern Literature, even Modern Languages were putting forward claims which could not be ignored. The classical tradition could no longer maintain its monopoly, even by the stubborn retention of compulsory Greek. It is true that the throwing open of Scholarships had to some extent diminished the chances of boys brought up at humble schools. The abolition of the old servitorships had closed another avenue to the poor student. And the Non-Collegiate system had failed as yet to solve the difficult problem how to secure in an atmosphere so charged with comfort and enjoyment a fair and equal opportunity for men of narrow means. It is true also that the provision for new Chairs, for research, for College establishments, had been fixed on the assumption that the days of agricultural depression would soon be over, whereas in 1883 a further grave decline in the

year 1908, however, All Souls was paying £1,000 a year to the Bodleian and also fulfilling nobly the other conditions which the Commissioners had imposed. (See the summary given in the *Oxford Magazine* of April 30, 1908.)

¹ For detailed figures see the *Abstract of Accounts of the University of Oxford* from 1883 to 1886.

² A University Entrance Examination was not among these changes. For Professor Freeman's somewhat sardonic comments on the absence of one, and Mr. Mark Pattison's opinion that the idea had already proved a failure, see the *Contemporary Review*, vol. LI, p. 822, and *Academical Organisation*, p. 233.

receipts from tithe and agricultural land began.¹ But these errors, so far as they were errors, in the work of the Commissions—work which perhaps deserves more recognition than it has received—did not prevent a new and splendid growth. Oxford had lost indeed her old ecclesiastical associations. The privileged offspring of the Church of England, bound to sustain the interests of the stock from which she sprang, had become a national institution, open to men of almost every creed. That alone was a profound and significant change. But Oxford had lost nothing of her spirit and supremacy by reforming her codes and redistributing her wealth. Her Colleges still remained rich and independent. Her numbers increased.² Her activities developed. Her intellectual interests widened, while her theological narrowness declined. As the system of monopoly and restriction diminished, the abuses bred by it diminished too. Class prejudices mellowed. Manners grew gentler, ostentation, extravagance, angularity less marked. And if the world had all the while been drawing nearer, and its restlessness broke at last into her academic calm, Oxford, when she cast off her mantle of seclusion, drew closer to a wide and eager public which hoped to share the inheritance of her sons.

¹ See on this point Mr. L. R. Price's interesting examination of the Accounts of Oxford Colleges published in vols. LVIII and LXVII of the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*. This fall largely reduced the receipts of some Colleges and necessitated alterations in their Statutes.

² The number of matriculations in 1850 was 409, in 1900 it was 839 (See *Report of Commission*, 1922, p. 27.)

CHAPTER XXVI
THE VICTORIAN ERA
1845-1887

EVEN before Newman passed from Oxford, a new generation with other ideals had begun to appear. In 1842, the year when Tait went on to Rugby, Jowett became a Tutor at Balliol,¹ and two or three years later his influence was telling in the class-lists,² and his lectures on philosophy were revealing the breadth of his powers. In 1845 half Oxford was absorbed in writing pamphlets, and even Jowett's "natural prejudice on the side of 'quiescence'" may not have been apparent to his friends. But as the theological excitements of that year abated, concentration upon other subjects became easier. "Our thoughts," said Mark Pattison, "reverted to their proper channel, that of the work we had to do." Scholarship revived. Criticism and inquiry made more progress. German philosophy superseded the Fathers. The *ferrea via*, College wits suggested, proved a stronger attraction than the *via media*. Alarming echoes of Corn Law Repeal, of Chartism, Socialism, Revolution, penetrated into the precincts of Oxford and interrupted her repose. In 1848 Jowett, Stanley, Morier and Palgrave visited Paris together and heard Rachel sing the *Marseillaise*. John Conington at University and other enthusiasts were accused of adopting trowsers made on a Christian Socialist pattern. Arthur Clough, driven by doubt and disillusionment, threw up his Fellowship at Oriel:

"Hast thou seen higher holier things than these,
And therefore must to these thy heart refuse?"

The world seemed full of spirits "contention-tost" like his.

¹ Jowett succeeded to the Tutorship vacated by James Lonsdale, another brilliant Balliol man. His only fault at that time in Lonsdale's judgment was that, like Stanley, he racked his brains from morning to night. (See Duckworth's *Memoir of James Lonsdale*, 23.)

² From 1845 onwards. Clough and Matthew Arnold had both taken Seconds, though they won Oriel Fellowships in 1842 and 1845. But Clough's Scholarship examination had broken all records and Arnold had won the Hertford and the Newdigate.

But Jowett was satisfied to gather his pupils closely round him, and his care for them gave him, shy, reticent, even repellent as he sometimes was, a strong hold on the affection of many remarkable men.¹

Biographers since have told the story of several of these famous pupils, who in the middle years of the nineteenth century contributed so much to Oxford life. John Coleridge, with his wit and grace, Matthew Arnold, superb in looks and in demeanour, belonged rather to an earlier group; though it is on record that Temple laughed at Coleridge for saying that, when he "saw Jow first," the problem of his life seemed to be solved.² But men like William Sellar and Francis Palgrave, who came up as Scholars in 1842, or Henry Smith and Alexander Grant, who came up two years later, or Robert Morier, Arthur Peel and Henry Lancaster, who succeeded them before that decade closed, learned to think with enthusiasm of their Tutor, and his warm interest followed them in every adventure of their lives.³ To Grant, the first Harrow boy who won an open Scholarship at Balliol, Jowett seemed to be the Socrates of his youth. Long afterwards he dedicated his edition of the *Ethics* to the unfailing friend of forty years, "the wisest and best man" that he had ever known.⁴ Henry Smith, with his many-sided genius—"greater than Janus," said Charles Bowen once, for his gates faced three ways, towards classics, mathematics and philosophy—was to become one of the first figures in Oxford later. Morier, "le gros Citoyen," so different in so many aspects, was to prove a lifelong intimate, and the intimacy, as Jowett wrote in 1884, one of the greatest happinesses of his own career. And as this earlier generation passed into the world, others bred in the same tradition of reverence succeeded. W. L. Newman, writing of the year 1852, found that Jowett, at thirty-five a grey-haired Tutor, left on him "a stronger impression of genius at that time

¹ Yet one shrewd observer's estimate quoted by Mr. Tollemache (*Benjamin Jowett*, 39-40) is worth recalling. Besides the beauty of Jowett's moral character this observer noted his two great gifts of seeing through and through a philosophical question and of stimulating other men to work. But he distrusted Jowett's judgment of men.

² See the *Life of Lord Coleridge* (I, 103). Sellar, however, was among the voices of "our old set" of whom Matthew Arnold spoke. "Olympian" was a term that contemporaries were apt to use of Arnold.

³ Sellar, Grant and Lancaster—who died prematurely in 1875,—"when his greatness was a-ripening"—were close friends in Edinburgh in later years. Among other early and notable pupils of Jowett might be mentioned James Riddell, Edwin Palmer, Theodore Walrond, T. C. Sandars, etc. (See his *Life* and the *Balliol College Register*, *passim*.) William Spottiswoode also, a mathematical Scholar of 1842, became a lifelong friend.

⁴ This dedication appeared in the fourth edition of Grant's work.

of his life than at any other." Musing, abstraction, long intervals of silence went hand in hand with quick perception, mental alertness, stimulating talk. He expected his pupils to work hard, as he did. He would sometimes take their compositions after midnight. He did not spare them and he did not spoil them. But "he cared for them as few fathers care for unsteady sons."¹

Nor were the pupils unworthy of their Tutor's fame. There were notable men gathered soon after the middle of the century at Balliol—future Heads of Colleges like George Brodrick, William Merry, David Monro, William Jackson, students and scholars like W. L. Newman, Alfred Blomfield, Albert Dicey, T. H. Green, oarsmen and much besides like Walter Morrison and Edmond Warre, younger contemporaries like Algernon Swinburne, Lyulph Stanley, John Addington Symonds,² many more.³ Charles Bowen, coming up in 1854 with a brilliant Rugby reputation, which Oxford was to make more brilliant still, fell as readily under Jowett's spell. Bowen's keen and vivid sympathies, his tenderness, his humour, made him a delightful partisan. In January 1857 he had stayed up reading in the Christmas Vacation, coaching and playing racquets with Mark Pattison—"in the one pursuit he throws cold water on my genius, and in the other he makes blue marks all over my body with a racket-ball"—when he found himself summoned to stay with Jowett at Cowley in a draughty and dreary farm-house.

"It was, however, very instructive to see the great Professor of Greek inventing more than Arian errors on the other side of the table. Having been able to discover, by a close contact with that remarkable individual, the chief *sine qua nons* for a heretic, you may expect to see me coming out strong in that line. One is to hum very melancholy airs during breakfast; another is always to fill up the teapot before you have put in any tea; thirdly, to have no watch, and to lie asleep till twelve o'clock."⁴

But the affection which several of these young men felt for the heretic was strong. It was deepened by the attacks to which he was subjected. It was strengthened by the injustice, as it seemed to some, which refused him the Mastership of Balliol on Dr. Jenkins' death in 1854. But if that sharp disappoint-

¹ See Mr. Newman's very interesting contribution to Jowett's *Life* (I, 216-20).

² Of these the oldest were George Brodrick and Alfred Blomfield, dating in the Balliol Register from 1850 and 1851, and the youngest Lyulph Stanley and J. A. Symonds, dating from 1857 and 1858.

³ Not least Lionel Tollemache, a devoted disciple of Jowett. Two of Bowen's chief intimates were Alexander Craig Sellar and Arthur Austen Leigh.

⁴ See Sir H. S. Cunningham's sketch of *Lord Bowen* (60-61).

ment increased for a time Jowett's reserve and isolation, it in no way lessened his attachment to his pupils. And the Balliol lists in the years which succeeded Bowen's generation are still full of names of men—Edward Caird, Strachan Davidson, Evelyn Abbott, William Anson, Lord Boringdon, Lord Kerry, Robert Reid, R. L. Nettleship, J. A. Godley, A. L. Smith—who owed in one way or another to his teaching or his friendship an unforgotten debt.¹

Another man of marked character, also a very successful College Tutor, was becoming hardly less conspicuous in the liberal movement of the day. Mark Pattison had turned from his work among the Fathers and his "stupendous plans" for books to glorify the Catholic Church, to the hard and humdrum work of teaching undergraduates at Lincoln.² A Tutor in those days had to be prepared to teach his pupils every subject taught in the College—he could hardly be an adept at them all—and this involved heavy and miscellaneous work. Old traditions of fossilised Dons, of drinking, gambling undergraduates, still lingered on at Lincoln. Pattison and others laboured hard to raise the standard, and laboured for a time with singular success. By 1850 Lincoln, and not Lincoln only, seemed to have undergone a transformation. A new Oxford was steadily arising. "The dead majorities of heads and seniors, which had sat like lead upon the energies of young tutors," were melting away. Theology, now banished from College Common Rooms, was replaced by wide and free discussion, by demands for change in the Tutorial system, demands for wholesale reform in the University itself.³ But in 1851 Pattison, like Jowett, was deeply disappointed by the action of his colleagues. A curious contest for the Rectorship of Lincoln, which ended in the election of another candidate, a much inferior man, broke into his work and his ambitions and embittered a temper both sensitive and severe.⁴ He found it impossible to retain his Tutorship. He fell back on private coaching, took to wanderings abroad. In Oxford in those "years of famine" he pictured himself, perhaps too gloomily, as growing more and more pessimistic and aloof.⁵

¹ I have named only a few between 1860 and 1869. (See also later, p. 399, *n.*)

² But he was still, and remained for some years, "an ultra-Puseyite." (See his *Memoirs*, 184 sq.)

³ *Ib.* (244-5).

⁴ The details and intrigues of this election are described at great length in the *Memoirs* (262-92). Mr. John Morley spoke of the new Rector, Thompson, in the severest terms, and of the Fellows who elected him as "a terribly degraded body." (See his *Critical Miscellanies*, 1886, vol. III, 150-1.) But there are grounds for a more genial estimate.

⁵ But the *Memoirs* may not always do full justice to their author.

For learning, letters, philosophy were always at his command. He set himself to consider the true function of Universities, to inquire why a form of thought like Deism, once so prevalent and popular in England, should have been extinguished almost as quickly as it arose. But when he found his philosophic monograph, published in the famous volume of *Essays and Reviews*, treated as a party manifesto, he determined to wash his hands of theology, and the Rectorship of his College, which came to him at last in 1861, gave him the appropriate setting for the life of study which he most desired.

One day in 1847, Mark Pattison tells us, he went up to talk with Anthony Froude about religion, found him writing a novel to expound his views, but failed to help him through his growing scepticism. Two years later Froude published his *Nemesis of Faith* and startled his friends at Exeter College. He drew a vivid picture of the indolent, invertebrate Church of 1831. He described not unfairly the Tractarian effort "to wean the Church from its Erastianism into militancy" and to enable it once more to command respect. It was an attempt to draw people from the whirl of life to think upon religion, "from doing to praying," from business to devotion, and to reinspire the Church of England with the faith, the humility, the sanctity, the self-denial which constituted the real strength of the Church of Rome. But Froude's hero could not face or answer the growth of criticism and historical knowledge, which seemed to destroy the evidence for belief. He could not, like Newman, convince himself that the difficulties faded, if the weakness of evidence were supplemented by the strength of faith.

"Newman talked much to us of the surrender of reason. . . . As I began to look into what he said about it, the more difficult it seemed to me. What did it mean? Reason could only be surrendered by an act of reason. Even the Church's infallible judgments could only be received through the senses, and apprehended by reason; why, if reason was a false guide, should we trust one act of it more than another? Fall back on human faculty somewhere we must, and how could a superstructure of stone be raised on a chaff foundation?"¹

William Sewell, like Froude an old Tractarian, knew heresy at sight. He took upon himself to vindicate orthodox opinion, and reverting to the methods of the sixteenth century he burned Froude's book dramatically in the College Hall. That same year, 1849, Froude resigned his Fellowship at Exeter, married a sister of Charles Kingsley's wife, and found in Thomas Carlyle a friend whose authority he felt he could submit to, as he had never been able to submit to Newman or to the teaching of an infallible Church.

¹ See J. A. Froude's *Nemesis of Faith* (especially pp. 151-4 and 157-8).

Meanwhile Clough and Matthew Arnold had been spreading a new spirit in the College which Newman had stamped with his own. In Clough the flame which Dr. Arnold lit so often burned its brightest. His contemporaries noted in his poetry, as in the man himself, his love of truth, his intense feeling for the poor, his indignation against sophistry, conventionality, wrong-doing. They were ready to share his contempt for "metallic beliefs and regimental devotions." They delighted in his humour, weighed his doubts, penetrated easily to the deep reserves of tenderness and friendship, wrote of his "likeness to the wise below," his "kindred with the great of old."¹ Elsewhere, Congreve at Wadham was proving himself a stimulating Tutor, and young Frederic Harrison, sent there on Bethell's suggestion in 1849, was beginning to find in Congreve's teaching some relief from his first depressing experiences of College life.² Jeune was established in authority at Pembroke. Liddell was soon to return to rule at Christ Church. Arthur Stanley was to follow him there. Old and familiar figures were passing away. In 1854 Sir Robert Inglis retired from the representation of the University after a quarter of a century of service,³ Dr. Jenkyns died at Balliol, and Dr. Routh died in his hundredth year in the Lodgings at Magdalen. When he first entered those Lodgings as President, Washington had still been ruling in America and Louis XVI still sitting on the throne of France. In 1855 Dean Gaisford's death enabled Liddell to succeed him, and Liddell's friends noted the cheer with which Lord Palmerston's announcement was greeted in the House of Commons. In 1857 there died the veteran Dr. Bliss, the faithful editor of Wood's *Athenae* and of Hearne's *Remains*, marked out, some thought, as the man to continue Wood's labours. Dr. Bliss had worked in the Bodleian Library. He had been for many years University Registrar and Keeper of the Archives. He had succeeded Dr. Hampden as Principal of St. Mary Hall. He had mourned over the old traditions which were perishing. But he retained to the last a certain sweet, old-fashioned courtesy, and a punctual and orderly devotion to his duties, which had not always marked the older ways. Such changes were inevitable. Unrest was in the air. Yet Stanley, coming back to Oxford as Professor of Ecclesiastical History,⁴ found little at first of the welcome which

¹ See Mr. F. T. Palgrave's Memoir, prefixed to Clough's poems. *The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich*, "a true Long Vacation pastoral, in style and thought intensely Oxonian," appeared in 1848.

² See his *Autobiographic Memoirs* (I, 83-7).

³ He was succeeded by Sir William Heathcote.

⁴ He was appointed to the Chair in 1856, and came into residence as Canon of Christ Church in 1858.

he hoped for, though Jowett congratulated himself "three times a day." Stanley noted the undergraduates' stiffness and their marvellous lack of interest in theological study, deplored the "dusty, secular, dried-up aspect of the place." How much he could do to break down the stiffness, to rouse the dead interest, to make the dry and dusty places bloom again, the next few years were to show. One famous student, who had begun as a hard reader and a passionate High Churchman, but had ceased to be either, and had entered Stanley's lecture-room "utterly miserable," a disillusioned man, suddenly discovered a Professor with a stimulating gospel of work for its own sake. "If you cannot, or will not, work at the work which Oxford gives you, at any rate work at something," Stanley seemed to say.

"I took up my old boy-dream, history, again. I think I have been a steady worker ever since. And so in religion—it was not so much a creed you taught me, as fairness. . . . I used to think as I left your lecture-room of how many different faiths and persons you had spoken, and how you had revealed and taught me to love the good that was in them all." ¹

The spirit of much that was best in the liberal reaction in Oxford is not ill exemplified in John Richard Green.

I

To one great development of knowledge at any rate the movement towards greater freedom of opinion gave opportunities which it had never enjoyed before. Theology still regarded science with misgivings if not with contempt. Newman's attitude was significant. "Scripture says the earth is stationary and the sun moves; science, that the sun is stationary and that the earth moves": men could not hope to know which was true till they knew what motion was. Keble believed that when God made the stones He made the fossils in them. Even Dr. Kidd, watching Henry Acland's experiments at Christ Church, doubted whether God meant us to make them.² In 1845 Dr. Buckland was appointed to the Deanery at Westminster, a year before Liddell went there as Headmaster, and handed on to a younger generation the task of developing science in Oxford.³ And in the same year Henry Acland, returning, not only to practise as a doctor but to take up the appointment of Lee's

¹ See the very interesting letter from J. R. Green, dated December 1863, printed in Stanley's *Life* (II, 13-15).

² See Froude's *Nemesis of Faith* (157) and Tuckwell's *Reminiscences* (36 and 46)—if these authorities may be accepted.

³ Mr. Tuckwell gives a lively picture of Dr. Buckland's energies, his lectures, his pets, his singular hospitality, and his summary method of dealing with the blood of martyrs and the bones of saints (*Ib.* 35-40).

Reader in Anatomy, began to lecture in the theatre at Christ Church, and to rouse unmistakable interest by his enthusiasm, his microscopes, his slides, and by the delicate work done by his assistants, Charles Robertson and J. G. Wood. "To Dr. Buckland," said Ruskin, "geology was only the pleasant occupation of his own merry life. To Henry Acland physiology was an entrusted gospel."¹ Round Acland duties and distinctions quickly gathered both in his academic and in his professional career.² His warm sympathies, his energy, his vigorous mind, his gifts of friendship and imagination gave him ere long great influence in Oxford and outside.³ Art appealed to him hardly less than science, practical administration perhaps as much as teaching. In days of University reorganisation he had the chief share in reorganising medical study. He was always reluctant to see Oxford made into a professional School of Medicine. But he worked hard and successfully to give life to the teaching of biology and chemistry, to encourage every form of science which could aid in the preparation for a medical career.

Acland's first efforts were concentrated on the scheme for a new Museum. The idea of such an enterprise had been discussed years before but abandoned. Meanwhile the scientific collections in the University had been steadily improved. The Ashmolean, which survived as a solitary reminder of the one great age of Oxford science, had been remodelled by the two Duncans. A geological collection had been formed by Dr. Kidd and Dr. Buckland. The Anatomical Museum at Christ Church had been increased by Dr. Kidd. The apparatus used in Experimental Philosophy had been developed by Mr. Walker.⁴ But much remained to be done. The great entomological collection given by Mr. Hope had to be stored away in boxes in the Taylor Institute. The University had not a single laboratory for students in any subject. The Regius Professor of Medicine "had neither books, drawings, apparatus, nor apartments."⁵ It was essential to establish some centre where scientific bequests

¹ *Praeterita* (III, 381). The judgment is not necessarily exact.

² He became among other things Fellow of All Souls (1845), Licentiate (1846) and Fellow (1850) of the Royal College of Physicians, Fellow of the Royal Society (1847), Radcliffe Librarian (1851), Regius Professor of Medicine (1858).

³ The great collection of letters written to him, now at the Bodleian Library, which I have been allowed to see, is evidence of this. Among the most interesting are letters from Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, from Lord and Lady Salisbury, from Dean Liddell and from John Ruskin.

⁴ "Who constructed and exploded gases, laid bare the viscera of pumps and steam engines, forced mercury through wood blocks in a vacuum, manipulated galvanic batteries, magic-lanterns, air-guns" (Tuckwell, 41).

⁵ See Sir H. Acland's Letter on *Oxford and Modern Medicine* published in 1890 (p. 17).

could be housed, where serious students of science could find laboratories, instruments, materials to work with, and an adequate space in which to do their work. The Museum became for a time a watchword with the party of progress. As early as 1847, the year when the British Association met for the second time in Oxford, Acland induced the teachers of science to join in an agitation on the subject, and invited Dr. Buckland to sign a Memorandum which he and Professor Daubeny and others had drawn up. The Dean replied that he too had once been sanguine, but that he had long come to the conclusion that it was hopeless to expect Natural History to make any progress in Oxford. Nevertheless Acland went on. Dr. Pusey liked and trusted him, and gave him valuable support : he was readier than either Keble or Newman to encourage "the Study of the Book of God's Works." Charles Marriott and Richard Church worked at science in the cellars of Christ Church. Anatomical specimens found a refuge in Dr. Pusey's stables, till other Canons or their servants objected to the smell.¹ In May 1849 a meeting, held at the Warden's Lodgings in New College, resolved that a building ought to be erected to bring together "all the materials explanatory of the Structure of the Earth and of the Organic Beings placed upon it," and to arrange them in distinct departments under one roof. A Committee including the Warden of New College, the Principal of Brasenose, the Master of Pembroke, Professor Jacobson, Professor Daubeny, Arthur Stanley, Charles Marriott and William Thomson of Queen's, was appointed to carry the proposal forward. A few weeks later a meeting in the Theatre, "very numerous and influential," was held in its support. But the opposition to science in Oxford was still stubborn. Finance was a difficulty. The classical prejudice was strong, the theological prejudice still stronger. Sewell of Exeter vented his feelings in a sermon. In June 1851 proposals for increasing the stipends paid to the Readers in Mineralogy, Geology and Chemistry were defeated in Convocation,² and the proposal to set aside substantial funds for a Museum or Museums, for Lecture-rooms and Examination Schools was heavily beaten. Still the advocates of the scheme persisted. In 1852 the University Commissioners recommended the plan. In 1853 a preliminary victory was scored. A Delegacy reported in its favour,

¹ See Dr. Acland's Letter just cited (17 sq.) and Mr. Atlay's Memoir of *Sir H. W. Acland* (145).

² But were subsequently carried. On the other hand, in June 1852 the donation of the Fielding Herbarium was accepted, and over £3,000 voted for housing and maintaining it (Cox, *Recollections*, 362-6). It may be added here that in 1860 Miss Burdett-Coutts gave £5,000 for Geological Scholarships as well as a valuable collection of fossils (*Ib.* 429-30).

and the Vice-Chancellor was authorised to purchase four acres of the Parks as a site. Convocation sanctioned the project, but limited the expenditure on building to thirty thousand pounds. The preparation of plans was begun. The decisive vote on the design which Acland advocated was adopted by a very narrow majority of Convocation in December 1854. The opposition fought to the last, and as late as May 1855 a sheet was circulated by a member of Convocation.

“ The Babylon of a New Museum is again before us.
 Have we any students in Natural Science ? No.
 Do we require this new Museum ? No.
 Have we one farthing justly wherewith to build ? No.
 Have we one farthing justly wherewith to endow ? No.
 Are these the times for setting about such a folly ? No.

But the supporters of the scheme were now too strong to be suppressed. In June 1855 the foundation-stone of the new building was laid by Lord Derby. The movement and the influences behind it meant in Mark Pattison's opinion a revolution in Oxford life.¹ “ The museum in your hands, as it must eventually be,” wrote Ruskin to Acland, “ will be the root of as much good to others as I suppose it is rational for any single living soul to hope to do in its Earth-time.”²

Few buildings perhaps have been the object of a greater outpouring of hopes and of ideas. The beauty of the Museum lies in the devotion which created it, in the loving taste brought to bear upon details, in the unquenchable spirit of enthusiasm which dictated so much of the work. With that beauty, a very real one, it must be content. A Gothic design—“ Rhenish Gothic,” said one, “ Veronese Gothic of the best and manliest type,” said another—had been selected from the thirty-two sent in. Ruskin inveighed against “ commonplace and contemptible imitations of the Italian masters.” The essence and power of Gothic lay “ in its adaptability to all need.” The architects, Messrs. Deane and Woodward of Dublin—Benjamin Woodward, a man of fine taste and lovable nature, already a friend of Ruskin, is the figure who stands out—set themselves to do their best for artistic effect and practical convenience within the narrow means at their command. The plan embraced work-rooms, lecture-rooms, space for the display of illustrative specimens, and a library for scientific students. A large central court, covered by a glass roof supported on cast-iron columns, was

¹ See his *Memoirs* (305).

² Ruskin's letter in the Acland collection has been printed by Sir E. T. Cook (*Life of Ruskin*, I, 444). The papers there, Dr. Acland's own published Letter of 1890, and Chapter VIII of Mr. Atlay's Memoir are the best authorities on the subject.

surrounded by an open arcade of two storeys. Wrought-iron ornaments representing branches of lime and chestnut, sycamore and walnut, occupied the spaces between the arches of the aisles. A hundred and twenty-five shafts composed of British rock and marble, grey and red granite from Aberdeen,¹ syenite from Charnwood Forest, mottled granite from Ben Cruachan, green serpentine from Galway, rock lava from Killerton, marbles of every kind from Purbeck and Stamford, from Derbyshire and Devonshire, from Ireland and Wales, crowned with capitals representing natural objects, supported the arcades. Groups of plants and flowers and animals appeared upon the capitals and bases. Corbels projecting from the piers were to support statues of great scientific men. Inscriptions in carving or in colour, wise words from Hippocrates, Sir Thomas Browne and others, were to decorate the walls. The largest provision was made for chemistry; a laboratory for chemical students was modelled on the Abbot's kitchen at Glastonbury, for reasons which do not sufficiently appear. Open yards set round with rooms, for anatomical and zoological departments on one side, and for chemical purposes and workshops on the other, were placed outside the main building, so that "all noxious operations" might be "removed from the principal pile." The trustees of University libraries were invited to transfer their scientific books to the new institution. And a graceful house for the Curator at the South-east angle testified, we are assured, to the fact that "the soul of one man, at least, did in this century answer to the subtle requirements of Gothic Art."²

The Museum was not destined to take rank in Oxford beside the noble buildings of a greater age. But the charm of the story rests in the ardour of those engaged in the experiment, in the pride and delight of everyone concerned. Architect and builders, sculptors and craftsmen, all were determined to produce something representative and unique. And if their ambitions flew too high, if their efforts were cramped by want of money or foiled by want of skill or judgment, still the romance of the adventure stands. The interest which Dr. Acland roused, the co-operation he secured from sympathisers, was remarkable. Subscriptions flowed in from many quarters.³ Lord Derby,

¹ The one "surmounted by the sculptured capital of Alismaceous plants," the other "crowned by the Butomaceae." (See Prof. Phillips' interesting letter on the subject, appended to Dr. Acland's lecture on *The Oxford Museum*.)

² This description is based chiefly on Dr. Acland's lecture on *The Oxford Museum*, published in 1859, with letters from Mr. Ruskin and from Professor Phillips. See also the reprint of 1893.

³ For details of the subscribers see Dr. Acland's little book, 1859 (Appendix B).



THE MUSEUM

Sir Robert Inglis, Mr. Gladstone were conspicuous in the list. Mr. Ruskin surpassed most both in generosity and in the closeness of his interest. Some gave marble shafts—the Duke of Argyll, Lord Breadalbane, Sir Roderick Murchison, Mrs. Gladstone, Sir Charles Lyell, many others. William Froude wrote to offer a shaft or capital of Dartington marble and to ask whether his pillar was to be finished at home. Some gave capitals, Dr. Buckland, the Chaplains of Christ Church, and James O'Shea, "workman in the Building" among them.¹ Some gave money for sculptures and ornament. Some gave statues, the Queen contributing no less than five, beginning with Bacon and Galileo.² George Ridding, a future Headmaster, suggested that things ought not to be ordered unless the money to pay for them was forthcoming. Dean Liddell, a past Headmaster, suggested that the dormer windows might be painted as there was no money to pay for blinds. Dr. Pusey consented to contribute to the inscriptions. And from another contributor, the Irish workman James O'Shea, a characteristic letter is preserved :

"i am a fraid that this Gentleman is a fraid that those orniments will cost too much money—but the Price of the window without tuching those Jambs would be £9 and would be very cheap carving—if i was to Doo all the upper windows i would carv every Jamb for nothing for the Sake of art a Lone—rather than Lave them."³

Ruskin's sympathy was active and unceasing. "Such capitals as we will have!" he wrote. He induced sculptors like Woolner and Munro to help. He hoped to get Millais and Rossetti "to design flower and beast borders—crocodiles and various vermin"—such as Acland was "particularly fond of."⁴ He was specially concerned with the windows and the porch. He drew designs for the windows.⁵ He built a column which did not last. He refused once to think about the porch, when he was just starting off abroad to make a note of a bridge over the Rhine threatened by destruction by a railway: he decided that the Rhine bridge must come first. But he returned to the subject, and pleaded for a porch of crowning beauty, enriched with portrait sculpture, to relieve the "blankness" of the West façade. He understood

¹ For the picture of O'Shea blocking out designs of monkeys and of "Parrhots and Owls! Members of Convocation!" see Appendix II to the 1893 edition of Acland's *Oxford Museum*.

² The work respectively of Woolner and Munro.

³ This letter is among Sir H. Acland's papers at the Bodleian.

⁴ This letter undated, and addressed to Dr. Acland, has been printed by Sir E. T. Cook (*Life of Ruskin*, I, 446).

⁵ And he probably also designed some iron brackets for the roof (*Ib.* I, 447).

the difficulties at Oxford, why Acland sometimes had to "whistle" for his "merry men." He could not help admitting that there was "a discouraging aspect of parsimony" about the building. He feared it might suffer from economy and haste. He laid down in detail the principles of Gothic decoration.¹ Whatever else was right it could not be wrong to trust to the invention of the workman. He bade Acland remember

"Your Museum at Oxford is literally the first building raised in England since the close of the fifteenth century, which has fearlessly put to new trial this old faith in nature, and in the genius of the unassisted workman, who gathered out of nature the materials he needed."²

That was a sufficient compensation for any disappointments which the conditions of the actual work entailed.

The Museum was the first visible sign that clerical Oxford had opened her gates to the advancing tide. But there were still many Oxford teachers, not obscurantists only, who feared that that tide might sweep much which they valued away. "Physical science and art," wrote Jowett a quarter of a century later, "against morals and religion and philosophy and history and language." The physical sciences were everywhere encroaching, and those entrusted with the care of ancient studies had a difficult battle to fight.³ In 1860, the year after the publication of *The Origin of Species*, the encroachments of science took shape in another meeting of the British Association at Oxford, and in the Library of the new Museum, unfurnished yet with shelves or books, a memorable discussion upon Darwinism occurred.⁴ The Bishop of Oxford, rashly relying on Professor Owen, challenged the latest heresies of science, with all the gifts of an orator and an ecclesiastic and with his own peculiar power of provoking his opponents. Professor Huxley, he mocked, amid the cheers of an excited audience—the room was packed and in the middle of it a great body of clergy had assembled—Professor Huxley was there to demolish him and to prove that

¹ See the first of the two important letters from Ruskin printed in Dr. Acland's book on the Museum.

² This is in the second letter (*Ib.* 83).

³ "I am not an alarmist," he continues, "but am inclined to think that, unless we all unite, the 'repulsive' persons who will only believe what they can hold in their hands will be too much for us" (*Life of Jowett*, II, 268).

⁴ There are many accounts of this famous discussion. See especially the *Life of Charles Darwin* (II, 320-4) and the *Life of Thomas Henry Huxley* (I, 260-74). The latter discusses very fully the various reports. There were two debates on Darwinism, on June 28 and June 30, raised by two separate papers. In both Huxley took part. But the great occasion, when the Bishop attacked him, was on June 30.

man was descended from a venerable ape. The form of the taunt seemed personal and stinging, and Huxley's retort was bitterly direct. He would regret to demolish so eminent a prelate. But he would rather be descended from an ape than from a divine who employed authority to stifle truth.¹ The fierce rejoinder startled an assembly not accustomed to see Bishops treated with scathing disrespect. But it woke sympathetic echoes in the undergraduates present, who were headed by Thomas Hill Green. There were scientific men there also almost as ready as the Bishop to question the new theory. But the younger men—a young parson, it was stated, led the cheers for Darwin—were generally on Huxley's side. Four years later a more enigmatic controversialist came to the aid of the Bishop, with a mockery perhaps more delicate than his. Disraeli, staying at Cuddesdon, accompanied his host to a diocesan conference at Oxford, and there flouted with easy and sonorous rhetoric not Darwinians only but Broad Churchmen, German critics, Bishop Colenso, and all assailants of received beliefs. He told his audience in the Sheldonian that the characteristic of the age was "a craving credulity." Man was born to believe, and no "lucubrations of nebulous professors" would prevent it.

"I am not prepared to admit that the lecture-room is more scientific than the Church. What is the question now placed before society with a glib assurance the most astounding? The question is this: Is man an ape or an angel? I, my Lord, I am on the side of the angels."²

Common Rooms laughed over the sally. The old school delighted to repeat it. But the new school were quick to realise that the older views must crumble, if they could find no stronger foundation than so apt and light a jest.

The years which saw the battle over the Museum saw the beginning also of another movement, which was to leave its traces upon Oxford life. Early in 1853 there met at Exeter College two young men ordained to beautify their world. William Morris came up from Marlborough, a handsome, dreaming boy, full, they said, of tales of knights and fairies, but full too of strength and physical vitality, punching his own head sometimes in his excitement, hot-tempered, even violent, in feeling, talk and action, but as warm-hearted as he was impetuous, and even in his dreamings splendidly alive. At Exeter he found Burne-Jones, from King Edward's School at Birmingham, artist already

¹ There are various reports of Professor Huxley's words. This is the most succinct.

² See Froude's *Lord Beaconsfield* (173-7) and Buckle's *Life of Disraeli* (IV, 370-5).

—he had drawn devils deliciously at school—and conscious already in his thoughtful and imaginative boyhood of ambitions as delicate and tender as his friend's. The two became inseparable. In their "angry walks" and endless conversations—Morris would come tumbling into Jones' rooms at night and would talk for hours in the "husky shout" which his companions loved—they would condemn the languor and indifference of the University, confide to each other their disappointment at everything except the haunting beauty of the place.¹ They were both intended for the Church. They found Oxford desolate with the loss of Newman, heard its true voice only in "the sound of many bells." They were drawn towards ecclesiasticism: Morris nearly joined the Roman Church in 1854. They read omnivorously—theology, archæology, ecclesiastical history, mediæval chronicles, Gibbon and Milman, the *Acta Sanctorum*, the *Tracts for the Times*. But they read also Tennyson and Ruskin. Tennyson had caught and inflamed the imagination of the younger men. At the Sheldonian in 1855 he was to receive a "tremendous ovation." The shouts for *In Memoriam* were as vociferous as the shouts for Alma and for Inkerman.² Malory was almost as great a name as Tennyson. Carlyle and Kingsley were beginning to displace the memory of Newman. Browning, Thackeray, Dickens were blazing into fame. Architecture appealed to the two friends strongly: George Street was then living in Oxford as diocesan architect and working on the churches in the city.³ Art and letters—though of painting, as Burne-Jones said, they knew nothing—appealed to them even more. Poetry and romance were in the air about them. Who can wonder if they set themselves to reinspire the world?

At Pembroke a group of remarkable men from Jeune's old school at Birmingham, several of them known to Burne-Jones already, would gather often in Faulkner's rooms,⁴ "to settle once for all how all people should think," and the two Exeter

¹ Their first rooms in College were in Hell Quad, which could hardly have overlooked the Fellows' garden, their next in the "tumbly old" Prideaux buildings. If Mr. C. H. Pearson's *Memorials* may be trusted—and he had a critical judgment—Exeter in those days under Dr. Richards was neither ignorant nor rowdy, but "quiet, gentlemanlike and decorous, though a little slow" (p. 63). The less favourable picture in Mr. Mackail's delightful *Life of William Morris*, to which I am here frequently indebted, is perhaps a little coloured by the prejudice against Oxford methods which Morris long retained. (See also Stride's *Exeter College*, 175–82.)

² See the *Memoir of Lord Tennyson* (I, 384).

³ Street moved to London, and took Morris with him, later.

⁴ There is no doubt that Faulkner was a Pembroke man, not an Exeter man, as Mr. Holman Hunt suggests (*Oxford Union Society*, 13) and afterwards a Fellow of University.

undergraduates were perpetually there. Fulford, a leader in the Tennysonian worship, was one of the leaders of this little circle. Richard Dixon, poet and Church historian, was another.¹ Faulkner and Cormell Price,² Edwin Hatch and Birkbeck Hill belonged to it, and Macdonald of Corpus, whose sisters were destined for great things. The Pembroke group were more concerned with literature than with theology. They were steeped, some of them, in Keats and Shakespeare. They read *The Lady of Shalott* aloud. They discovered that Shelley's *Skylark* was "a gorgeous thing."³ They listened to Morris' first poem, one of his best, for he had no novitiate. "Well, if this is poetry," observed the author, "it is very easy to write." They talked and read and wrote and dreamed and "larked" like schoolboys—not ashamed to pour basins of water on the heads of a May-day crowd. Their views developed, altered. Morris, who had thought of devoting his fortune to a monastery, began to think of service to humanity instead, to interest himself in sanitation, Factory Acts, industrial reform, subjects which engrossed the eager sympathies of young men who knew Birmingham slums too well. Burne-Jones set his heart on founding a Brotherhood, and that ideal spread. The call of the Church grew fainter. Morris and Burne-Jones decided to be artists first. Before the end of January 1856 Morris had been articled in Street's office, and the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, the organ and expression of the new Brotherhood, had appeared.

The new Magazine, "conducted by members of the two Universities," was as a matter of fact the work of Oxford men. Heeley of Trinity College, Cambridge, was responsible for some contributors, but it was from Oxford that the direction and most of the material came. Fulford acted as editor. Morris provided the funds. Morris' poetry and prose tales were among the most valuable productions. "Topsy has got the real grit in him and no mistake," wrote one of the Brotherhood. "But we shall all go to Heaven."⁴ Dante Gabriel Rossetti supplied three memorable poems.⁵ Ruskin and Tennyson offered their blessing. But not even genius could command a public, and only twelve numbers of the Magazine came out. It lasted long enough, however, to see the beginning of a famous friendship. In the Christmas Vacation of 1855, Morris, who had never met a painter,

¹ Mr. Robert Bridges suggests in his introduction to the *Selected Poems of R. W. Dixon* (xxxix) that Dixon showed far higher poetical gifts than Morris.

² Of Brasenose, the "Dearest Crom" of some of Morris' letters, signed "Your most loving Topsy."³ Morris at least did both.

⁴ See Mackail's *Life of Morris* (I, 91).

⁵ *The Burden of Nineveh*, *The Staff and Scribe*, and an early version of *The Blessed Damsel*.

went to the Working Men's College in Great Ormond Street and had his "first fearful talk" with Rossetti.¹ Next day he found the artist in his studio at the top of the house by Blackfriars Bridge, and from that day forth Rossetti's influence and encouragement, his charm, his power, his eloquence, his humour, played no small part in determining these young disciples' lives. It was Rossetti who led them to believe that the world could be regenerated by painting better than by poetry. And it was Rossetti who, visiting Benjamin Woodward at Oxford in the Long Vacation of 1857, and taken to see the new Debating Hall which Woodward had been called in to build for the Union Society, was fired with the idea of decorating the spaces round the gallery with paintings to rival the frescoes of an older day.

"Without taking into consideration the purpose it was intended for, (indeed hardly knowing of the latter), I offered to paint figures of some kind on the blank spaces of one of the gallery window bays; and another friend who was with us, William Morris, offered to do the same for a second bay. Woodward was greatly delighted with the idea."

Before the Long Vacation was over Rossetti and half-a-dozen of his friends had started on the project, "a labour of love on all our parts," a labour as full of love, romance, adventure as it was in fact impetuous and ill-advised. The subject chosen was the Morte d'Arthur. The pictures were to be painted "on a large scale in distemper."² The Union Building Committee authorised the undertaking. They may indeed have had reserves. Not long since Frederic Harrison had carried a motion in the Union to the effect that the Pre-Raphaelite School, though giving hope of a revival in Art, did "seem to be affected with some deplorable delusions."³ But the Committee had sympathy and enthusiasm also. Charles Bowen, as Treasurer, threw himself into the scheme. Youth and gaiety governed the whole enterprise. Rossetti superintended it, undertook at least two paintings in the series, and half completed one, Sir Lancelot's Vision of the Sangrael. Morris was the first to begin work—on the story of Sir Tristram and La Belle Yseult. And as soon as that was done he started to decorate the roof with "a vast pattern-work of grotesque creatures," a bold and fine design.

Oxford friends gathered round these gallant pioneers. Faulkner, Price and Dixon came in to watch Morris and to help him,

¹ Tom Hughes and Godfrey and Vernon Lushington were already well known at the College.

² These quotations are from Rossetti's letter to Alexander Gilchrist given in *Anne Gilchrist: her Life and Writings* (90).

³ It was an amendment to a motion in favour of the Pre-Raphaelites brought forward in 1855 (Morrah, *Oxford Union*, 171).

others like Algernon Swinburne to watch and to admire. John Hungerford Pollen, the oldest of the little party, a Fellow of Merton who had already decorated the roof of his College Chapel, began to paint King Arthur receiving the sword Excalibur. Burne-Jones, perhaps the least experienced, was entrusted with the Death of Merlin. Val Prinsep was imported from London to paint Sir Pelleas and the Lady Etarde. At one moment Val Prinsep with his nineteen years and his fifteen stone might be seen carrying Burne-Jones under one arm up a ladder to the gallery. At another Morris might be found designing mediaeval armour in a smithy near the Castle. At another again Morris and Rossetti were ranging the churches of Oxford, not unsuccessfully, to find a Guinevere. Rodham Stanhope of Christ Church took for his subject Sir Gawaine and the Three Damsels at the Fountain—to-day, when all are vanishing, the best preserved. Arthur Hughes took the Death of Arthur. Alexander Munro carved the King and his Knights over the entrance in clean stone destined to outlive the colours of his friends. For a few months all went merrily. Laughter and songs and the popping of the corks of soda-water bottles¹ distracted readers in the Library close by. If Woodward was, as Rossetti said, “the stillest creature that ever breathed out of an oyster-shell,” there was neither stillness nor undue self-suppression in that light-hearted company of memorable young men.

Ruskin had sympathised, could not fail to sympathise. He offered to pay for one of the paintings, provided that there was “no absolute nonsense in it.” He thought Rossetti’s unfinished picture “the finest piece of colour in the world.”² But if he knew the circumstances he must have realised the folly of attempting to paint in distemper, with no proper preparation, on damp walls newly-built. “The fact is,” he wrote to Rossetti’s brother, “they’re all the least bit crazy, and it’s very difficult to manage them.” Not only was the whole scheme, as Morris allowed, “too piecemeal and unorganized.” It was predestined to failure rapid and complete. For a few months the colours survived, “so brilliant as to make the walls look like the margin

¹ Supplied, says Mr. Tuckwell (*Reminiscences*, 49–50), at the Union Society’s expense. The story of this famous episode is fully told in Rossetti’s letter already referred to, in Val Prinsep’s Article in the *Magazine of Art* for 1904 (pp. 167–72), in Holman Hunt’s *Oxford Union Society* (the story of the pictures), in Mackail’s *Life of William Morris* (I, 117–26), in Cook’s *Life of Ruskin* (I, 448–9), in Morrah’s *Oxford Union* (171 sq.) and elsewhere. The details may not in every case be quite exact. Mr. W. E. Gray’s photographs, given in Mr. Holman Hunt’s volume, have reproduced very successfully all of the pictures that remains.

² And he seems to have put Burne-Jones’ next. (See *Memorials of E. Burne-Jones*, I, 168.)

of an illuminated manuscript.”¹ And then, even before the end of 1858, they began to fade. In 1859 Rossetti apparently lost heart in his project. He was disinclined to complete it, and to his annoyance William Rivière, a well-known teacher of painting in Oxford, was engaged to fill the three vacant bays. Money was voted by the Union for the purpose. The subjects chosen were Arthur’s Education under Merlin, Arthur’s First Victory and the Wedding of Arthur and Guinevere. But the process of decay went on. Critics of the undertaking raised their voices. Undergraduates destined to distinction spoke frankly of the paintings as “hideous.”² In 1869–70 a Committee of the Union, appointed to report upon the subject, found seven of the pictures in a deplorable state. There was talk of papering them over. “The one remedy for all is now whitewash,” wrote Rossetti brusquely in 1871, “and I shall be happy to hear of its application.” In 1875 Morris agreed to redecorate the roof. But he left the paintings below glimmering faintly in their faded splendour, ghostly reminders of a high adventure which the world will not readily forget.

The records of the Union in those days include many a story of enthusiasms more enduring, of talents perhaps not less usefully employed. The great speakers of Manning’s and Gladstone’s day had been succeeded by speakers scarcely less distinguished in their turn. Tait and Ward, Lowe and Palmer had handed on the torch to younger generations. Balliol and Christ Church maintained their ascendancy.³ But other Colleges contributed as well. Richard Congreve of Wadham was President in 1841, D. P. Chase of Oriel and E. H. Plumptre of University in 1842, George Bowen of Trinity—twice elected President—in 1843, J. F. Mackarness of Merton, a future Bishop of Oxford, in 1844. St. John’s, engaged in a feud with Christ Church, added to the list of Union orators James Bellamy, long afterwards a familiar figure in its courts and gardens, and Paul Parnell whom the authorities banished for heading a demonstration against an unpopular Proctor. Henry Hayman, of St. John’s also, proved more successful in debating than in directing a great Public School. John Coleridge shone among the representatives of Balliol—his speech “like honey trickling down”

¹ See Coventry Patmore’s description, quoted by Mr. Mackail (*Life of Morris*, I, 126).

² Mr. Morrah reports a criticism to this effect by the younger Francis Jeune (*Oxford Union*, 179).

³ Sixty-two Balliol men and fifty-six Christ Church men filled the Chair in the century following 1823, twice or more than twice the number drawn from any other College (*Ib.* 313–16).

—and the two Portals among the representatives of Christ Church. Hardinge Giffard of Merton, destined to out-shine and to out-live so many famous lawyers, was a stout young Tory in 1845. Mansel, Burgon, Alexander prepared their gifts of speaking for the pulpit. Liddon, on the other hand, found that the Union inspired him with disgust. A Committee was formed for Burgon's suppression, in which Brooke Lambert, afterwards distinguished in another school of Churchmanship, took part. Lord Dufferin of Christ Church, who filled the Chair in 1847, and who at that date appeared to Jowett to be "a most excellent tuft," once so moved the feelings of his audience by his appeal for the sufferers from famine in Ireland, that he nearly persuaded the Society to vote irregularly funds for their relief. Grant Duff began to study and descant on foreign policy. Frederic Harrison, Edward Beesly and John Bridges followed where Richard Congreve was beginning to lead. Henry Oxenham's motion that "the Company of Jesus had deserved well of the Church and of mankind" is said to have ruined his chances of a Fellowship. In 1850 a great debate was held upon Protection. Frederick Lygon of Christ Church, who was to pass the Chair in the following year, demanded the revival of tariffs. Lord Robert Cecil of Christ Church, who had been Secretary two years before, did not conceal his opinion that Sir Robert Peel was lying in "the grave of infamy" which his tergiversation had dug for him. And many an orator of fame was heard.¹ It was Lygon who, as President, differed so severely from the landlord of the old rooms in High Street where the Society met,² that it was resolved to move and to buy new quarters. Dr. Bliss, one of the Society's trustees, came forward with timely assistance. In 1852 a site to the West of Cornmarket Street, now long familiar, was secured, and in the following year the plans for the new Debating Hall,³ which poets and painters were to decorate, were drawn.

The years in the middle of the century witnessed a fresh contingent arriving at the Union from Rugby, to add fresh laurels to that famous school. Henry Smith had come up to Balliol in 1845—"there's mind in that," said Dr. Jenkyns of his Scholarship essay—and had since covered himself with honours. George

¹ Mr. Morrah gives a long account of it, based on a report secured by Lord Brabourne, who as Knatchbull-Hugessen of Magdalen took an active part (*Ib.* 130 sq.).

² Behind Wyatt's, now Rowell's, the jeweller's, at No. 115. Mr. C. H. Pearson is my authority for this statement (*Memorials*, 70). The Committee supported Lygon, the Earl Beauchamp of later days. Lygon was President in 1851, Pearson in 1852.

³ Now the principal Library.

Goschen came up in 1850 to Oriel, and in 1853 was elected to the President's chair—"the most eloquent person I ever heard anywhere," said a whole-hearted friend. "He was always rather a fire-eater," added another. His greatest speech, it seems, was a defence of Shelley, unprepared, which wiped from the records of the Union the slur of earlier years. His most characteristic speech was his defence of Mr. Gladstone for not being a thorough-going party man.

"He who joins a party, as a party, at the first commits a fatal error which it will be difficult to retrace."¹

But Benjamin Rogers of Wadham won greater popularity for a moment—he was carried shoulder-high into the street—by condemning Mr. Gladstone for not joining the Whigs. From Rugby came not only Goschen, but Lomer of Oriel, a fine Liberal speaker, who unhappily died young, Charles Pearson with his shrewd and critical judgment—he thought Arnold's boys apt to be "self-consciously moral"—and among others Charles Bowen in 1854. Goschen and Pearson were conspicuous in the little Essay Society called ultimately, in defiance of scoffers, "The Wise and Good," to which George Brodrick and Godfrey Lushington of Balliol and Arthur Butler of University—all Union Presidents in 1854—belonged. Charles Bowen was President in 1858, Albert Dicey in 1859, the year when John Morley of Lincoln, well-known as a speaker but never among the Society's chairmen, took his Bachelor's degree. Lyulph Stanley, a Balliol freshman of 1857, left memories of "absolute eloquence" behind him. T. H. Green and John Magrath, James Bryce and Auberon Herbert, Bosworth Smith, noted already for his depth of feeling, Francis Jeune the younger, Courtenay Ilbert, Strachan-Davidson, Lord Francis Hervey, Mandell Creighton, never very fond of talking for talking's sake, and others often as notable as they, were among the Presidents who carried on a great tradition from 1861 to 1868.²

II

The year 1856, which saw Dean Liddell reorganising the Cathedral, and the Prince Consort and the Prince of Prussia present in the Theatre, saw the Bedels diminished in number and their glories shorn.³ "Nunquam omnes moriemur inulti,"

¹ See Mr. Arthur Elliot's *Life of G. J. Goschen* (I, 22-6). Goschen also made remarkable speeches on Papal Aggression, on Tennyson and on the French Revolution.

² For further details see Mr. Morrah's *Oxford Union*.

³ Cox's lament over the Statute De Bedellis forms Chapter XXI of his *Recollections*. The three Esquire and three Yeomen Bedels gave place to two Bedels and two Sub-Bedels.

murmured Cox, who opposed the innovation with all the authority of fifty years of service, and whose opposition was stimulated—it would not be true to say embittered—by the shock of finding that Dr. Pusey was in favour of the change. The next year, 1857, which saw Livingstone speak in the Sheldonian, witnessed unsuccessful endeavours to remodel the Examination Statute and to alter the undergraduate's gown.¹ Revolution still moved slowly in Oxford. But in 1859 the old sermons to commemorate the Gunpowder Treason, King Charles' Martyrdom and his son's Restoration were allowed to lapse. And in that year one of King Charles' destined successors took up his quarters as an undergraduate at Frewen Hall.² He was to be a Christ Church man, though living out of College. Dean Liddell went to the station to meet him, and brought him back to Christ Church, where the bells were ringing and the undergraduates waiting drawn up in the quadrangle.

"The Prince himself," wrote the Dean, "is the nicest little fellow possible, so simple, naïf, ingenuous and modest, and moreover with extremely good wits, possessing also the royal faculty of never forgetting a face."³

The Prince Consort had insisted on an entirely separate establishment for his son. "The only use of Oxford is that it is a place for *study*, a refuge from the world and its claims." The Prince of Wales had a governor, Colonel Bruce, to supervise him; he was not to be thrown too rashly into the company of young men. He had his own special courses of lectures, to which one or two selected friends like Charles Wood and William Henry Gladstone were admitted. Professor Stanley superintended his religious studies, Professor Goldwin Smith his history, Professor Max Müller his modern languages. But the Prince was a little impatient of reading, even when the volume was a novel of Sir Walter Scott's. On the other hand, it is recorded that he spoke up for *Adam Bede*. The unsleeping care which surrounded him was very much in evidence. Life was not intended to be too hilarious. Smoking was forbidden. Invitations were generally declined. But dinner-parties with an ele-

¹ Cox notes (*Recollections*, 395) that Dr. Liddell at Christ Church set the example of abolishing the special dress of servitors. "The chief *peculiarity* was, the absence of the silk tassel on the cap; the other (but less observable) was the absence of little plaits or folds on the flying wings or '*leading strings*' attached to the *Commoner's* gown."

² Or Frewin Hall. The name comes from an early 18th century Professor, who built on a wing. But the Hall has Elizabethan rooms, a 15th century gateway, and a very early cellar or undercroft. (See *Oxford Magazine* for Feb. 15, 1912.)

³ See Thompson's *Memoir of Henry George Liddell* (177-8).

ment of instruction in them were permitted. And an occasional day's hunting was allowed. The Prince wore the nobleman's gold-tasselled cap, and was conspicuous in 1860 at Commemoration, when Lord Brougham received an overpowering welcome from the University which in old days he had energetically assailed. He shared with his father in the sober gaieties of the British Association. And he helped to do the honours of the University to an even more illustrious visitor, when the Queen appeared for a few hours in Oxford shortly before the close of that year.¹

In 1858 James Mozley noted on a visit to Oxford that Tractarianism appeared to be quite dead. But the embers of religious controversy smouldered wherever divines were gathered together, and to those intent upon detecting heresy Jowett became for some years a favourite object of attack. He was not universally popular. His "heroic industry" and his corresponding influence as a Tutor were admitted by all who knew his work. But his standards were difficult and his reserve unmistakable. His talk at the Balliol high table always "had an edge on it." And he kept for a comparatively narrow circle the gaiety of spirit which broke out in his letters to intimate friends. In 1854 he was disappointed in the election to the Mastership.² In the autumn of 1855 he was nominated by the Government to the Regius Professorship of Greek. But in June of that year he had published two volumes of notes and dissertations on the Epistles of St. Paul, and some of the essays in these volumes, especially one on the Doctrine of the Atonement, stating with searching force the objections to the popular doctrine of the Evangelical School, startled and shocked those who disagreed.

"There will be many who say it is good to adore in silence a mystery that we can never understand. But there are 'idols of the temple' as well as idols of the market-place. These idols consist in human reasonings and definitions which are erected into Articles of faith. We are willing to adore in silence, but not the inventions of man." ³

The new Professor, who ten years before had resisted the imposition of fresh tests on those who differed from him in opinion,

¹ For some of these details see Sir S. Lee's *Life of Edward VII* (I, 75 sq.).

² It seems that at the last moment theological considerations turned the scale against Jowett. Dr. Scott's views were thought to be more sound. (See Jowett's *Life*, I, 229.)

³ (*Ib.* I, 234-5.) These words will be found on p. 474 of the second volume of Jowett's *Epistles of St. Paul* (1855). Jowett wrote on the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians and Romans. Stanley published his work on the Epistles to the Corinthians at the same time.

found himself suddenly denounced to the Vice-Chancellor for heresy.¹ He was summoned to sign the Thirty-Nine Articles again. He complied with characteristic coolness, but he felt the attack. "They have done me harm, but I shall live it down," he said.

"It grieves me to have been put to this sort of schoolboy degradation, and also to think that such things are possible nowadays. I don't intend to write a single word in reply."

He began at once to lecture on the *Republic*, "the greatest uninspired writing," in the old Hall of Balliol College. His lectures soon drew crowded audiences and continued to do so for some years. The salary of his Chair was still only forty pounds, and, as he meant to make the Professorship a reality, he gave up the salaried office of College Bursar. The proper endowment of the Chair, which the Commissioners had suggested, and to which in principle, it was thought, the Christ Church authorities had agreed, was still unduly postponed. And now that theological prejudice had entered into the question it was evident that the expected endowment would be more difficult than ever to obtain.

Meanwhile the Professor's offences against orthodoxy were aggravated by a new and serious charge. In 1860 there broke upon a world already deeply agitated by Darwin and soon to be agitated further by Colenso, a volume innocently entitled *Essays and Reviews*, in which Temple, Jowett, Pattison and four less memorable coadjutors undertook to show the advantage which religion might derive from the free handling of certain great subjects too often conventionally treated.² It was a misfortune, Jowett had admitted to Stanley in 1856, "to be even unintentionally the cause of stirring up a row in a place of Education." But he was convinced that by reticence nothing could be done, and two years later he was taking an active part in the arrangements for the new volume. "The object is to say what we think freely within the limits of the Church of England." Pusey and his friends ought not to be allowed to prevent the free expression of opinion in Oxford or elsewhere.

¹ The Vice-Chancellor then was Dr. Cotton of Worcester, a brother-in-law but not a follower of Dr. Pusey. The prime movers in the attack were Dr. Macbride, Principal of Magdalen Hall, and Mr. C. P. Golightly, always an active champion of orthodoxy (*Jowett's Life*, I, 238).

² See the introduction to *Essays and Reviews*. Four volumes of *Oxford Essays* by Members of the University had already appeared in 1855-58, containing essays on Lucretius, Homer, Sicily and other subjects free from all ecclesiastical contentions, but containing also essays on Christian Comprehension by H. B. Wilson and on the Evidences of Natural Theology by Professor Baden Powell more open to theological attack.

"We do not wish to do anything rash or irritating to the public or the University, but we are determined not to submit to this abominable system of terrorism, which prevents the statement of the plainest facts, and makes true theology or theological education impossible." ¹

The preparations went forward. Others joined in them, though Stanley stood aside. And when the clergy assembled in numbers at Oxford to vote against the appointment to the Chair of Sanskrit of a distinguished Orientalist bred among German and unorthodox traditions, they found their attention drawn to a publication which seemed to some as dangerously liberal as any unorthodox German could desire. To Temple's article on the Education of the World, to Mark Pattison's historical survey of the Deistic controversy and of the attempts of eighteenth century theologians to construct "a *via media* between Atheism and Athanasianism," even to Jowett's views on the Interpretation of Scripture, serious objections might seem nowadays difficult to sustain. But some of Jowett's outspoken phrases were ill-calculated to allay alarm. The time had come, he pleaded, when it was no longer possible to ignore the results of criticism. The Bible must be interpreted like any other book. The meaning of Scripture was one thing, the inspiration of Scripture was another.

"Every one has need to make war against his prejudices no less than against his passions, and in the religious teacher the first is even more necessary than the last." ²

Apart from Jowett's arguments the tone of some passages in the other articles, Dr. Williams' rather rash statements, Baden Powell's discussion of miracles, Wilson's attitude towards subscription, strangely reminiscent in some ways of W. G. Ward's, gave critics the handle they desired. The contributors had expressly stated that they wrote in complete independence of each other, and that no man was responsible for what his fellow contributors said. But, as Tait and Stanley saw, they could not separate themselves completely from the opinions of their colleagues. Stanley, a very friendly judge, thought the composite publication a blunder, the tone of it all too negative and

¹ See the outspoken letter to Stanley dated August 15, 1858, in Jowett's *Life* (I, 275). Stanley disapproved of the proposal. Max Müller and Sir Alexander Grant, whom Jowett thought likely contributors, for different reasons dropped out, and the seven essays were finally written by Dr. Temple, Dr. Rowland Williams, Professor Baden Powell, Mr. H. B. Wilson (one of the four Tutors who had taken action against W. G. Ward), Mr. C. W. Goodwin, Mark Pattison and Jowett himself. Wilson, a man of "intense spiritual thoughtfulness," had first approached Jowett on the subject (*Ib.* I, 273).

² See *Essays and Reviews* (349-50, 374, 377, 433).

controversial, and parts of the volume certain to offend. In Temple's essay he found rare merit, in Jowett's no just ground of complaint. But the rest were strangely crude.

"Goodwin, a layman, has written a clear, able statement of the Mosaic Cosmogony; Wilson, an able but very irritating essay on the National Church. Pattison, on the Eighteenth Century, has much interesting matter, but imperfectly cooked. The two others appear to me superfluous."¹

Where Stanley criticised, a more rigid orthodoxy raged. Various newspapers denounced the publication.² Convocation,³ newly revived, seized the opportunity to assert its opinions. Bishop Hampden, untaught by the lessons of experience, demanded a prosecution. "This was a question between Infidelity and Christianity." So Dr. Pusey's followers had thought of certain Bampton Lectures not many years before. Bishop Wilberforce brought heavy guns to bear in the *Quarterly Review*. Archdeacon Denison declared that of all books in any language which he had ever laid his hands on, this was "incomparably the worst." Carlyle talked of the writers as sentinels deserting their posts.⁴ The Archbishops and Bishops, moved to act, pronounced a sweeping condemnation. They could not understand how the opinions expressed could be reconciled with an honest subscription to the formularies of the Church. And Tait, to the astonishment of Temple and Jowett, who had talked over the matter with him at Fulham, and had strong reasons for thinking that the Bishop of London at least would not join in the attack, added his signature to this severe rebuke.

Stanley, whatever his own misgivings about the publication, was immediately up in arms on behalf of his friends. How, he asked, could the Bishops justify a censure so indiscriminate and unfair? Had they no sense of proportion or of equity, no power of distinguishing what was blamable from what was not? What was there in Temple's essay or in Jowett's or in Pattison's to merit such wholesale condemnation? "False weights are truly an abomination to the Lord." To Tait who, they felt, had thrown his old friends over, both Stanley and Temple expressed themselves with freedom. No popular panic, wrote Stanley, could justify the Bishop of London in publicly denouncing the three essayists whom he had privately acquitted,

¹ See Stanley's *Life* (II, 31). This often told story is well retold there, and of course in Jowett's *Life*, in Tait's, and elsewhere.

² As the controversy developed, Charles Bowen, in March 1861, left the staff of the *Saturday Review* because of its comments.

³ Of the Church, not of the University.

⁴ Ruskin, on the other hand, was less tragic and respectful. His light-hearted comment in a letter to Dr. Acland I dare not repeat.

and whose views in fact he was not prepared to condemn. Temple protested with dignity and indignation against the hasty and reckless censure of the Bishops. Tait's share in it he found it hard to forgive. If Tait had thought this essay wrong, why, when they met, had he not said so? He had made it impossible for a friend to calculate on what he would do. "You can hardly imagine the wound it gave me to see your name under the Archbishop's letter."¹ The visit to Fulham had made him confident that Tait would take no part in such a manifesto. "What you did had not the intention, but it had all the effect, of treachery." And Tait, who had felt obliged to join in censuring the book, without wishing to censure the three chief writers in it, found it difficult to offer an altogether satisfactory reply.

Temple demanded a fair trial if he was to be condemned. As Headmaster of a great Public School and responsible for its religious education his position was seriously shaken by the Bishops' attack. It was thought that he might be driven to resign. Vaughan could "conceive no graver responsibility" than the silencing of Temple's voice in Rugby Chapel. Lightfoot could conceive no greater calamity not to Rugby only but to the English Church. Westcott, while differing widely from Jowett, could not approve the vague charges of infidelity brought against him, augured "the very gravest evil" from such attempts to banish intellectual freedom. The storm rolled on. Two of the essayists, Dr. Rowland Williams and Mr. H. B. Wilson, were brought to trial in December 1862 before the Dean of Arches, and on certain special grounds suspended. Jowett confessed to little anxiety. It was "a dreary time for clergymen of liberal opinions." But he did not care to defend himself.

"I feel convinced that sooner or later the Church of England will find it impossible to subsist on a fabric of falsehood and fiction."

On appeal the Privy Council reversed the sentence of the Court below.² Lord Westbury delivered the final judgment with evident relish. Stanley was thankful both for the law asserted and for the doctrines set aside.³ He had, no doubt, hoped for an acquittal. But he had not expected "anything so clean and clear."

¹ For this outspoken correspondence see Chapter XII of the *Life* of Archbishop Tait.

² Judgment was delivered on Feb. 8, 1864. (See Brodrick and Fremantle's *Judgments (Ecclesiastical) of the Privy Council* (247-90) and the *Life of Bishop Wilberforce* (1883, vol. III, Chap. i).

³ "That the Church of England does not hold—(1) Verbal Inspiration, (2) Imputed Righteousness, (3) Eternity of Torment, is now, I trust, fixed for ever" (Stanley's *Life*, II, 44). He hoped the Bible might now be read "without those terrible nightmares."

Meanwhile Jowett's opponents in Oxford, fortified by the sentence of the Dean of Arches, had determined to attack him nearer home. He was cited before the Vice-Chancellor's Court,¹ the undergraduates crowding in to watch the trial. But from the first the prosecution halted. The defence denied the Court's jurisdiction. The Assessor was doubtful about it. He refused to order Jowett to appear. Jowett himself was depressed and indignant. But before many months were over the proceedings against him had collapsed. Thereupon Stanley, who had never ceased to press upon the University the meanness of the refusal to endow the Greek Chair, and whose persistent advocacy of generosity and fairness had had its effect upon Dr. Pusey, grasped the opportunity to revive that question.² Before the end of 1863 Pusey proposed, to the dismay of some of his extreme supporters, that a salary of four hundred a year should be granted, on the understanding that the University's judgment on the Professor's theological writings was reserved.³ Stanley agreed to this compromise. Congregation approved it. But Convocation rejected it in March 1864, amid loud signs of disapproval from the undergraduates present and an even louder outcry from the Press. Fresh attempts to settle the question followed—a Bill introduced by Lord Westbury in the House of Lords, a proposal by the Vice-Chancellor at Oxford, to which the Hebdomadal Council refused to assent. Almost the only subject which the Council could agree on, wrote an ironical observer, was "the best means of starving a Professor with whom they do not happen to concur." Mr. Freeman intervened to point out that Christ Church had admitted its historical obligations in the matter, and to ask why the suggestion made by Christ Church to the first University Commissioners had never been carried through. Finally Dean Liddell persuaded his Chapter to accept a responsibility which they could not with

¹ In February 1863, "to answer to certain articles to be administered and objected to him . . . concerning the reformation and correction of his manners and excesses, but especially for infringing the Statutes and privileges of the University" by publishing "erroneous and strange doctrines." The Chancellor's monition is quoted in *Jowett's Life* (I, 311 n.). The Vice-Chancellor's Assessor, in effect the judge, was Mr. Mountague Bernard. The argument and decision are reported in *Pusey and Others v. Jowett*.

² £2,000, subscribed by his friends to compensate him for loss of salary, Jowett refused to take. But he was "very sensible that it is a great thing to have such friends" (*Ib.* I, 307).

³ As early as May 1861 Pusey had proposed to raise the salaries of several Chairs, including the Greek Chair, and Liddon, who objected "to endowing Jowett in any way, direct or indirect," had voted against Pusey and been rebuked for it by Keble. (See Johnston's *Life of H. P. Liddon*, 59-60.)

credit any longer evade, and to end a public scandal by raising the salary of the Greek Professor to five hundred pounds a year.¹

III

It may be difficult now to realise how largely these contentions occupied the mind of Oxford sixty years ago, and maintained down to our own day the ancient war of clerical opinions, in which the University had so often found a stimulus to faith. But other interests were not to be forgotten, even when theologians disagreed. The Colleges were growing every decade in prosperity. Christ Church under Dean Liddell entered on a new era. Under Gaisford, great scholar as he was, its intellectual prowess had declined. The system of awarding Studentships by private nomination, and of choosing from Students so nominated the Tutorial staff, had in it inevitable elements of danger, unless the College authorities were always on their guard against them. The brilliant successes in the Schools won by Mr. Gladstone and his immediate successors had become conspicuously rarer before Dean Gaisford died.² Liddell himself, prominent among University reformers, was admirably fitted to preside over the difficult period of change. He found at first little support among his colleagues. Dr. Jacobson, the Regius Professor of Divinity, was almost his only ally. Dr. Barnes, the senior Canon, a volunteer of the war against the French Revolution, retained some of the feelings of that period. Dr. Pusey's voice was ever heard in protest. "Fuit Ilium! Fuit Ilium!" he would say. Stanley, on his return to a Professorship and Canonry, proved of course invaluable. But Stanley had no illusions about the difficulties to be faced.

"This morning at Chapter a discussion arose about the former mode of services in Christ Church Cathedral. 'I stated the fact to be so,' said Pusey, who was sitting by Ogilvie, 'in preaching before the University.' 'Can you refer to it?' asked Jacobson. 'It was in my condemned sermon,' replied Pusey. I could not help stealing a glance at Ogilvie, who was one of the judges that condemned the sermon. You can imagine the black thundercloud. It burst afterwards in another direction. Another discussion arose about the income of the College property. 'We shall only be laying up stores for the *rapaciousness* of future Commissioners.' Certainly the Chapter here contains very explosive elements."³

Liddell had to carry through a profound alteration in the constitution of the College, an alteration which ended the old auto-

¹ This decision was intimated to the Vice-Chancellor in February 1865. For the later stages of this controversy see Jowett's *Life* (I, 303-20).

² The 28 First Classes of 1831-35 dwindled to 6 in the five years 1841-45. (See Thompson's *Christ Church*, 195.)

³ So Stanley wrote to his mother in 1858. (See his *Life*, II, 2.)

crazy of the Dean and Chapter and gave the Students a dominant voice in the government of the House. The Ordinance of 1858, though strongly opposed by lovers of the old system, left some dissatisfaction among the newly-created Senior Students, who had been intended to hold a position similar to that of Fellows elsewhere. They had been given new rights. Nomination had been largely replaced by open competition. But they had been given no part in the control of the property of the College.¹ And it was not till the Christ Church Oxford Act of 1867, embodying the results of wise and careful arbitration, that the Senior Students were admitted to a full share in the management of its revenues and in the work of administration. The Statutes of 1882 confirmed the powers awarded by this Act. It divided the Senior Students into two classes, official and non-official Students, reserved for them the old name of Students simply, and bestowed on the Junior Students the name of Scholars. The Canons accepted the new situation and showed on the whole a generous and conciliatory temper. But much of the credit of this peaceful revolution was due to the quiet tact and perseverance of the Dean.

Liddell himself, an excellent scholar, had been a Double First in 1833, a well-known Tutor later, and a dictionary-maker who, as Gaisford permitted himself to observe, had found that "love and lexicography were not incompatible." He had been a Headmaster also, and he kept to the last an air and tone of authority which could make him something of a mentor even to his friends.² But he had wide interests, a large and liberal outlook, a noble dignity, great personal charm. Ruskin, his "affectionate pupil," mourned him as an artist lost. "You kept dictionary-making," he once complained, "instead of drawing trees at Madeira in colour": and Liddell, an able chairman of a business meeting, would draw delightful pictures on his blotting-paper while the inevitable talk flowed on. He was a strong and practical administrator. He took a leading part in University affairs. He was the first Christ Church Vice-Chancellor since Aldrich.³ His influence grew steadily both inside and outside his College. Constitutional difficulties were successfully dealt with. Difficulties of discipline were successfully overcome. The old College, with its servitors and its Gentlemen Commoners, with its noblemen still dining augustly on the dais, in a Hall

¹ And, it may be added, the proportion of clerical Students, 19 out of 28, was still too large.

² See, for example, some of his letters to Sir Henry Acland in the Bodleian.

³ He was Vice-Chancellor from 1870 to 1874. Several of these details are drawn from Thompson's *Memoir of H. G. Liddell*.

lit with wax candles and served on pewter plates, was beginning to pass away when Liddell took charge. Collections, imposed by Gaisford, were enforced by the new Dean. Able Students were brought in from outside, like George Luke of Balliol,¹ "who understood, perfectly," said Jowett, "the secret of success as a College Tutor," and whose great gifts soon told upon the teaching and conduct of the College. Years succeeded, and Liddell, happily, held on. He refused, on Stanley's death, to move to Westminster. Stanley's memory was sacred, but he *could not* wear his mantle.² Undergraduates of distinction continued to matriculate at Christ Church.³ The Prince of Wales was followed by Prince Leopold in 1872.⁴ Lord Derby, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury, Lord Rosebery were added to the list of Christ Church Premiers—Lord Derby always with a reluctance which he made little effort to conceal.⁵ Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning, Lord Elgin, Lord Northbrook, Lord Dufferin were added to the list of Indian Viceroy's. Scholars and theologians, drawn sometimes from other Colleges, brought their fame and learning to the House, a mathematician like Charles Dodgson, destined to rare celebrity in a less serious field, but driven to set his pupils "lines" to compel attendance at his lectures, a historian like York Powell, following where Stubbs and Gardiner had led. Future Heads of Colleges and well-loved churchmen, Edward Talbot, Francis Paget, Henry Liddon, who returned to Christ Church at the end of 1862, maintained with dignity the great traditions of the past.⁶

¹ Luke died prematurely, drowned, unhappily, in 1862. A. G. V. Harcourt, Lee's Reader in Chemistry, was another Student imported from Balliol, H. Scott Holland another. Mr. E. F. Sampson came from St. John's, Mr. Arthur Hassall from Trinity, and others from other Colleges, as time went on.

² There is a letter to this effect, dated August 1881, among Sir H. Acland's papers in the Bodleian.

³ Mr. H. L. Thompson, Vicar of St. Mary's and Liddell's biographer, matriculating in 1858, found about 180 undergraduates, with 6 classical Tutors and 1 mathematical Lecturer (*Christ Church*, 214).

⁴ The Prince Consort's name was entered on the books. The Crown Prince of Denmark matriculated in 1863, the Crown Prince of Siam later.

⁵ Lord Rosebery's Premiership and Lord Derby's first accession to that office fall outside Liddell's term as Dean.

⁶ Henry Liddon, a Student, took his degree in 1850 and was Professor of Exegesis from 1870 to 1882. James Mozley was Regius Professor of Divinity in 1871. Mr. Thompson's list of Christ Church prelates up to 1900 includes 5 Archbishops of Canterbury, 9 Archbishops of York, 5 Bishops of London and 8 Bishops of Durham (*Christ Church*, 221). Among Christ Church men of Liddell's day several like M. E. Hicks-Beach, A. H. D. Acland, W. H. Long and S. O. Buckmaster, who matriculated respectively in 1855, 1866, 1873 and 1879, were destined to win high distinction in politics, and many other names might be added to theirs.

Liddell became a notable builder. He did more to restore the Cathedral than any predecessor since Dean Duppa. He began at once to attack the old arrangements, which cut up and blocked the Church, which provided a verger with a house in the South transept and a whip to drive out intruding dogs, and which allowed him to store his beer under the Deanery ladies' pew. He swept away the heavy organ screen which shut off the choir, moved the organ and the Chapter stalls, rendered the whole length of the church available for service. Later on, in 1870, with the co-operation of Gilbert Scott, he set on foot a much larger scheme of restoration, cleaning and repairing the ancient surface of the walls, removing screens and obstructions, restoring window-tracery, casting out, unhappily, all Van Linge's windows except one. The whole of the East end was reconstructed. The verger's house was abolished and the entire South transept brought into the church again. Fine iron-work screens were placed about the choir and nave, to mark off the central portion for collegiate uses. A new bay was added at the West end, in place of those which Wolsey had destroyed. A new approach was made from the great quadrangle, regardless of the Canon's house which blocked the way. The bells were moved into a new belfry over the Hall staircase.¹ New wood-work and new marbles were provided. Stalls were even found for Honorary Canons when academical exigencies allowed. New glass, some of it of rare distinction,² took its place presently beside the old. With the restoration of the Cathedral went the restoration of the cloisters. The muniment room made in the North cloister in the eighteenth century was cleared away. The vaulting, the window-tracery and other portions of the stonework were made good. And the noble Chapter House, which had been divided up and tampered with, to provide an adequate cellar for the Chapter wine, reappeared in all its ancient dignity and beauty.

Outside in the great quadrangle the same work of restoration or improvement went on. The crumbling stone was refaced. The arches, shafts and buttresses were renewed and disclosed.³ The level of the terrace was lowered: it had been largely rebuilt by Chantrey in 1842. The balustrade above was replaced by battlements, except on the street front where John Fell's balustrade remains.⁴ The small tower over Kill-Canon was completed,

¹ Where Mr. Bodley cased them in a graceful tower, never yet completed according to his design.

² Sir E. Burne-Jones' work there is familiar.

³ One of the arches in the S.W. corner was left unfinished, to allow more light to the house which Dr. Pusey occupied from 1829 to 1882 (Thompson, *Christ Church*, 231).

⁴ Replacing Wolsey's original parapet.

and a statue of John Fell, presented by Dr. Liddell, was set up. Wolsey's statue, made by Grinling Gibbons¹ and presented by Bishop Trelawney in 1719, was placed in 1872 above the gateway, and a new image of the Cardinal, given by Dr. Liddon, was placed in the Hall tower. A new block of buildings rose above the Meadows, in the variegated or Venetian fashion which appealed so strongly to some of Mr. Ruskin's followers, on ground where John Fell had once erected buildings mean of aspect but perhaps less alien to those that Oxford loves.² The Hall received its pinnacles. Busby's Common Room saw some alterations. The Deanery rejoiced in a new staircase, paid for by the profits of the famous lexicon. Clarke's great Library with its ponderous magnificence, begun in 1716 and finished in 1761, adorned by statutes of Locke and of Jackson, and enriched by many volumes bequeathed to it by Dean Aldrich, Lord Orrery,³ Archbishop Wake and other distinguished men, counts among its treasures some splendid manuscripts and coins.⁴ Wake's own papers were not the least part of the Archbishop's notable bequest. A fine collection of Italian masters, founded in the eighteenth century by the gift of General Guise,⁵ occupies the Library floor. And to the noble portraits in the Hall the last two centuries have added pictures of Aldrich, Locke and Atterbury, of Wake and Wesley, of Mansfield, Portland and the Grenvilles, of Markham and Jackson, of Wellesley and Canning, of Gladstone, Liddell, Pusey, Liddon, many more. Reynolds and Romney, Gainsborough, Watts and Millais are among the great painters who have contributed their art.

One little group of Colleges was specially affected by the changes wrought by the Commissions. Magdalen and New College, and to a lesser extent Corpus, were in the earlier years of the nineteenth century well-endowed establishments, spending their wealth in dignity and comfort, but not as a rule greatly concerned with the education of such Commoners as they decided to admit. At New College Warden Williams had done what he could to resist innovations. But James Sewell, who succeeded

¹ It seems that the attribution to F. Bird is probably a mistake. (See Mrs. Poole's *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits*, III, 5-6.)

² The Meadow Buildings, built by Deane, of Deane and Woodward's firm, were begun in 1862 and finished in 1865 (Thompson, *Christ Church*, 207-8). Dean Liddell planted a new avenue to the river which Princess Louise opened in 1872 (*Ib. Memoir of Liddell*, 164-5).

³ The Charles Boyle of the *Phalaris* controversy.

⁴ A catalogue of the Christ Church MSS. was published by Dean Kitchen in 1867.

⁵ General Guise, who left the great bequest of pictures, died in 1765 (Thompson, *Christ Church*, 248).

to the Wardenship in 1860, after thirty-three years of almost continuous connection with the College which he was to rule for forty-three years more, set himself to reconcile his colleagues to changes which it was short-sighted to oppose. The results surpassed all expectations. The close College with its large privileged foundation, its contempt for Class Lists, its undistinguished record, began at once to take a greater place in Oxford life. Open Fellowships were followed by open Scholarships. Inter-collegiate teaching was developed, New College taking, with Balliol, a leading part. Tutorial Fellows were permitted to marry. The number of undergraduates—all Commoners were now required to read for Honours—rose from thirty in 1868 to one hundred and fifty in 1879, to two hundred and more later. Wykehamists flocked to New College still, but Eton, Harrow and other great schools contributed their quotas. Honours in examinations fell to New College men. Edward Wickham, who became a College Tutor in 1859,¹ and Alfred Robinson, who became a Fellow in 1865, a Bursar and an invaluable adviser afterwards, were among those who contributed materially to the new spirit of energy and success. H. B. George and W. A. Spooner were conspicuous Tutors of the same era. S. R. Driver was a Fellow of 1870. W. L. Courtney—elected in the same year as Alfred Milner—was a Fellow of 1876. Rashdall, Margoliouth and Oman were among the Scholars of 1877 and 1878. A. C. Headlam and Herbert Fisher were Scholars a few years later. Gilbert Murray became a Fellow in 1888.² Increasing numbers meant more buildings. Ground outside the old city wall fronting on Holywell Street was secured. In 1873 Sir Gilbert Scott built a new and lofty block, of which the College historians say restrainedly that it “added nothing to the architectural interest of the College.” In 1884 Mr. Basil Champneys made a further addition to the North front, and subsequent additions have drawn dignity from the gardens and the ancient beauty of the site.³ In the Chapel Wyatt among other doubtful

¹ And Headmaster of Wellington in 1873 and Dean of Lincoln in 1894. Most of the changes noted above date from the years 1861–69. (See Rashdall and Rait's *New College*, 227–8.)

² Many other names might be added. Mr. P. E. Matheson has been, since 1881, a lifelong friend of the College. Mr. H. E. Salter, since a great historian, was a Scholar of 1882. Mr. J. C. Bailey came up in the same year. Mr. R. S. Rait, one of the College historians, also for several years a distinguished Tutor, won his Fellowship later, in 1899. His colleague, Dr. Rashdall, of a much older generation, was Dr. Butler's favourite pupil at Harrow some twenty years before.

³ The large additions of 1897–8, with the pleasant court and the new gateway, were intended in part to commemorate Mr. Alfred Robinson. Mr. Champneys also placed new pinnacles on the Hall, which some have

alterations had destroyed the fine old roof, and a century later it was determined to celebrate the quincenary of the College by undoing much of Wyatt's work. Sir Gilbert Scott was again invited to make plans.¹ Regardless of the old proportions of the Chapel, he inserted a new roof of greater height. He also constructed a new organ-loft, and he began to restore the East end, a task which Mr. Pearson finished. The fine old glass was cared for and reset. In the Hall Scott had already removed the plaster ceiling, which Wyatt had substituted for the noble work of earlier days, and had replaced a wooden roof, a louvre, and windows with armorial bearings as before. And the pictures round the Hall, Dr. Lowth and Dr. Shuttleworth, Archbishop Howley and Sir William Erle, Warden Sewell and Warden Spooner, help to record the gradual transformation of the College.

Corpus had no such space as New College to develop when it resolved to enlarge its borders and to make its Commoners an element of real importance. Its undergraduates—Scholars, Exhibitioners and Gentlemen Commoners included—had rarely in the century preceding 1850 numbered more than twenty all told.² But it had already secured a fine record in the Schools, and that tradition it has never since abandoned. Dr. Norris, who ruled it as President from 1843 to 1872,³ had little sympathy with change. But the leading figure in the College for many years, and one of the leading figures among University reformers, was John Matthias Wilson, who succeeded Dr. Norris as President. Wilson was not weighted by his predecessor's fears. The arrangements proposed by the Commissions were carried through, with their liberal provision for Professorships and for research. The new Statutes were approved. New buildings were resolved on. The little College of Loggan's day had seen a few alterations in the eighteenth century, a third storey imposed in 1737 on the North and West sides of the quadrangle, the disappearance of the old chimneys and dormer windows, and a new building for six Gentlemen Commoners added on the East side. In the early nineteenth century, when the Building Fund was instituted, the College walls had been refaced and a statue of the Founder set up. But when expansion was needed a site had to be sought beyond the College borders, and it was in Merton Street and Grove.

thought less graceful than Wyatt's. (See Rashdall and Rait, *New College*, 87-8.)

¹ But he died in 1878, before they were completed. A meagre list of his works, not very well arranged, is given in the *Builder* for April 6, 1878. But it has no details.

² See Fowler (*Corpus Christi*, 213). I am often here indebted to Dr. Fowler's two books on the College history.

³ He was preceded by President Bridges (1823-43) and President Cooke (1783-1823).

Street that a home for the *aedes annexae*, designed by Mr. Jackson in 1884, was found. Dr. Turner's bequest in the early eighteenth century provided for the enlargement of the fine old College Library, and contributed new treasures to its shelves. Lord Coleraine, a Gentleman Commoner of Dr. Turner's day, who had travelled in Italy with Conyers Middleton, enriched it with a valuable collection of prints and books which he had gathered abroad. The dearth of early portraits in the Hall was gradually atoned for. Kratzer and Jewel have both found places now; while Bishop Copleston and Bishop Phillpotts, Lord Tenterden and Lord Stowell have appeared with others on the walls of a College which has many a reason to commemorate its members. The traditions set by President Wilson were carried on by his successor. Dr. Fowler, elected in 1881, maintained to the full the reputation of the Society whose representative and historian he became. Corpus remained comparatively small. But few Colleges of that day were thought to be more fortunate in their rulers or their sons.¹

Magdalen, called upon like Corpus to subscribe ungrudgingly to the University's requirements, had still better opportunities of utilising her wealth. With Dr. Routh the traditions of the eighteenth century had departed. The President's powers had undergone some limitation. The old close College had to disappear. But the disinclination for change lived on. Bishop Phillpotts, whose activities lasted nearly till his death in 1869, never failed to give it expression. On the other hand, Magdalen Fellows like Robert Lowe and Roundell Palmer represented a very different attitude of mind.² Charles Daubeny continued till 1867 to advocate the cause of science. Charles Reade kept his rooms in College for nearly fifty years, long after the famous green coat and brass buttons of his early days had vanished.

¹ Dr. Case succeeded as President on Dr. Fowler's death in 1904. Among Corpus men well known under Dr. Wilson and Dr. Fowler, E. Palmer, H. J. S. Maine and H. J. S. Smith were Professor Fellows in 1875. John Ruskin and H. O. Coxe were Honorary Fellows at that date. Henry Nettleship was elected a Fellow in 1873. H. W. Paul won a Scholarship in 1871. T. Case and Arthur Sidgwick were Tutors in 1880: Charles Cannan, Graham Wallas, S. H. Olivier were among the Scholars and Exhibitioners then. Henry Newbolt, R. F. Cholmeley, J. H. F. Peile, H. Llewellyn Smith were Scholars a year or two later. Mr. Robert Bridges, who matriculated at Corpus in 1863, is happily still an Honorary Fellow of the College. Dr. Walter Lock, afterwards Warden of Keble, was a Scholar of 1865.

² Palmer was a Fellow of 1834. Lowe, like Charles Reade, was elected in 1835, Henry Phillpotts in 1795, James Mozley in 1840. Goldwin Smith and John Conington were Demies of 1842 and 1843. Goldwin Smith's picture of the College of his day in the *Oxford Magazine* of Nov. 11, 1885, should be read.

Reform had friends even within the walls of the College. And President Bulley, elected in 1855, was alive to the need for educational improvement, and was prepared to make the best of inevitable changes, though he had perhaps little more affection for them than the famous veteran whose seat he filled. The additional Demyships proposed by the first Commission were postponed. But the Gentlemen Commoners disappeared altogether; and the ordinary Commoners increased rapidly, from sixteen in 1855 to thirty-five in 1870 and to seventy in 1875.¹ By that year, 1875, it was found that one-third of the undergraduates were living out of College, and the demand for new buildings had become too strong to resist. Wyatt's great schemes in the closing years of the eighteenth century had been for the most part wisely kept at bay.² The cloister quadrangle had been rebuilt on the old lines.³ The remains of Magdalen Hall, where the Grammar School, now reserved for choristers only, had been carried on since the old School buildings disappeared,⁴ were removed in 1845. The old houses facing the Gravel Walk and the old Greyhound Inn went also. Pugin in 1844 replaced the old Jacobean gateway⁵ by a new one, which in its turn has been removed. The new School-room, an excellent building, was opened in May 1851. Above all, some thirty years later, in the space between the School and the College, a beautiful court, St. Swithun's, was laid out, worthy in its grace and symmetry of the noble courts beside it, and perhaps the best example of the fine work which Victorian architects could do in Oxford, when they set themselves to match and not to violate the spirit and the beauty of the past.⁶ In 1885, a year after the completion of these buildings, the number of Commoners had risen to a hundred and sixteen. By that time the Chapel, admirably restored half a century earlier,⁷ and its music raised to the

¹ See Wilson (*Magdalen College*, 257-8), to whom I owe many of these facts.

² He had re-roofed the Chapel and Hall in 1790.

³ Between 1822 and 1827.

⁴ The old Grammar School, except the bell-tower, was removed in 1828, and the School moved first into the remains of Magdalen Hall, and then into the Chaplain's Quadrangle till the new School-room was ready. The North end of the old school-room was adapted by Buckler to form the South front of the present Grammar Hall (*Ib.* 237-8).

⁵ I know of no clear proof that it was Inigo Jones' work. But it was certainly a graceful gateway, though Mr. Tuckwell (*Reminiscences*, 246) speaks of its style as "debased," and the Vice-President's Register of 1844 described it as "foedissima." (See Macray's *Register*, VI, 22).

⁶ Mr. Bodley and Mr. Garner were responsible for the plans adopted in 1880 (Wilson, *Magdalen*, 258).

⁷ By L. N. Cottingham in 1829-34. Mr. Buckler restored the Hall woodwork about 1836 (*Ib.* 238-9).



NEW BUILDINGS AT MAGDALEN

highest level by John Stainer and Walter Parratt,¹ had become the most exquisite of Oxford churches. The College was showing new life and vigour upon every side. Veterans like Dr. Bloxam and Dr. Macray had undertaken a Register of its history and its members. And among the younger Fellows one young Tutor, bringing from Balliol traditions of a rather different kind, had entered upon labours which were to lead a great and fortunate foundation to happier fortunes still in years to come.²

All Souls, St. John's and Jesus were well-endowed Colleges also, which the Commissioners had destined for reform. All Souls, a tempting target for the University reformer, had shown itself not unwilling to respond to the demands made upon its wealth, though circumstances for a time prevented it from doing all it hoped. Its "peculiar character" had been acknowledged by the first Commission. The old restrictions imposed upon its Fellowships, the old proportion between Artists and Jurists, the old abuse of Founder's kin had disappeared. Law and History had been recommended as the special studies of the College. The undergraduate element had continued to be limited to four Bible clerks. But when Warden Sneyd died in 1858, his heart, it was thought, almost broken by the changes round him, his successor, Francis Leighton, once distinguished for his scholarship at Magdalen, had to face the difficult task of reconciling the old ways with the new. The thorniest question was perhaps the question of the Fellowship examination. How far were Fellowships really to depend on the examination now imposed in Law and History, and how far were other considerations to be permitted to come in? Both views were vigorously advocated, pressed, debated, until a reasonable compromise between intellect and social qualities was reached. But the extent to which either element has in fact prevailed in practice is a secret still locked in the hearts of the Fellows. A hardly less perplexing issue was the proposal to admit undergraduates frankly—a proposal to which the new Warden inclined. Was All Souls to expand,

¹ Sir J. Stainer was organist at Magdalen in 1859 and Professor of Music in 1889, Sir W. Parratt College Organist in 1872 and Professor of Music in 1908.

² Mr. T. H. Warren was elected a Fellow in 1877 and President in 1885. Mr. A. D. Godley and Mr. G. E. Underhill were among the Tutors of 1885. Mr. Walter Lock had in 1885 been a Tutor for several years. Dr. Roberts was Organist; D. G. Hogarth and F. W. Bussell were among the Demies. B. P. Lascelles was a very conspicuous freshman, with W. H. Hutton, in 1879. J. S. Sandars, who matriculated in 1871, is only one name among conspicuous Commoners of an earlier date. In 1876, when C. R. L. Fletcher was a Demy, H. A. Wilson, afterwards the College historian, was elected a Fellow. Mr. G. Dawson and others are of later date.

after centuries of seclusion, into a College of the ordinary type? Or was it to develop in the direction of Professorial teaching and research? By the end of 1874 the scheme for an undergraduate College was rejected.¹ And the appointment of a new Commission prevented the adoption of other plans for reform. Two of the Commissioners of 1877, Mountague Bernard and Matthew Ridley, were members of the College, and the special circumstances of All Souls received their full meed of attention in the discussions which led to the Statutes of 1881. The advocates of an undergraduate element in the College had to rest satisfied with the retention of the four Bible clerks. New Professors and Readers were added to its educational side. Three official Fellowships and fourteen prize Fellowships in Law or History survived.² And a long list of distinguished names has justified the throwing open of the endowments of the College.³ In the year when the new Statutes were adopted Warden Leighton died, and Sir William Anson, a layman, was elected to succeed him, and to serve not only his College in Oxford but his University later in the House of Commons. But before Warden Leighton's rule ended two events of some importance had occurred. The Reading Room added to the Codrington Library in 1866 put at the disposal of all members of the University a Law Library of exceptional value, and an opportunity of developing in the most efficient manner the study of a science with which All Souls was specially concerned. In the years which followed it was found necessary to restore the Chapel, and to the surprise and delight of the restorers the remains of the original reredos were discovered and the old fifteenth century roof laid bare. Lord Bathurst's munificence and the generosity of other subscribers⁴ rendered it possible to reproduce the beautiful design if not the vivid colouring of Chichele's day. The features of some of the Fellows, it is said, appear in the statuary which now adorns

¹ This was followed in 1875 by a scheme for the education of selected candidates for the Indian Civil Service.

² Tenable for seven years, but renewable with a small stipend of £50.

³ All Souls men have their record also in other Colleges. But the eighteenth century portraits include Lord Chancellor Talbot and Lord Chancellor Northington, George Clarke and Nicholas Hawksmoor, Blackstone, Tanner, Edward Young. The nineteenth and twentieth century portraits include Bishop Heber and Archbishop Harcourt, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury, Lord Curzon, Archbishop Lang, and Wardens like Sneyd, Leighton and Anson. Some distinguished Fellows of All Souls held Chairs or Readerships in the University in 1887. Others at that date included G. E. Buckle, W. P. Ker, H. R. Reichel, C. R. L. Fletcher, A. H. Hardinge, S. R. Gardiner, H. H. Henson and F. W. Pember.

⁴ Assisted substantially from the Corporate Funds of the College. (See p. 202 of Grant Robertson's history of *All Souls College*, to which here I am often indebted.)

the reredos.¹ And the new windows are due to the liberality of others less conspicuously commemorated but not less faithfully recalled.²

Jesus College had struggled hard to preserve its ancient and narrow nationality. But the throwing open of Fellowships had inevitably been followed by the throwing open of Scholarships as well. A College confined by tests to members of the Church of England and drawing solely on a dwindling minority of Welshmen, its Fellows and Scholars mostly ill-taught and rarely appearing with credit in the Class Lists, found itself compelled to face the question whether it should take rank with other Colleges in Oxford, or be content to limit its advantages to Welshmen who could not compete with Englishmen elsewhere. The choice once faced was not difficult to make. And the years which followed 1858, the period covered by the Headships of Dr. Charles Williams and of Dr. Harper, saw a steady advance in the position of the College. Mr. Lewis Morris, a Commoner of 1852, with a distinguished record in the Schools, was followed by John Richard Green, a Scholar of 1855, by William Boyd Dawkins in 1857, by John Rhys, afterwards Celtic Professor and Principal, in 1865, by Viriamu Jones and Edward Poulton and others of recent and happy memory in later years.³ Of Welsh Bishops the College has always had its share. But it has gained substantially by the admission of Nonconformists since 1871. The College circumstances, very different now from the struggling poverty of its early days, fully justified a policy of expansion. But the undergraduates in 1871 were fewer than they had been a century or a century and a half before,⁴ and it is beyond doubt that the College suffered from the close system which the laws of locality entailed. Dr. Harper, a vigorous and successful Headmaster, who became Principal in 1877, startled the unambitious patriots by his frank insistence on reform. He refused to subscribe to the view that the College must remain exclusive and obscure. He urged that it was its duty to offer all that was best in Oxford education to everyone who came to it, especially from Wales, and his influence prevailed in the Statutes sanc-

¹ It was in the first half of the 19th century that many of the most interesting portraits in the Hall—Wren, Sydenham, Linacre, Jeremy Taylor—appeared.

² Sir Gilbert Scott carried through most of the admirable work of restoration set on foot in 1870 and completed by 1879.

³ Prof. Poulton, who has recalled those days in his *Memoir of Viriamu Jones*, was President of the Union in 1879. The present Principal, Dr. Hazel, has the good fortune to belong to a younger generation.

⁴ The undergraduates paying tuition fees were estimated at 45 in 1871. But in 1740 there were 70 non-foundationers and more before that (Hardy, *Jesus College*, 170).

tioned in 1882. With ample revenues the buildings have been well maintained. But they have not always guarded, here more than anywhere else in Oxford, against unfortunate vicissitudes of taste. Gables have been taken down, battlements added, modern windows introduced. A pitiless restoration in 1864 injured the fine interior of the Chapel.¹ But later architects have been more willing to admit that the aim, in restoring an Oxford College, should be not to substitute some surprising new conception, but to replace the beauty of the old.

St. John's was much wealthier than Jesus. But before the Commissioners appeared to criticise and question, its benefits also were restricted to comparatively few. The throwing open of its Fellowships and the large reduction in their number, which marked the Ordinance of 1861, meant a complete change in the old system, and it was only after a sharp struggle of opinion that St. John's settled down to make the best of the Statutes imposed. The Fellows, limited to eighteen at the most, were almost all exempted from the necessity to take Orders. The Scholarships were readjusted, some thrown open, many close ones retained.² Marriage continued to be, if not unpopular, at least beset with difficulties for official Fellows. The old traditions, and some perhaps of the old prejudices, still survived. But with increasing wealth the College prospered. Its undergraduates, living for the most part economically, rose to a hundred and seventeen in 1877, to nearly a hundred and seventy before the century closed. The three Presidents, Dr. Marlow, Dr. Wynter and Dr. Bellamy, who divided the nineteenth century between them,³ saw the life of Oxford change from a "distressing somnolency," which was not altogether unreflected in the life of their College, to the more vivid energies of modern times. Dr. Bellamy represented with knowledge and ability the more Conservative influences in the Commission of 1877. Among the Fellows gathered round these Presidents there were often figures of distinction. J. L. Adolphus, a Newdigate winner of 1814, was the first to work out, as a "juvenile academic," the identity of the author of *Waverley*. Henry Mansel, another Merchant Taylors' Scholar, and a Tutor and Professor before he went on to be Dean of St. Paul's, was a brilliant type of the teachers and churchmen for whom the

¹ See *ante* (vol. II, 211). It is not necessary to dwell here on the range of new buildings which rose later to dominate Ship Street and to add to the accommodation of the College.

² By the end of the nineteenth century there were 32 Scholarships, of which 22 were confined to Merchant Taylors' and to other schools (Hutton, *S. John Baptist College*, 232). I have to repeat my acknowledgments to Dr. Hutton's book.

³ Dr. Marlow ruled from 1795 to 1828, Dr. Wynter from 1828 to 1871, and Dr. Bellamy from 1871 to 1909.

University had long been famous, if strongly set in opinions which seemed to be passing away. Charles Appleton, a philosopher of some note and the founder of the *Academy* newspaper, proved a vigorous advocate of University reform. And Aubrey Moore in a brief career showed alike in theology, philosophy and science qualities which won the admiration of his friends.

Mr. Mark Pattison once spoke of St. John's as "corroded with ecclesiasticism." But in the ecclesiastical troubles of the nineteenth century it represented to a large extent the attitude of the old High Church party. Dr. Wynter, described as "a very successful Tutor and a very vigilant President" in his earlier years, had little sympathy with the extremes of the Tractarian movement. Nor had the College as a whole more sympathy with the views of Henry Wilson, long known as one of its ablest Tutors, but even better known for his contribution to *Essays and Reviews*. Bishops and dignitaries continued to figure in its lists. Two Coplestons, both Bishops of Colombo,¹ have carried on a familiar Oxford name. A young Australian, Gilbert Murray, won the Hertford for his College for the first time in 1885. Dr. James, a great Headmaster, returned in later days to rule over his College. The Dean of Winchester has written its history. George Cave, a Scholar of 1874, has added to the dignity of Chancellor of England the Chancellorship of Oxford so conspicuously occupied by an unforgotten Scholar three centuries ago. The College buildings have lost none of their old beauty. Repairs have been occasionally needed, and have been often carefully and delicately done. Some of the monuments in the Chapel have been moved. Shortly before the middle of the nineteenth century the Chapel itself underwent a Victorian restoration "in the Third Pointed Style."² In 1881 a block of new buildings was erected fronting on St. Giles' and intended to form one side of a new quadrangle. But the quadrangle once intended has made little progress since.³ On the College lands which stretch to the North there has long been continuous and profitable building. But the fine, old fabric is itself unspoilt. The famous Library has been better kept and better catalogued.

¹ One, R. S. Copleston, a Fellow of 1870, became Bishop in 1875, the other, E. A. Copleston, a Commoner of 1873, in 1903. H. A. James and T. S. Omond were Fellows of 1869 and 1872. S. Ball and W. H. Hutton were elected in 1882 and 1884. In the latter year Gilbert Murray came up as a Scholar. For the College portraits see Mrs. Poole's admirable *Catalogue* (vol. III).

² A new East window was inserted soon after. But in 1890 this was replaced by Mr. C. E. Kempe, who also restored the East end of the Chapel two years later (Hutton, 256).

³ Though a new piece has now been added at right angles to the older block.

The exquisite gardens below it, which the eighteenth century formalised and later days transformed, have appealed more strongly than ever to members of the College.

“ ‘The grass is so soft, and the flowers so sweet, and the college so abbey-like, and the place so cool and so quiet, that I think, with a bell in the distance, dying and swelling, it unites as many conceivable delights as any spot since Paradise.’ ”¹

At least the affection of St. John's men for their College has not weakened, nor their sense of its abiding stateliness and charm.

The older Colleges did not flag in the new race for progress. Of the five which arose before William of Wykeham showed what a new College in Oxford ought to be, Merton was in early days conspicuous for its endowments. And in 1871 it was reckoned in point of income fifth in the list of Oxford foundations.² It had submitted to the Commissioners' inquiries with cordiality and good temper: it inherited perhaps from its Puritan connections a greater respect for Parliamentary interference than some other Colleges could approve. It had suffered no severe shock in the Ordinances which followed then and later. It had accepted its share of the charges imposed for University purposes. It had continued to educate and to enlist distinguished men. Hardinge Giffard matriculated in 1842, John Mackarness two years earlier.³ Thomas Fowler, destined for the Presidency of Corpus, entered the College in 1850. Edward Caird, destined for the Mastership of Balliol, John Rhys and R. J. Wilson, destined to rule at Jesus and at Keble, were elected to Fellowships at Merton between 1864 and 1869. Mandell Creighton entered the College in 1862, Lord Randolph Churchill in 1867. Andrew Lang and F. H. Bradley were Fellows of 1868 and 1870. George Brodrick, once of Balliol, succeeded Dr. Marsham as Warden in the early days of 1881. Thomas Bowman, a Fellow of 1877, was destined to be Warden in 1903. But the half century and more during which Dr. Marsham governed the College had proved in many ways a memorable time. Merton, which under the Statutes published in 1882 took large powers to borrow money for building, had been by no means backward in the work of restoration in preceding years. There were constant repairs and additions to the Chapel between 1822 and

¹ The quotation, for which I have to thank Dean Hutton, comes from a letter printed in Miss Wordsworth's *Memorials of Henry William Burrows* (p. 24). The date is 1834.

² With an income of £19,000, apart from tuition fees.

³ They were afterwards respectively Lord Chancellor and Bishop of Oxford.

1851. In 1850 John Hungerford Pollen, one of the daring fresco-painters of the Union, painted and adorned the Chapel roof. Sir Gilbert Scott redecorated it all in 1876-7. A resolution was passed to substitute gas-light for candles: but the advocates of beauty against utility prevailed. The same spirit of enterprise suggested a scheme for tampering with the College Library, one of the loveliest relics of mediaeval days. The eighteenth century had found reason to describe it as "an old ruinous place that lies in neglect."¹ But the nineteenth century had paid it more respect. The store of books was growing steadily. Undergraduates were at last admitted to read them.² And in 1861 it occurred to some College reformers that an opportunity to remodel it and other parts of the old College had arrived. Resolutions were carried, with the Warden's authority behind them, declaring it "not inexpedient to remove any portion of the Library" and consenting to the "entire demolition" of Mob Quadrangle if circumstances required. And Mr. Butterfield vented the passion for variety in an addition which no one has yet found the courage to destroy. But the desecration of the College Grove may not have been bought too dearly if it persuaded the Fellows to take no action on the disastrous resolutions of 1861,³ and to listen to the protests raised when in 1885 it was made public that the old Chapel of St. Alban Hall had become the Warden's larder and that the beautiful little Sacristy of Merton was being used for cleaning boots.⁴ A later generation with less perilous advisers has done much to atone for the New Buildings of 1864.

The history of Balliol in the Victorian era centres largely round the figure of Mr. Jowett. But it must be admitted that Mr. Jowett was not so much on his guard as his admirers could have wished against the architectural adventures of the age. For the worst adventure at Balliol, however, he was not to blame. He had indeed some share in the rebuilding by Salvin of the North-west corner of the College: Dr. Jenkyns, it seems, resisted the pulling-down of the brew-house as long as he could. But Jowett deeply regretted the destruction of the beautiful old Chapel, and the substitution for it of a new building by Mr. Butterfield, deplorably ill-suited to the surroundings in which

¹ See Dr. Henderson's College history (*Merton College*, 241) to which I am again indebted here.

² In 1827. But only for one hour a week for the next fifty years. A valuable catalogue of the printed books, by W. Wallace, was completed in 1879, and has been supplemented since (*Ib.* 240-1).

³ Charles Currer, the Sub-Warden, supported by Mr. Brodrick, played a valiant part in getting these resolutions rescinded (*Ib.* 262).

⁴ See the *Oxford Magazine* for March and June 1885. The protests had effect. In 1886 the Sacristy was restored.

it was placed.¹ Ten years later the generosity of Miss Hannah Brakenbury unhappily rendered it possible to make further incursions into the beauty of the old quadrangle. The East side and the South side were rebuilt by Mr. Waterhouse, in a style which Jowett thought "really beautiful" and others depressingly commonplace. Most of the Master's Lodge was rebuilt in the same discouraging period during the occupancy of Dr. Scott. In 1873 another block of rooms was begun at the North end of the Garden Quadrangle. And before the close of that year it was determined to build a new and larger Hall,² with a Common Room and offices below it, and Mr. Waterhouse was again invited to make plans. Jowett, now Master, was indefatigable in collecting funds. He had a poor opinion of any man whose principles would not allow him to subscribe. He took the keenest interest in the enterprise, persuaded himself that it was "a noble building"—though Ruskin had told him that it would prove "a dull sort of a church"³—was content perhaps that grandiosity if not grandeur was achieved. In January 1877 a memorable banquet, attended by a memorable company,⁴ was held to celebrate its opening, and even more to render homage to the presiding genius of the place, who had passed through so many tribulations and had conquered the admiration of so many friends. The old Hall was converted into a Library and Reading Room. The Fisher Building was re-cased. There are now few portions of the College which have not been rebuilt in the last hundred years. And it is a melancholy reflection upon the architectural taste of the nineteenth century that these should be the only portions where its old dignity and beauty yet remain. Dr. Scott's Mastership, if partly intended to mark a reaction against Jowett's influence,⁵ was nevertheless a period of progress. Scott had been a valued Tutor. His scholarship was beyond dispute. And Archbishop Tait, who knew him well, has borne tribute among others to his energy and nobility of mind. Moreover, the Tutors and Fellows as-

¹ Mr. Butterfield's Chapel, opened in 1857 as a memorial to Dr. Jenkyns, described by one of its admirers as "a poem in stone," may have merits within. Its outside is less easy to pardon. But its worst offence was its utter incongruity with the venerable buildings among which it was thrust.

² It was to measure 95 feet by 45.

³ See Jowett's *Life* (II, 101). Freeman spoke of the Hall as a "tall bully."

⁴ The toast-list included Archbishop Tait, Bishop Jackson, Dean Stanley, Lord Cardwell, Lord Coleridge, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Lingen, Sir A. Grant, Matthew Arnold, Charles Bowen, William Rogers, Henry Smith.

⁵ In 1862 Matthew Arnold noted a movement to turn Jowett out of his Fellowship for his heresies (*Ib.* I, 308 n.).

sembled under Jenkyns had given a powerful stimulus to the College. Men like James Riddell and Edwin Palmer, Henry Smith and W. L. Newman carried on a teaching tradition of exceptional value and power. And when in 1865 the more liberal element among the Fellows secured a majority,¹ and the College accepted Jowett's leadership in matters of University extension and reform, he was able to look forward with confidence to the prospect of making it "a really great place of education." It is only necessary to glance at the names which in those days distinguished the lists of matriculation to realise how fully Jowett's ambition was attained.²

The fame and prosperity enjoyed by University College in the days of Robert Chambers, the two Scotts and William Jones, eclipsed perhaps in the less interesting period which witnessed the brief celebrity of Shelley, had seen before the middle of the nineteenth century a marked revival. Under Frederick Plumptre, who ruled as Master from 1836 to 1870, Arthur Stanley's memorable Tutorship began. Men like George Bradley, Goldwin Smith, John Conington, William Bright and Horace Davey joined the list of Fellows between 1844 and 1856. Bernard Bosanquet was a Fellow of 1870, J. F. Bright a Fellow of 1874. In promoting the work of the Commissions the Fellows of University took an active part. George Bradley came back from the Headmastership of Marlborough to be Master of the College in 1870, to rule it with a master's authority which produced for a time some ebullition of feeling, to leave on it the stamp of high conduct and success. But even Dr. Bradley's authority hardly sufficed to save from ridicule the "Millenary" banquet of 1872, when Dean Stanley's protests and Professor Freeman's mockery were answered with characteristic humour by Mr. Lowe.³ When Bradley followed Stanley in 1881 to the Deanery

¹ In November 1865 Courtenay Ilbert became a full Fellow, and his vote turned the scale in Jowett's favour. Plans were soon afoot for reform, for inter-Collegiate lectures, for the establishment of Balliol Hall, for the rebuilding of the old quadrangle, and for divinity teaching in which Jowett took part (*Ib.* I, 376).

² The following names are the names of a few, in addition to those already mentioned (*ante*, p. 357), who matriculated at Balliol between 1860 and 1870: C. P. Ilbert, T. L. Papillon, M. Ridley, P. A. Wright-Henderson, F. H. Jeune, W. Sanday, F. de Paravicini, C. J. Lyall, T. Case, K. A. Muir Mackenzie, Lord F. Hervey, H. W. Primrose, H. Craik, A. Lang, H. Scott Holland, E. H. Coleridge, B. Bosanquet, T. K. Cheyne, J. R. Sturgis, F. Y. Edgeworth, J. C. Wilson, C. B. Heberden, A. C. Bradley, Lord Elgin, C. S. Loch, F. E. H. Elliot. But they are only some of those that deserve notice. For many interesting modern portraits, of which the most romantic is perhaps Mr. Swinburne's, see Mrs. Poole's *Catalogue* (vol. II).

³ See the *Times* of June 14, 1872.

of Westminster, Dr. James Franck Bright maintained most happily the same traditions, assisted by colleagues like Reginald Macan, who was one day to sit in his turn in the Master's seat. Political leaders, it was noted, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Selborne, Lord Salisbury, Sir Stafford Northcote sent sons to University College. In Dr. Bright's day more than one Cecil was conspicuous in its history, including the present head of the house. Lord Robert Cecil proved his quality of winning trust and admiration even from opponents. Hubert Burge grew from an undergraduate into a College Tutor, passed on to Headmasterships, returned to rule the diocese, with wisdom deepening, affection gathering where he went.¹ Architectural changes in the early nineteenth century had re-roofed the Chapel, had remodelled the South front of the College, and had provided a new Library to house the famous statues presented by Lord Eldon's grandson on so large a scale. In 1842 the site of one or two old Halls belonging to the College² was filled by a new building, and in the passage which connects this with the old quadrangle a memorial has since been placed,³ recalling only too vividly Shelley's touching end. Twenty years later Mr. Gilbert Scott undertook to add adornments to the Chapel. They included an open timber roof, a new East window, to replace Dr. Radcliffe's, and a stone reredos to supersede the fine carved woodwork of an earlier day. Music was for long little represented in the Chapel services; but an organ was introduced in 1865. And soon afterwards an additional house in the High Street,⁴ University College Hall, was added to the College buildings, to mark a growth that is yet far from ended, to prolong an honourable and undenied antiquity, which needs no fanciful millenaries to celebrate its fame.

Exeter and Oriel alike have entered on their seventh century of life to-day. Exeter has always shown an astonishing vitality, and has sometimes, in spite of inadequate endowments, led the Colleges of Oxford in numbers and repute. But the old build-

¹ An old friend may be permitted to name one other contemporary of Hubert Burge and Robert Cecil, E. W. Coghlan, who died prematurely as a Judge in Egypt, but who in those years at Oxford was not less well-loved than they. To a rather old group Edward Graham and other Harrovians belonged.

² One of them, Deep Hall, West of the College, had been pulled down in 1809. The new building was Sir Charles Barry's work.

³ By Onslow Ford, in 1894. (See p. 220 of Mr. Carr's history of *University College*, to which I owe many details.)

⁴ 85 High Street, once the Alfred Inn. It has now given way to newer buildings which run down Logic Lane. It should be added that a handsome house for the Master was built in the Lane by Mr. Bodley in 1879.

ings have lost much of their picturesqueness since Loggan drew his plan. Rebuilders have been fatally at work. The age of Queen Anne had some grandiose designs. The age which followed made changes which were not improvements. The old gables vanished: a flat roof with battlements appeared. Then in the nineteenth century more space was wanted, and attics were introduced again. In 1883-4 Underwood erected the buildings in Broad Street East of the present Broad Street Tower. Some walls were re-faced, and the Turl Street Tower was remodelled. In 1855 the old buildings of Hell Quad were pulled down. And between 1854 and 1860 a greater transformation or devastation was achieved. The Chapel built by George Hakewill in 1624 was condemned as unsafe on incorrect advice. The spirit which did not hesitate to destroy the beautiful Chapel at Balliol and to spoil the beautiful interior of the Chapel at Jesus, was only too quick to find a pretext for replacing Jacobean work. The demand for modern Gothic was founded in enthusiasm and difficult to resist.¹ The old Chapel and Rector's Lodgings, the Prideaux Buildings just behind them, the range of rooms East of Palmer's Tower and the Library built in 1778 were boldly or rashly swept away. Mr. Gilbert Scott was invited to replace them by a new Chapel, a new Library, a new home for the Rector, a new Tower with rooms to the West of it in Broad Street, a new and overcrowded quadrangle, which should convert one of the most ancient Colleges of Oxford into a monument of Victorian taste. The new Chapel, inspired by French examples, was a notable product of the Gothic revival, elaborate, costly, lofty, well-proportioned, but strangely ill-suited to the narrow space in which it was set up.² The members of the College subscribed with pathetic liberality. Burne-Jones and William Morris contributed their aid. And Professor Freeman exulted in the most "glorious" building which modern English architecture had as yet achieved.³

¹ The demand for modern Gothic, says Mr. Maclean truly (*History of Pembroke College*, 430), "was at first an enthusiasm, the handmaid of a revival of Faith. Yet it effaced a thousand artistic charms, to give us a machine-like imitation by inferior workmen of an inimitable past." And in Oxford, unhappily, the early modern Gothic architects were not content to imitate the models which they found around them, but preferred to introduce specimens of their own.

² Mr. Goldwin Smith, among others, has pointed out how buildings like Exeter Chapel and the Randolph Hotel violated one great rule for Oxford buildings, the desirability of keeping things in scale. (See *The Oxford Magazine* for June 2, 1886.)

³ On the rebuilding of Exeter see Chapter VII of the College history by Mr. Stride, to whom, as to Mr. Boase, I am constantly indebted. In 1881 the East side of the chief quadrangle had to be re-faced.

Burne-Jones and Morris had left Oxford before this. William Alexander, poet and Archbishop, had chosen his career. R. D. Blackmore, a freshman of 1844¹ and an old Blundell's boy like Frederick Temple, was still occupied in teaching, writing poetry, market-gardening, and had not yet settled down to the chief work of his life.² But Exeter men still flourished in the shadow of great names. The Rector Richards died in 1854. Anthony Froude resigned in 1849—on the day when Sewell truculently burned his *Nemesis of Faith*. Jack Morris and others followed Newman to Rome. William Sewell himself became involved in ambitious and unfortunate educational experiments.³ George Butler became Principal of Butler's Hall and then Vice-Principal of Cheltenham College. John Duke Coleridge and Joseph Chitty passed on to triumphs at the Bar. But scholars and athletes at Exeter remained. William Ince, George Ridding, H. F. Tozer were among the Fellows of the early "fifties." T. E. Holland and Ingram Bywater were Fellows some years later, Henry Pelham and Ray Lankester later still. W. H. Jackson, a future Rector, became a Fellow in 1863, L. R. Farnell, also a future Rector, in 1880. Hubert Parry brought his musical genius to the College in 1867. Charles Boase, who made his home at Exeter from the day of his entrance in 1846 to the day of his death in 1895, served it as Tutor, Lecturer, Librarian, built up a notable Register of his College, and edited the early Registers of the University as well. And Arthur Johnson, destined to an even longer spell of influence, entered the College, already famous as a runner, in 1864.⁴ Dr. Lightfoot's term as Rector, from 1854 to 1887, included the changes made by the Commissions. But no changes could alter the Rector's kindly, hospitable ways. Exeter was one of the Colleges which anticipated interference by drawing up new Statutes for itself. In 1855 the twenty-five existing Fellowships, with their many restrictions, were reduced to fifteen and thrown open. New Scholarships were founded, some open, and some reserved for special districts, and the old ones were organised afresh. In

¹ He matriculated in December 1843.

² Mr. Stride has an interesting Chapter on Exeter College in fiction, recalling incidents in *Tom Jones*, *Verdant Green*, *Tom Brown at Oxford*, and elsewhere. The Senior Proctor in *Verdant Green* bore a name long known and honoured at Exeter. But the Rector has kindly confirmed my impression that there is no ground for including Mr. William Black among the members of the College.

³ Financially his Wardenship of St. Peter's College, Radley, from 1852 to 1862, must be considered unfortunate: and St. Columba's College near Dublin proved a very expensive adventure.

⁴ This note of distinguished Exeter men is not of course a complete list.

1877 the same conciliatory policy was followed. The Statutes published in 1882 removed most of the restrictions upon marriage. They opened the Rectorship to laymen. And among other changes they made Fellowships terminable, and allowed their number to be reduced to twelve or less.¹ Stapeldon's College is no longer bound so closely to its old West Country connection, or dependent on the splendour of the old West Country names. But the old ties live on. Time has brought Devonshire and Cornwall nearer. And the men of the West are as well able as they ever were to compete for honours and endowments freely with men from other counties perhaps as jealous of their fame.

The greatest days of Oriel passed when Newman passed from Oxford. The College at least lost the special position which it had for years enjoyed. But there could be little loss of intellectual interest where Arthur Clough and Matthew Arnold led. And the Fellows who followed them, Burgon and Sellar and Earle, Arthur Butler in 1856, David Monro, a future Provost, in 1859, R. S. Wright, James Bryce, with an extraordinary list of prizes, and C. L. Shadwell, also a future Provost, between 1861 and 1864, Lancelot Phelps, another future Provost, in 1877, and younger men like L. R. Price and G. C. Richards later, showed little falling-off from older standards. George Goschen matriculated in 1850 and Cecil Rhodes in 1873.² If Oriel lost some of its pre-eminence, it was because, with open competition, the standard for Fellowships had elsewhere advanced. Dr. Hawkins lived on to a great age, withdrawing latterly to Rochester—he was the last Provost to hold the Canonry: and he remained a great tradition even after his death in 1882. He left—and Dean Church left also—many volumes to the College Library. But he had never been reconciled to the work of the Commissions, though the changes made at Oriel were in many respects less serious than the changes imposed elsewhere. Oriel indeed had led the way, where the Commissions followed, in throwing open widely the endowments it possessed. The College undertook to contribute largely to support the Chair of Modern History, and that obligation has added some conspicuous Fellows to its list. The Common Rooms under the Library, which the eighteenth century built in the further quadrangle, are filled with portraits which in interest few College collections can excel,

¹ There is a useful summary of the principal changes in Chapter X of Mr. Stride's volume. For full details see the later Ordinances and Statutes.

² Among other well-known members of the College Tom Hughes has been mentioned already, and men like Drummond Chase, who matriculated in 1838, and Sidney Ball, who matriculated in 1875, spent their lives in the University's service.

names which have been battle-cries in many contests, but also an inspiration to many generations of young men. The Chapel was restored in 1860, when changes in the organ-loft swept Newman's oratory away. A window of 1882 commemorates Dr. Hawkins there. But it is from later years that the chief alterations and enlargements of Oriel date. The incorporation of St. Mary Hall, which for so long the College overshadowed, has added another picturesque quadrangle to its domain.¹ And the new buildings raised in honour of a great bequest have reared a new front upon the High Street, where the College perhaps originally began,² but a front to which not even time can lend the grace or dignity possessed by the old Jacobean court beyond.

Queen's College had done its rebuilding long before the nineteenth century began. But the new buildings sometimes called for expenditure. In 1860 and the years that followed repairs were needed, roofs had to be restored, the façade of the Hall and Chapel re-faced. New windows in the Hall were added, and more than once a serious fire necessitated work. The income of the College, largely increased by the discovery of coal on the property left by Lady Elizabeth Hastings, was estimated by the Commissioners at seventeen thousand pounds in 1871. This new wealth led to fresh endowments for Scholars, with special advantages for some North Country schools. The College was disinclined to welcome the inquiries of the first Commission. John Barrow, the Principal of St. Edmund Hall, wrote *The Case of Queen's College*, to show how unnecessary such interference was.³ But George Johnson, a leading Fellow of Queen's, was one of the Commissioners of 1850: and William Thomson, a Fellow since 1847, an able Tutor and a useful man of business, was associated with Johnson's efforts for reform. Thomson's pamphlet *An Open College best for All* proved an adequate answer to Barrow's complaint. And when Thomson became Provost in 1855, liberal influences triumphed in the College. Thomson's liberalism indeed was not allowed to lead him into heresy. He

¹ Dr. Chase, who became Principal of the Hall in 1857—he lived on till 1902—was mainly responsible for the success of the Hall in its closing years.

² Tackley's Inn in the High Street shares with St. Mary's Rectory the tradition of having housed the first Oriel Scholars (*ante*, vol. I, p. 256), and has an even older claim.

³ When Dr. Barrow subsequently appealed to the Commissioners to secure for St. Edmund Hall its proper independence, his appeal, which Thomson answered, seems to have been coolly received. (See *The Queen's College*, II, 164-5.) I have again to thank Dr. Magrath for the ample records which his volumes supply.

took a prominent part in publishing the *Aids to Faith*, to which Mansel, Harold Browne and other well-known men contributed, and which was intended as an answer to *Essays and Reviews*.¹ His orthodoxy and his high qualities received their recognition in his appointment in 1863 to the Archbishopric of York. But in all that related to College education and endowments Thomson ranged himself on the reformers' side. Fellowships and Scholarships were thrown open and the various foundations in the College organised afresh. The new Provost, a vigorous and imposing figure, was also an enthusiastic musician. With the help of a young organist of genius ² he established a College Choir. By 1865 the choristers had increased to twelve in number, and a school had been started for them. Thomson gathered new Fellows of distinction round him. Thomas Jex Blake of University and Lewis Campbell of Balliol were among the first.³ Walter Pater and Ingram Bywater entered the College in 1858. And when Dr. Jackson succeeded as Provost, and when Dr. Magrath entered in 1878 on his long and prosperous tenure of office,⁴ the same happy conditions continued. Charles Elton became a Fellow in 1862, Archibald Sayce in 1865, Edward Armstrong in 1869, E. M. Walker in 1881, A. C. Clark in 1882. Joseph Wells was a Scholar of 1875, B. R. Wise a Scholar of 1876.⁵ Under the Ordinances of 1858 the College prospered. The number of undergraduates, affected for the moment by the Crimean War, rose from eighty-one in 1862 to a hundred and nine in 1878.⁶ And the new Statutes imposed in 1882 imposed no check on College progress. The College indeed had drafted its own code, and had offered to increase, out of the surpluses which it divided, the number of its Scholarships and to make a special provision for Natural Science. But the Commissioners insisted that the stipends paid should be fixed and the surplus available ascertained and defined. Official duties were connected with most of the Fellowships. Clerical obligations in most cases, even in the case of the Provostship, disappeared. No future Provost was

¹ But Thomson had been to some extent associated with Jowett's opinions. It was even asserted that he had written a paper for *Essays and Reviews* which only escaped insertion because it was sent in too late. (See Tuckwell's *Reminiscences*, 224.)

² Leighton Hayne, an old Eton boy.

³ In 1855. Goldwin Smith had been rejected for a Fellowship in 1849, chiefly by the votes of non-resident Fellows.

⁴ William Thomson was Provost from 1855 to 1862, William Jackson from 1862 to 1878.

⁵ I take these dates from Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*. Many other names might well be mentioned.

⁶ And, it may be added, to 201 in 1915, and to 269 in 1920 (*The Queen's College*, II, 187 n.).

to hold a cure of souls, as Provost Jackson had held a North Country Rectory for fifty years. Marriage was still restricted even for official Fellows. And the College undertook to subscribe like other Colleges to University Professorships and needs. But the requirements of the State, if unwelcome at first, did nothing in the end to diminish the dignity or usefulness of Eglesfield's foundation, or to injure the fine and venerable traditions which it retains.

Lincoln and Brasenose stand, as of old, close against each other. It has even been suggested—by Brasenose—that the two should be formed into one. But Lincoln, for all the narrowness of its dominions, has yet found space to expand. The nineteenth century began its improvements by refitting the Common Room in the year of Waterloo: a Turkey carpet was supplied which, the College historian tells us, still existed when the century expired.¹ The re-facing of walls and the provision of battlements followed in 1824. The old Grove, built in 1739, had to be replaced by a new building in 1880. And later days have seen a more ambitious project carried to complete success.² But the College has necessarily continued to be small. In the nineteenth century it rarely included as many as sixty resident undergraduates. The long Rectorship of Dr. Tatham, lasting from 1792 to 1834, did nothing to raise its standards. The Visitor was largely occupied in settling differences. The rule of Rector Radford was not remarkable save for laxity of discipline, and the circumstances which led to Mark Pattison's early rejection and subsequent election did not make for peace in the College.³ Nor was Pattison in the days of his Rectorship a leader to gather young men about him. A "solemn and mysterious figure" wrapped in an "impenetrable misanthropy," is the picture of him drawn by one acute observer. "He was as nearly omnierudite as man can be," wrote another. His interests were as wide as his learning. There were kindness and feeling behind his reserve. But his fine mind, deeply tinged with disappointment, seemed unable to forget its grudge against the world. Pattison was credited with the wish to get rid of undergraduates and to fill their places with students devoted to research. Singularly quick-witted himself, he was sometimes wanting in patience with the slower wits of others. In the average undergraduate

¹ See Clark's *Lincoln College* (185). I owe it also various other details.

² Space has been found for a new and handsome Library on the East side, and it is hoped soon to find space for a new house for the Rector, and for new buildings in the Turl.

³ John Radford was Rector from 1834 to 1851, James Thompson from 1851 to 1860, Mark Pattison from 1861 to 1884, W. W. Merry from 1884 to 1919, when J. A. R. Munro succeeded.

he readily inspired alarm, and perhaps cared too little to inspire interest or affection. To reform he was generally a friend. The Ordinances which followed the first Commission reduced the Fellowships, swept away local restrictions, and set up new Scholarships in the College. One of the first open Fellows elected was William Merry of Balliol, who was one day to secure as Rector the warm popularity which Pattison had failed to win.¹ The Statutes made by the later Commission were fought by the Visitor, Bishop Wordsworth, and were actually defeated in the House of Lords. But subsequent changes brought the regulations into line with those adopted elsewhere. Among members of the College John Morley, a Scholar of 1856 and one of the College's greatest sons—he occupied appropriately John Wesley's rooms—has spoken severely of the "sad intellectual dilapidation" of the Lincoln of his day. But Morley's standard was high. His career at Oxford was interrupted and clouded by family troubles.² And his later recollections may hardly do justice to the Society of his youth. His friend James Cotter Morison at any rate must have been an engaging companion, with his horsemanship, his boxing, his love of music, architecture and religion; he was even then meditating his *Life of St. Bernard*. And Morison was certainly not the only man at Lincoln who cared for intellectual things. Canon Overton has drawn a happier picture. He remembers John Morley as a "bright and genial" disciple of Carlyle. And he recalls others, Branson, "pleasantest and wittiest of men," F. E. Thompson, an ideal schoolmaster afterwards at Marlborough, Lewis Cave, excelling at whist, and a whole group of young contemporaries, enthusiasts for Tennyson and Pre-Raphaelite art, and always ready to talk for ever about both.³ Thomas Fowler, afterwards President of Corpus, was already the most patient and kindly of Tutors, as active as he was distinguished in his work. A generation later the College included men of note like Samuel Alexander, J. E. King, J. A. R. Munro. D. S. Maccoll lent a certain grace to the Lincoln Scholars of 1881. And a word of special acknowledgment is due to the College historian, Dr. Andrew Clark, for long an imposing figure in its quadrangle, and one of the most untiring of students and explorers in all that concerned the University he loved.

Brasenose maintained all through the nineteenth century its old and vigorous reputation, its many lively interests, its pre-eminence in rowing, games and sport. The Hell-fire Club of

¹ Continued since to the present Rector, who has generously surrendered his Lodgings for the use of the College.

² By a quarrel with his father. (See Mr. Hirst's *Early Life and Letters of John Morley*, I, 16 sq.)

³ See Canon Overton's paper in *Longman's Magazine* for January 1887.

the days of George IV is a picturesque if disreputable tradition, into which College historians have declined to probe. But the Phoenix Common Room, founded in 1872, has a more certain and honourable record, and has long outlived the indiscretions which in 1832 caused half of its members to be sent down. Other societies for debate have followed: one very properly took the name of Ingoldsby in 1879. The College fame for hospitality has never failed. Brasenose brewed its own beer till 1886, and Brasenose ale-verses parodied the lyrics of a Balliol poet.

"Drink hard lest glad others come after
To drink what you languidly leave." ¹

But the exhilarating duty of entertaining others has not prevented attention to more serious affairs. If Sir Tatton Sykes left entrancing memories behind him, Reginald Heber and Henry Milman left traditions too. The three Tutors of Milman's day may have been open to his criticism: "one can lecture and never does, another cannot and always does, the third neither can nor does." But under Frodsham Hodson, an active friend of the new examination system, Brasenose did well in the Schools. And though there were vicissitudes later, a marked relapse about 1847 and another relapse after 1872,² the College fairly maintained its credit. Numbers, very low during the Crimean War, recovered and increased.³ Lancashire and Cheshire continued to send reinforcements. The country gentry kept up their connection. An interesting table of some three thousand men, who passed through Brasenose in the nineteenth century, shows that nearly twelve hundred became clergymen, nearly seven hundred magistrates or lawyers, that sixty-three entered Parliament, that a hundred and thirty-five entered the Army, and that more than six hundred altogether passed on to be teachers or students or writers of books. Frederick Robertson, who matriculated in 1837, was one of the greatest spiritual forces of his generation. Edward Cradock, who had matriculated at Balliol ten years earlier,⁴ was a Brasenose Fellow in 1833, and a well-loved Principal from 1853 to 1886. Albert Watson—"dear, shy, shrinking, genial, learned Albert Watson," writes an old pupil—

¹ See Buchan (*Brasenose College*, 74).

² Followed by a rise beginning in 1881, a sharp fall in 1903, a great success in 1909. See the interesting study of this subject in the *Brasenose Quatercentenary Monograph*, XIV, B. To these admirable monographs I am of course indebted again and again. Brasenose has given itself a history such as few Colleges possess.

³ In Mr. Buchan's table of matriculations every 10 years from 1820, the variation is not generally very great. The number given for 1860 is 31, for 1870, 37, for 1880, 34. (See *Brasenose College*, Appendix G.)

⁴ He was then, and till 1849, called Grove.

became a Fellow in 1852 and Principal in 1886. John Wordsworth was a Scholar of 1861, a Fellow and a Bishop later. R. D. Walker, of an immortal family of cricketers, dates from the same year, C. J. Ottaway, one of the greatest of Oxford athletes, from 1869. Humphry Ward was a Scholar of 1864. Walter Pater, already a Fellow, became an influential Tutor after 1867: "I think you have a mind that will become eminent," said Jowett, who coached him.¹ Pater's influence lost nothing by the whimsical epigrams which gathered round him. But it may be doubtful how far the College assimilated the high-wrought artistry, the exotic atmosphere, the cult of exquisite living which came to be associated with his writings and his talk. Arthur Rucker came up to win many honours in 1867, Falconer Madan in 1870, to begin a life devoted to the service of Oxford, Arthur Evans in the same year, to link his name with Oxford and with Crete. C. B. Heberden was a Fellow in 1872, Baldwin Brown in 1874, Richard Lodge in 1878, C. H. Sampson in 1882, J. S. Bradbury and John Buchan were Scholars of later date. If the call of the wild is sometimes irresistible, Brasenose has yet no reason to apologise for the intellectual or academic attainments of her sons.

Brasenose was not among the Colleges which offered encouragement to the first Commission. But it has, no doubt, profited by the changes then begun, and it has taken its share of the obligations imposed. A more visible sign of its enterprise and expansion is to be found in the new buildings which decorate the High Street now. Ever since the days of Hawksmoor the College had dreamed of new quadrangles. Sir John Soane's designs of 1807 for a Neo-Greek temple on the High Street, "the last word of pedantry" in the classical revival, had been succeeded by Philip Hardwick's plans for a flat-faced building in the "card-board style of Strawberry Hill."² Both, happily, had been laid upon the shelf. In 1807 the Cloister leading to the Chapel had been converted, not without protest, into College rooms. In 1816 sash windows had appeared, some with wooden mullions sanded to look like stone. In 1819 the Chapel had been redecorated and repaired.³ In 1826 a new brew-house had been built. In subsequent years parapets, dormers, battlements and other

¹ The phrase is quoted a little differently in Mr. Thomas' Study of *Walter Pater* (25).

² I am quoting from Mr. Allfrey's full and interesting account (*Brasenose Quatercentenary Monograph*, III).

³ And again in 1859. Outside repairs were needed in 1844-5. The Ante-Chapel was restored in 1869. An organ was presented by the Principal in 1892-3. There were of course other alterations and repairs as years went on, e.g. the restoration of the parapet in Brasenose Lane in 1872 and the enlargement of the Porter's Lodge in 1885.

features had needed restoration. But it was not till 1881 that the new buildings proposed by Mr. Thomas Jackson were begun. The freeholds needed had all at last been secured. The old houses in the High Street, which had so long hemmed in the College, disappeared. Infinite pains were taken to give the new quadrangle a character in keeping with its beautiful surroundings. The plan for a lofty central tower with a crowned spire was set aside, and a low, square tower substituted, more in harmony with the tower in the old quadrangle.¹ The new court gradually rose, adding notably to the space and accommodation of the College, with a front upon the High Street finely proportioned and elaborately carved. It took some years to carry out the plan. The Lodgings were not rebuilt till after the death of Dr. Cradock in 1886. He lived to see the new quadrangle opened. But it was left for his successors to see the whole design completed. The foundation-stone of the last portion was laid in 1909, just four hundred years after Bishop Smyth had begun the original foundation in the first summer when Henry VIII sat upon his throne. To the builders of the early sixteenth century the College owes its venerable beauty. To John Jackson of the seventeenth century it owes not a few features of dignity and charm. To Thomas Graham Jackson of the nineteenth century it owes a group of buildings worthy to find a place beside them both.

Another Tudor Foundation, which played a considerable part in seventeenth century Oxford, has found its greatest prosperity in modern times. President Bathurst had made Trinity a well-known and fashionable College. But his immediate successors had done comparatively little to add to its repute. President Lee in the early nineteenth century deserves at least this tribute, that he and the Tutors of his day, among whom Thomas Short and James Ingram were leaders, took the important step of throwing open the College Scholarships in 1816. President Ingram, who succeeded Lee in 1824, was a more active and conspicuous figure, a student, an antiquary and an annalist of some mark.² And though he did not live to see the changes made by

¹ High scaffolding was put up, to judge of the effect of the proposed new tower on the view of the High Street. The effect was not thought unsatisfactory, but the expense was heavy. (See Sir T. G. Jackson's article in the *Magazine of Art* for 1889, pp. 332-40.) One professional critic described the proposed tower unfavourably, as "a piece of architectural acrobatics." (See the *Oxford Magazine* for June 8, 1887.) Criticisms of more force perhaps have been passed upon the elaborate ornamentation of the High Street front.

² Ingram was Rawlinson's Professor of Anglo-Saxon in 1803 and Keeper of the Archives in 1815. His *Memorials of Oxford*, with illustrations of some value, survive.

the Commission, he showed a liberal readiness to open Fellowships as well as Scholarships to competitors from outside. A long line of distinguished Scholars testified to the wisdom of this policy in the twenty years that followed John Henry Newman's election in 1818.¹ The Scholars of 1840, or a little later, were hardly less remarkable. Men noted their manliness, their gentleness, their strong and dominant sense of religion, their loyalty to high ideas of College life.

"This was 'Trinity ἡθος,' as it was commonly called in the University, sometimes in derision, sometimes in admiration, and sometimes as merely descriptive of a phenomenon."²

And as the "forties" passed into the "fifties" something of the same tradition lingered. Fellows like Edward Freeman in 1845 and William Stubbs in 1848 were followed by Robinson Ellis in 1858 and Albert Dicey in 1860. Henry Woods, a future President, was a Fellow of 1865. Scholars like James Bryce in 1857, Henry Pelham, another future President, in 1865, and R. W. Raper, who returned after holding a Queen's Fellowship to be for many years a representative figure in the College, may be mentioned here, besides one Commoner at least of high distinction, Randall Davidson, who came up in 1867. James Bryce, "that awful Scotch fellow who outwrote everybody"—so an envious competitor described him—proved to be a Scholar of great capacities in many fields. His biographer has lately told the story of the young Nonconformist's steady refusal to sign the Thirty-Nine Articles as the rules required, and of the final acquiescence of the College authorities—a story which does credit to them both.

Trinity was to some extent a reformed College before the work of the Commissions began. Dr. John Wilson, who succeeded Ingram in the Presidency, was not disposed to give the Commissioners much help. But Samuel Wayte—"wonder-working Wayte," Stubbs called him—who became President in his turn in 1866, and who presented its first organ to the College, proved to be a wise and useful friend of progress. He suc-

¹ E.g. Isaac Williams (1822), W. J. Copeland (1824), Herman Merivale (1825), Thomas Claughton (1827), Roundell Palmer (1830), Ralph Lingen (1837), Mountague Bernard and Samuel Wayte (1838). (See Dr. Blakiston's *Trinity College*, 221-3.) Newman was a Commoner of Trinity when elected. Where the dates in Foster's *Alumni* differ from those given by Dr. Blakiston, I have followed the latter.

² William Basil Jones and George Bowen, a future Bishop and a future Governor, and Gifford Palgrave and other distinguished men belonged to this group. (See the *Narrative* by F. Meyrick affixed to F. J. A. Hort's *Memorials of W. B. Marriott*.)

ceeded Stanley indeed as Secretary to the Commissioners in 1854: and the changes made by the Ordinances of 1857, largely as they affected old rules and traditions, brought no very startling changes to the College. It continued to prosper, though numbers were slow to increase. But the admissions, which for many years had hardly ever exceeded thirty, rose to about forty, and the average number of undergraduates in residence to about a hundred and forty, after 1879.¹ The later Statutes of 1882, abolishing life Fellowships and the obligation to take Orders,² and permitting some Fellows at least to marry, probably went deeper than the changes made in earlier years. Trinity was not in a position to undertake any heavy obligations to the University. But in 1886 the College was contributing for University purposes a hundred and twenty-eight pounds.³ In 1878 President Wayte was succeeded by a new President of power and distinction, who had won a great reputation as Headmaster of Clifton College, and who was destined to increase that reputation still further as Headmaster of Rugby after 1887. Dr. Percival's⁴ noble character strongly impressed the boys and young men whom he taught. His authority may not always have been so readily accepted by the Fellows of the College. But Trinity under his direction steadily strengthened the position it had won.⁵ The most visible sign of its expansion was the new quadrangle begun by Mr. Jackson in 1883. Happily the College had space at its command. The little old cottages still surviving in Broad Street, Kettell Hall and its garden, an old possession of Oriel, which that College in a liberal spirit agreed to sell, the enclosures and outbuildings to the East of the Chapel, the chambers which President Bathurst had erected on the site of the old stables shown in Loggan's plan, were all converted to the uses of the new design. A handsome and dignified range of

¹ See Blakiston (*Trinity College*, 226-7). I am of course indebted frequently to Dr. Blakiston's history for facts and details given here.

² Except in the case of the Chaplain. (See *Statutes* of 1882.) The living of Garsington was separated from the Presidency in 1871 (Blakiston, 235).

³ See the *Abstract of Accounts of the University of Oxford* for 1886.

⁴ Dr. Percival—he did not receive the D.D. degree till he became Bishop of Hereford in 1895—was followed in the Presidency by Henry Woods (1887), Henry Pelham (1897), Herbert Blakiston (1907).

⁵ In Dr. Percival's day H. A. Miers and A. E. Cowley came up. A. J. Webbe, famous in his own field, was earlier (1874), and Professor Sanday, a member in turn of five Colleges, had, I think, ceased to be a Fellow. But M. E. Sadler, Quiller-Couch, Herbert Blakiston and Leif Jones were among the Scholars, Charles Cannan and C. N. E. Eliot among the younger Fellows. Other unforgotten Scholars like Stuart Jones and Arthur Hirtzel belong to rather later times.

buildings formed the East side of a new garden court. New Lodgings for the President rose upon the North side: the old Lodgings were given up for College rooms. A new Porter's Lodge was constructed on the South. Accommodation for lectures, for an Undergraduates' Library, and for many an undergraduate till then compelled to live outside, was secured. And the orchard quadrangle of Trinity, with its turf, its fruit-trees, its picturesque variety, and its gates opening on the shadowy beauty of the gardens spread beyond, showed, like the new buildings at Magdalen and Brasenose, that the builders of Oxford had learned, before the Victorian age was over, how well to fit their best achievements into the lovely framework of the past.¹

Wadham, where Wren had looked down on the groves of Trinity from the Astronomy Chamber over the gate, had inherited from the seventeenth century a fabric of which Wren himself might have been proud. To this in the nineteenth century little had been added. But Warden Tournay, a great landscape gardener, who presided over the College from 1806 to 1831, had enclosed the Warden's garden and raised the terrace walk on its East side.² He had laid down grass in the front quadrangle: "no grass in Oxford," says one entitled to pronounce on it, "is better kept." And he had swept away the enclosure which protected the approach to the College.³ Tournay had also bought for the Hall great chandeliers used at the coronation of King George IV. He had given it a fireplace, painted its woodwork and inserted in its windows some unlovely glass.⁴ His Wardenship further was responsible for the changes which bought back the site of the Stereotype Foundry unwisely alienated to the Clarendon Press, and added two new staircases to the College.⁵ Under Warden Symons, Tournay's successor, the Chapel underwent some doubtful restoration. A stucco ceiling was introduced, Fuller's work at the East end swept away, the glass in the windows rearranged and added to, not always with the

¹ See Blakiston (*Trinity College*, 238-9). The President adds that no new rooms had been built since 1728, though some had been altered and repaired.

² But it was Tournay's predecessor, Warden Wills, who secured and laid out the principal part of the beautiful garden. (See Dr. Wells' history of Wadham, pp. 154-5, to which I wish again to acknowledge my obligations.)

³ See Loggan's plan (*ante*, vol. II, p. 252). The change gave the city of Oxford an opportunity of converting the private road to the Parks into a public road in 1871. (See Wells, 157.)

⁴ These defects were remedied in 1872 and 1898 (*Ib.* 158 *n.*).

⁵ No. XI replaced the foundry, No. X the brewhouse made in 1801 out of the old "Back Lodgings." (See *ante*, vol. II, p. 256.)

happiest results.¹ Under his successor Dr. Griffiths,² space for a Back Quadrangle was made by removing the Warden's stables and enclosures to the South. Dr. Symons was a man of force and character, who ruled the College for forty difficult years. A sturdy Evangelical, "of ponderous and pedantic learning," with a wife—the first Warden's wife since Mrs. Wilkins—whose "tea and hassocks" helped to emphasise his views, acute, authoritative, less extreme in opinion than some of his critics represented, but a strong opponent of Tractarian aims, "Big Ben" became the leader of a party, and thereby gained and suffered as party leaders must. But he kept up the reputation of the College. Richard Bethell, precocious in spirit and in talent all his life, had been followed by some conspicuous scholars, by Massie, who coached Arthur Stanley, by Brancker, who beat Gladstone for the Ireland, by Hyman, who taught scholarship to Mark Pattison,³ by John Griffiths, one of the famous Four Tutors who protested against Tract 90 in 1841, by Richard Church, whose moral beauty the fastest of the fast set recognised, by Richard Congreve, a powerful and successful Tutor before he set out to preach a new religion to the world.⁴ Congreve's pupils, Harrison, Beesly, Bridges and others, carried the tradition on. For Wadham the University Commissions had few terrors. It had no great wealth to distribute: and its Founders had been unusually indifferent to clerical restrictions or to local limitations for the endowments they bequeathed. Dr. Symons had little sympathy with the reformers, but reform had many friends among the Fellows. And though the years which followed the first Commission were less rich in distinguished names, though the latter years of Dr. Symons and the years of his successor proved perhaps less interesting than some years that

¹ For details see Dr. Wells' history (190-1). Some of the changes of those years, 1832-40, have since been undone. The changes of 1885-7 were more successful. But Mr. Blore's work in the "thirties" had its merits and was far less destructive than some work done elsewhere.

² John Griffiths succeeded Benjamin Symons as Warden in 1871, and was followed by G. E. Thorley (1881), P. A. Wright-Henderson (1903) and Joseph Wells (1913). Dr. Griffiths, for long Keeper of the Archives—he succeeded Dr. Bliss—edited among other works the *Laudian Statutes*, collected materials for a new edition of the *Athenae Oxonienses*, and collected also some fine engravings and etchings.

³ Wadham men won the Ireland three times and the Newdigate five times between 1822 and 1834 (Wells, *Wadham College*, 168).

⁴ And, it may be added, by eminent churchmen like Walsham How (1840), Alexander Maconochie (1844), Edward Johnson (1847), or, later, Samuel Barnett (1862) and Francis Jayne (1863); by future Heads of Colleges like Albert Watson (1847) and George Thorley (1849); by a future College Founder like Thomas Baring (1849); and by other men of distinction like Benjamin Rogers (1846) and Walter Shirley (1847). T. G. Jackson was a Scholar of 1854, Ernest Myers a Fellow of 1868.

went before, more recent times have seen a marked revival in the fame and prosperity of the College.¹ Few have done more to perpetuate both than the two modern chroniclers who have told its story, Thomas Graham Jackson, who has left his monuments all over Oxford, and the recent well-loved Warden Dr. Wells.²

Pembroke under Dr. Jeune had displayed a vigour and fertility worthy of its memories of Dr. Johnson and of the earlier days of Broadgates Hall. Even before Jeune's day it had begun "to chafe at the restrictions of its close foundations": few Colleges were more beset with these. Even before legislation interfered with it, it was convinced of the need of altering its Statutes. Jeune's fear indeed was not that reform would go too far, but that under the auspices of Mr. Gladstone, once to his mind "Pusey in a blue coat,"³ reform would probably not go far enough. The College in 1854 drew up a new code of Statutes, which it regarded as more liberal and effective than those which the Commissioners finally imposed.⁴ The later Statutes, confirmed in 1882, forbade tutorial Fellows to marry, and were on one or two other points rather more conservative than the College Statutes adopted elsewhere. Jeune himself had strong views and did not hesitate to state them. He could be masterful and outspoken. He could also be a stimulating teacher. He feared no one, not Routh nor Hawkins nor Pusey, certainly not his own fellow-Commissioners, not even the magnificent French cook of the College. Nervousness to him was "only vanity." Yet some contemporaries thought they detected indications of it in the Master when vacancies in Bishoprics occurred. Under Jeune's government the College awoke. Its numbers went up rapidly. The Birmingham boys raised its interests and its tone. Fulford and Faulkner, Dixon and Hatch, the friends of Morris and Burne-Jones, were the companions and precursors of others.⁵ The Master handed over to Dr. Evans in 1864 a College which he had in every sense restored, and the record of Dr. Evans' long service, of his vigour, his kindliness, his devotion to Pembroke

¹ It does not fall within the limits of this chapter to commemorate the heroes of the early "nineties," when C. B. Fry, F. E. Smith, J. A. Simon and others added lustre to the College.

² Dr. Wells gave place to Mr. J. F. Stenning in July 1927, as this volume was passing through the press.

³ See Macleane's *History of Pembroke College* (450), a volume full of interesting detail, to which I owe much.

⁴ *Ib.* (454-7).

⁵ George Rolleston and Robert Payne Smith joined the College earlier, in 1846 and 1837. Edward Moore joined it in 1853, John Scott in 1860, William Newbolt in 1863. Douglas Macleane, the College historian, was a Fellow of 1882, and T. F. Tout a Fellow of 1883.

and his strong interest in all forms of sport, is still fresh in the memory of many Oxford men.¹

Dr. Jeune's immediate predecessor² had seen the old College Hall enlarged and beautified and the ceiling of the Chapel restored. But with that exception the buildings had undergone no serious changes since the Chapel was consecrated in 1732. In 1829, however, the influence of the new Gothic architects was felt. The old quadrangle was re-faced with a mask of modern stonework, so modern as to destroy all sense of the antiquity behind. Dormers were disguised, parapets added, other improvements made. And in Jeune's day a new quadrangle was laid out. The outlying buildings and gardens known as the Back Lodgings disappeared. An inner court, which contained the Chapel on its South side and a handsome new Hall upon the West, and which provided space for a Bursary, a Common Room and new chambers, was begun in 1845 and carried through in the years which followed.³ The Master's Lodgings also were heightened and enlarged. Under Dr. Evans a new kitchen was built in 1869. The Gateway Tower was slightly raised and skilfully ornamented ten years later. In 1884 the Chapel was re-decorated by Mr. Charles Kempe, a member of the College, the ceiling remodelled, the marbles repolished, glass of great richness inserted in the windows, dignified colouring and gilding introduced.⁴ And in 1888 the ancient Wolsey almshouse, for long a Naboth's vineyard to the Fellows of Pembroke, was at last purchased from Christ Church and added to the domain of the College.

Worcester ceased in the nineteenth century to be the youngest of Oxford Colleges. But at Worcester, as elsewhere, the latter half of that century was a period of growth. Dr. Landon's portly figure, which stands out in the records of 1914, had made way for a successor little more progressive. Dr. Cotton, a brother-in-law of Dr. Pusey, but by no means committed to Dr. Pusey's views, held the Provostship for over forty years; and the qualities, unsuspected later, which had earned for him in early days the title of "hard-riding Dick," probably helped to make him liked and respected.⁵ In Dr. Cotton's day the Fellows still met in an uncarpeted Common Room, to enjoy long clay pipes, a hot

¹ Dr. Evans was succeeded in 1892 by Dr. Bartholomew Price, a very well-known figure in the University, where he had matriculated in 1837. Dr. Mitchinson succeeded Dr. Price in 1899.

² Dr. Hall was Master from 1809 to 1843.

³ The new Hall was contracted for in 1847.

⁴ An organ was added in 1893-4.

⁵ Dr. Cotton was Provost from 1839 to 1880, Dr. Inge from 1880 to 1903. C. H. O. Daniel succeeded in 1903, F. J. Lys in 1919. (See on most of these details Mr. Daniel's and Mr. Barker's history of the College.)

supper at nine and a rubber of whist. They cherished memories of bygone members, of Bishop Carr, who had been intimate with the Prince Regent and proved scarcely so well suited for Queen Victoria's Court, of Richard Greswell, a Fellow of 1824, who laid out the beautiful College Gardens, of Henry Coxe, an early oar, well known and loved in the Bodleian later, where he served as Sub-Librarian and Librarian from 1838 to 1881, memories too of Francis Newman, who found it impossible to share the opinions of his brother, of William Palmer, an important figure in the early days of the same great movement,¹ of John Burgon, Dean and annalist, who brought the Newdigate to Worcester for the first time in 1845, of Henry Kingsley, a Commoner of 1850, notable for his rowing and his writing, of others notable for other qualities and gifts. Under Dr. Inge, the last Provost to be nominated by the Chancellor, a younger generation also produced distinguished men.² A Lecturer like Thorold Rogers contributed his forcible vitality. A Fellow like Bonamy Price contributed long service in the academic world. A few Fellow Commoners survived for many years. The College barber survived in 1860. The two Bible clerks, established early in the nineteenth century, survived till 1867. The College buildings, which George Clarke had done so much to found, the College Library which Clarke's great collections had enriched, received improvements as the century went on. In 1863-4 the Chapel was redecorated with taste and judgment. Some thirteen years later the same architect³ beautified the Hall. The portraits, of which William Camden's is perhaps the most interesting, remind us of Clarke, of Sir Thomas Cookes, of Woodroffe, of earlier Principals and later Provosts, and of some men of lesser note.⁴ The venerable remains of Gloucester Hall still hold their own among their eighteenth century surroundings. But those surroundings have grown into the picture and borrowed from it an antiquity of air. Time has completely justified the ambition of the hapless Dr. Woodroffe to found in Gloucester Hall a College and to connect it with his name.

¹ Palmer was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, who afterwards joined Magdalen Hall and removed to Worcester in 1831.

² William Inge was a Fellow of 1854, Charles Daniel, another future Provost, a Fellow of 1863. William Odling was a Fellow of 1872, F. J. Lys a Scholar of 1882, J. A. R. Marriott a Fellow and Lecturer of later years. It may be added that from the 18th century onwards Bloxam was a well-known College name.

³ Mr. Burges.

⁴ On these portraits see Mrs. Poole's *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits* (vol. III).

IV

One element of growing importance in the daily life of all these great foundations deserves respectful mention, if it cannot be adequately noticed here. Boat-racing at Oxford began in the days of Waterloo. Southey's reminiscence of the pleasure-boats upon the Isis with students in caps and tassels tugging at the oars, Bedel Cox's account of the six-oared boats going down to Nuneham and of the elaborate costume worn by the crew in which he rowed, belong to the earlier history of the sport. Eton had Eights in 1811 and the list of Eton Captains of the Boats goes back to 1812. The Westminster Water Ledger begins in 1813. But the first record of eight-oared racing at Oxford is in 1815. In that year Brasenose beat Jesus in a race in which, apparently, no other College rowed. In 1817, however, Christ Church had a boat on the river, which went Head, and from 1817 to 1836 Christ Church occupied the first place no less than twelve times. We hear of another victory, a more doubtful victory, of Brasenose over Jesus in 1822, and of an informal race in which Balliol beat Christ Church in 1823.¹ In 1823, however, various causes intervened to prevent any regular races, and Christ Church entered a protest against the presence of professional watermen in the Brasenose and Jesus boats. The earliest races were rowed in high hats, but in 1819 Christ Church adopted a kind of "Tam o' Shanter," a fashion which other Colleges followed for some years. The boats were substantially built and broad in the beam. They started at first in Iffley Lock, each pushed out by its Stroke amid the cheers of his supporters. But in 1825, as the number of competitors had risen, the races had to start outside, above the lock.

In 1824 Exeter came into the contest, with a famous White Boat built at Plymouth and brought up on a carriage from Southampton, and was stroked to the first place by a young Fellow named Bulteel, who had stroked the Brasenose boat two years before.² In that year also there was a four-oar race between Jesus and Brasenose. Tradition adds that the Brasenose four included a waterman, a Worcester College man and a one-armed man, T. Morres, who walked into Oxford thirty miles before the race and walked back thirty miles after it.³ Worcester appeared

¹ The Balliol College Boat Club in its printed record does not, however, note this claim.

² F. A. Bulteel was afterwards a well-known and schismatic Evangelical. (See Stride's *Exeter College*, 166-7.) Exeter had a boat on the river before this, but we have no record of its racing.

³ See Mr. Sherwood's authoritative record of *Oxford Rowing* (11-12), to which I am here heavily indebted.



FOLLY BRIDGE AND BACON'S STUDY
From the Oxford Almanack of 1780

in 1825, and had a close fight with Exeter for second place.¹ The earliest records are not on all points complete. But from 1825 the story is clearer. In 1826 a meeting of Strokes drew up rules to regulate the races. Christ Church was Head again that year, with Brasenose second, Exeter and Balliol third and fourth. In 1827 Queen's launched its first eight.² In 1828 University, Oriel and Trinity are mentioned, and in 1830 St. John's. In 1831 the Boat Club at Exeter started a Treasurer's book. In 1833 the Jesus boat reappeared and ended third. Queen's went Head of the river that year and again in 1837. The records of the Queen's Boat Club date from 1834. Brasenose and Balliol had books and records of rowing in 1837, though Balliol had no Boat Club till 1850. In 1837 Wadham joined in the races, in 1838 Merton and Magdalen Hall.³ And in 1837 the official chart of the College races begins. But almost up to that date there were still Oxford Dons who refused to be persuaded that rowing was a respectable pursuit. When John Peard, a mighty athlete of his day, took the first boating rules to a Tutor of Exeter College, and pointed out the fines prescribed for rowing men who failed to abstain from wine and other temptations, the Tutor retorted that, if such rules were needed, it was a plain and written confession of the wild character of the men engaged.⁴

The year 1829 was rendered memorable by the first University Boat Race, organised largely by Charles Wordsworth of Christ Church. It was rowed at Henley and witnessed by nearly twenty thousand people from the river banks—so quickly did it win the favour of the public. Every inn, we are told, was "crammed to excess" and horses stabled in the streets for want of space. Oxford, the victors, rowed "in their blue check dress," Cambridge in white with pink wristbands. Christ Church had four men besides the Cox in the boat. The second University Boat Race was in 1836, the third, a hollow beating for Oxford, in 1839. In that year, 1839, the Oxford University Boat Club was organised, with a Committee, a button and a barge of its own, to provide for constant practice so as to avoid a repetition of defeat, and to have funds always ready "to defray the ex-

¹ The records give Christ Church 1, Exeter 2, Worcester 3, Balliol 4 (*Ib.* 109). But other boats may have started.

² *Ib.* (13). But Queen's is not mentioned in the racing record of that year (*Ib.* 110).

³ New Inn Hall had a boat in 1839, Lincoln and New College in 1840, Pembroke in 1842, Magdalen in 1846. Corpus and Magdalen had a composite boat called Caudlen in 1845. But these efforts were not always continuous. Early four-oared races were not infrequent. Corpus had a famous Four in 1834-5.

⁴ See Stride (*Exeter College*, 169-70).

penses of a contest with a foreign naval power.”¹ There were several such contests in the years that followed, but it is only from 1856 that the University Boat Race dates as an annual event. Its triumphs and vicissitudes have been often chronicled, and the detailed history of Oxford rowing, of the Torpids first launched in 1838, of the Pairs which date from 1839, of the Fours established in 1840, of the Sculls first rowed for in 1841, must be left for experts to relate. But it is interesting to notice how the boat races, the Eights especially, lived down the prejudice once exhibited against them and eclipsed all other contests in esteem. The University Boat Race now ranks with the Derby as a day of national exhilaration, and the Headship of the river has become the most valuable prize which any College in Oxford or Cambridge can secure. Christ Church lost its marked ascendancy on the river after 1849. Oriel had a solitary triumph in 1842, Pembroke in 1872, Hertford in 1881.² Wadham claimed its first victory in 1850, Corpus in 1868.³ Trinity won four successive triumphs from 1861 to 1864. University, Head in 1841 and again in 1843, achieved a remarkable series of victories between 1869 and 1878. Balliol had some great years, was Head four times and second eight times, between 1850 and 1862.⁴ Exeter, after an early start and days of great prosperity between 1856 and 1860, re-established its predominance for three years in 1882. Magdalen, beginning to lead in 1880, went Head again in 1886 and 1888, and kept the Headship four years running from 1892 to 1895. Then New College, late in beginning—its first great triumph was in 1887—seized the first place, after some sharp struggles with Magdalen, in 1896, and held it till the nineteenth century closed. But no College can claim quite such a record as Brasenose, whose eighteen victories range over the century from 1815 to 1891, and whose place in the lists has almost all the time been high.⁵ For six years, from 1874 to 1879, a Brasenose man stroked the University Boat. From 1886 onwards the College was Head of the river in Torpids for nine successive years, and for three of those years Head in the Eights as well. Brasenose

¹ At the inaugural meeting of Strokes and other College representatives on the 23 April 1839, Calverley Bewicke, the Stroke of the University Boat, was in the chair (Sherwood, *Oxford Rowing*, 20–21).

² I am speaking of the nineteenth century only here.

³ Wadham was Head again in 1856 and Corpus in 1885. Pembroke, though not Head, had a fine record in 1857 and 1877. (See Maclean's *History of Pembroke College*, 492–4.)

⁴ Balliol was Head in 1851, 1855, 1859, 1860, 1873 and 1879. Edmond Warre rowed in 1859, A. L. Smith in 1873. But I must not try to chronicle individual achievements, tempting as it is.

⁵ Its average place, apparently, up to the end of the century was 3·63. (See *Brasenose Quatercentenary Monograph* XIV, 1.)

was one of the first Colleges to boast of a barge, which it took over from the University Boat Club in 1846. A few years later, in 1857, Christ Church and University, Exeter, Queen's and Oriel had barges also. In 1872 the New Walk to the barges was opened. Eight years later the first University Boat House was built.¹ The record of the many famous oarsmen who won these College triumphs, and who helped so often to row the University Boat to victory, has, happily, been often noted and is preserved elsewhere.²

Brasenose also claims to share with Christ Church the honour of leading the way in Oxford cricket. These two Colleges were the first to establish cricket clubs with grounds upon Bullingdon Green.³ The University played in early days on Magdalen ground at Cowley Marsh. Charles Wordsworth, who did so much to organise the Boat Race, was prominent in organising the first cricket match with Cambridge in 1827. This was repeated in 1829, in 1836 and in 1838⁴: and from that year the University matches went on without interruption, while College Elevens developed too. Exeter and St. John's were early in the field: Exeter had some great days in the middle of the century. New College claims that its Winchester men taught it to play cricket in 1838. Merton perhaps allowed cricket to distract it from seeking prowess on the river. Oriel, Trinity and other Colleges won distinction at the game. Wadham had its great days later.⁵ An interesting calculation estimates that from 1827 to 1900 Christ Church supplied fifty-seven men to play for Oxford against Cambridge, Oriel thirty-three, Trinity thirty-two, New College twenty-nine, Brasenose twenty-seven and Balliol twenty-five.⁶ In one year, 1870, Brasenose claimed six men in the University

¹ To be burned almost immediately and rebuilt in 1881.

² The details given above are drawn principally from Mr. Sherwood's *Oxford Rowing*, from the volumes on *Rowing* and *Boating* in the Badminton Library, from the College histories, some of which have valuable details, and from books like Rysden's *Book of Blues*, etc. An interesting paper in the *Oxford Magazine* of February 11, 1926, distinguishes three periods of rowing after 1857, first the period of fixed seats and keel-less boats, secondly the period of slides which gradually became longer, and thirdly the period, beginning about 1886, when Cambridge began to learn and to show the right way of using the long slides.

³ And they were the only ones, says Mr. Madan, before 1836 (*Brasenose Quatercentenary Monograph* XIV, p. 81). Mr. Stride submits a claim for Exeter dating from 1844 (*Exeter College*, 236).

⁴ See Rysden's *Book of Blues* (vol. I), the volume on *Cricket* in the Badminton Library (Chap. XI), etc.

⁵ E.g. in 1884 and 1894—the latter one of C. B. Fry's years.

⁶ *Brasenose Quat. Mon.* XIV (p. 86). But even this calculation has been challenged. Mr. Madan allots only 20 Cricket Blues to University: but Mr. Carr, the College historian, gives the names of 23 (*University College*, 232).

Eleven.¹ And three great College Captains in three successive decades, A. J. Webbe of Trinity in 1874, M. C. Kemp of Hertford in 1884, C. B. Fry of Wadham in 1894, may perhaps be allowed a passing mention here.

Football as a highly-organised amusement cannot claim the same antiquity, though in the Middle Ages it was, apparently, a temptation which Oxford clerks found it hard to resist. It was first played at Oxford chiefly by the men from four schools, Winchester, Eton, Harrow and Rugby, which had rules of their own for what was still regarded principally as a schoolboys' game. It was played at some Colleges before 1870, but it was not till 1873 that the first University matches in Rugby football began. Matches in Association football started a year later. Ten years later still the cup ties between the Colleges in Association football were established: and about the same time Rugby football at Oxford, made famous by some admirable players, touched perhaps as high a level as it has ever reached.² The Colleges as a whole divided their energies between the two forms of the game. Athletic Sports as an institution, as a competition between the two Universities, began in 1864. Exeter has an earlier record. Exeter men started an Autumn Meeting in 1850 and repeated it in 1851. Flat-racing, hurdle-racing and jumping were introduced.³ Lincoln also held some early sports, and one College at Cambridge followed the example. But the continuous story of these contests hardly begins before 1864. The first University match at racquets dates from 1855,⁴ the first in tennis from 1859 and in lawn tennis from 1881. Tennis and racquets never lost their hold on Oxford, though College bowling-greens and fives-courts disappeared.⁵ And many other games and many other contests⁶ secured their

¹ *Quat. Mon.* XIV (p. 83). And in 1871 S. E. Butler of Brasenose performed the extraordinary feat of taking 15 Cambridge wickets for 95 runs.

² The Fettes-Lorrettian Club, started in 1881, contained some famous Oxford players. (See *Football*, Badminton Series, 265-6.)

³ See Mr. Shearman's volume on *Athletics and Football* in the Badminton Series (41 sq.). A special word of acknowledgment is due to Mr. C. N. Jackson of Magdalen Hall and Hertford College, who was for so long the presiding genius of the University Sports.

⁴ Continuously from 1858.

⁵ The old tennis-court in Merton Street, once owned by the Wood family, is still in use. Another can be traced in Blue Boar Lane, and a third in Oriel Street, where King Charles and Prince Rupert played in 1642. (See Mr. Manning's paper in *Surveys and Tokens*, O.H.S., pp. 114-15.)

⁶ University contests in billiards and in shooting date, it seems, from 1860 and 1862. Bicycling, golf, polo matches and many others came later (Rysden, *Book of Blues*, vol. I). Corpus was training one famous golfer, Mr. H. G. Hutchinson, as early as 1878.

votaries as the years went on. Meanwhile outside the round of competitions Oxford men still tramped the countryside, still climbed the "springing pastures" in the spring-time, still found wild hyacinths in Bagley Wood. Christ Church and Merton men, and others too, still hunted. The Christ Church beagles, succeeding an earlier pack of harriers, were established in 1874. And other Oxford students still, though Town and Gown had lost their old significance, and though the bells of St. Mary's and St. Martin's no longer called clerk and layman to battle in the streets, found means at times as simple as their ancestors to vent the gaiety of heart and test the muscles which in all ages have been the heritage of youth.

V

The later years of the nineteenth century saw once again new Colleges founded after an interval of many years. Dr. Newton's gallant effort in the eighteenth century to transform the ancient Hart Hall into Hertford College had ended in partial disappointment.¹ Among Newton's successors Dr. Durell indeed gave the struggling College a few years of prosperity and one illustrious inmate, Charles James Fox.² On Durell's premature death in 1775 Dr. Hodgson of Christ Church succeeded, and contrived to hold the Society together until he too died in 1805. In that year the Chancellor, the Duke of Portland, completely ignoring the College Statutes, offered the Headship to Henry Phillpotts of Magdalen, well-known to posterity afterwards as a combative and celebrated Bishop. On Phillpotts' refusal the nomination lapsed to Dean Jackson, who made up his mind that the little College had better be allowed to die. Under the only Statutes formally ratified neither of the two existing Fellows was eligible for its Headship, and the senior of the two, Richard Hewitt, who carried it on for a short time as Vice-Principal, failed to persuade Dr. Jackson to appoint him, though he declared that that solution of the problem was "pointed out by the finger of God." In 1814 Hewitt's Fellowship expired. He continued to live in the College two years longer. But all students had already departed, and a strange and heterogeneous company of lodgers seem to have established themselves in the empty rooms. Hewitt himself was notoriously eccentric, and most

¹ See *ante* (pp. 128-9).

² Durell was Principal of Hertford from 1757 to 1775 and acted as Vice-Chancellor from 1765 to 1768, though under the Statutes he was not technically eligible for either office. For these and other facts here mentioned see Mr. S. G. Hamilton's interesting and complete little history of the College,

of the new occupants were regarded as "half-cracked."¹ The University had good grounds for thinking that Newton's Society had ceased to exist, and the Crown declared that it had in fact been dissolved ever since 1805. In 1818 the property, covering about three-quarters of an acre,² was granted in trust to Magdalen Hall, and out of a fund reserved temporarily for the support of Richard Hewitt there was founded in 1834 the Hertford Scholarship since held by many distinguished men.

Magdalen Hall, which succeeded as heir to this venerable but unfortunate foundation, had long been a source of some disquiet to the great College at its doors. It had grown up, almost accidentally, out of the old Grammar Hall, on Magdalen ground and by virtue of Magdalen's acquiescence. But it had gradually made good its independence, and this independence had become something of a grievance to the Fellows of the College. For fifty-seven years Josiah Pullen,³ appointed Vice-Principal by Henry Wilkinson in 1657, had in fact ruled over the fortunes of the Hall, and the Principals of his day were content to leave him in control. One of them, Dr. Adams, Hearne declares, never came there "but once or twice a Year to receive his Cash."⁴ Another, William Dennison, was probably appointed to compensate him for the loss of his claims on the Mastership of University College.⁵ Another, Matthew Lamb, enjoyed four other preferments and wanted little but a residence in Oxford. But with John Macbride, once a well-known Fellow of Exeter, a new era began. The memorable March of 1815, which saw Napoleon sweep back in triumph to Paris, saw Magdalen College putting forward proposals for the transfer of Magdalen Hall to the Hertford site. The University authorities joined in the conspiracy, what poor Hewitt, who still claimed to be Principal, called *The Hertford Plot*. Parliament gave its sanction to the scheme. A destructive fire at Magdalen Hall in 1820—the result

¹ See Cox's *Recollections* (177–8).

² See Mr. Hamilton's note on the site (*Hertford College*, 96–8). The widening of Cat Street swept away part of the old College front and some old houses between it and the street. For the Act of 1816 which legalised the grant of the property to Magdalen Hall see Shadwell (*Enactments in Parliament*, II, 340 sq.).

³ "Jo Pullen's tree," to which he is said to have walked daily, could still be found on Headington Hill in 1903 (Hamilton's *Hertford College*, 118).

⁴ See Hearne's *Collections* (I, 118). Adams was the Chancellor's nominee and only secured his post after a sharp struggle with the nominee of Magdalen. The succession of Principals after Henry Wilkinson was Dr. Hyde (1662), Dr. Levet (1681), Dr. Adams (1694), Digby Cotes (1716), two William Dennisons, father and son (1745 and 1755), Matthew Lamb (1786), Henry Ford (1788), John Macbride (1813).

⁵ See *ante* (p. 81).

of a supper-party too weary or convivial to extinguish lights—was followed by the collapse of the old “paper-building” at Hertford, and both incidents served to hasten the proceedings. Magdalen College, in taking over the Magdalen Hall buildings, had promised to put those of Hertford in repair. In May 1820 the Vice-Chancellor laid the foundation-stone of the new Magdalen Hall buildings. The design suggested, and said to have been proposed by Dr. Newton, consisted of two square blocks with a connecting screen. The old Lodgings remained, but the picturesqueness of the old College disappeared.¹ In 1822 the new fabric was ready and the members of Magdalen Hall moved in.

Hertford College had disappeared. But Magdalen Hall in its new quarters soon eclipsed its predecessor. Its independence could no longer be questioned. Its space, if cramped, was sufficient. Its management was vigorous and successful. Dr. Macbride, almost as great a link with the past as Dr. Routh, was followed from Exeter by Dr. Jacobson as Vice-Principal in 1832, and Jacobson soon raised the tone and reputation of the College. Open Scholarships were founded in 1833. The numbers rose to two hundred and fourteen in 1846. When Jacobson passed on in 1848 to be Regius Professor of Divinity, his successor as Vice-Principal was Richard Michell, who had won golden opinions as a Tutor at Lincoln. The Commissioners found little to alter, though the Hall was governed at the Principal’s discretion. When Dr. Macbride died at a great age in 1868 Dr. Michell naturally succeeded, and within a short time of his accession plans for converting the Hall into a College and for resuscitating the name connected with the site were set on foot. In 1873 a bill with these objects was introduced into Parliament. But it was not till the new Parliament of 1874 that the Act for the incorporation of Hertford College and the Founder who was to render its revival possible appeared. Mr. Thomas Baring had offered a munificent gift to Brasenose College, accompanied by restrictions in favour of the Church of England which that College felt itself unable to accept. Mr. Baring then transferred his offer to the sponsors of the new Hertford College. He placed in the Chancellor’s hands certain funds to found, as a beginning, five Fellowships without ecclesiastical restrictions. But it was understood that other Fellowships would be founded later subject to the restrictions he desired.² The legality of restrictions which, some

¹ Dr. Macbride afterwards added a storey to the Lodgings, which had been dwarfed by the new buildings, and in 1849 he added an upper storey to the dining-hall. (See *Hertford College*, 131-3.)

² See Section 7 of the Act of 1874 (Shadwell, *Enactments in Parliament*, IV, 43). Two Judges in the Divisional Court, over-ruled by the Court

thought, conflicted with the principle of removing tests, was argued in the Law Courts, and was finally decided in 1878 in favour of the view accepted by the College. Meanwhile the members of Magdalen Hall became the members of Hertford College. New Statutes were adopted, new endowments absorbed. In 1877 Dr. Michell was succeeded as Principal by Dr. Boyd. Distinguished Fellows were elected. F. H. Jeune, J. A. Godley, S. G. Hamilton were followed later by W. R. Inge, Hastings Rashdall, Lord Hugh Cecil.¹ C. N. Jackson was not only a Tutor but a leader in all forms of sport. Proposals to move to a fresh site were considered and set aside: the Angel Inn was available: it had not yet been replaced by the New Schools. A corner house beside the old foundation was bought and the Common Room established in it. The Principal's Lodgings were for a time divided into rooms. In 1887 a new Hall was begun. The Library, which owed much to Henry Wilkinson and John Macbride, was moved to the old Hall. The main entrance reappeared opposite the Tower of the Bodleian Quadrangle. Old buildings were pulled down to make way for a new frontage on the North. Old houses across New College Lane were rented and presently purchased. New buildings, which the College could take pride in, arose.² The process of expansion has at last enabled Hertford College to advance across the old line of the City wall, and to include in its domain the ancient Chapel of Our Lady by Smith Gate, which had seen the mediaeval students clamouring around it and the Austin Friars maintaining their Convent in the meadows beyond.³

Keble is almost as young a College as Hertford, a reminder of a memorable movement, a memorial of a venerated name. In March 1866 John Keble died after a brief illness, and in the following May a meeting at Lambeth Palace launched the scheme for Keble College. The resolutions there adopted proposed to

of Appeal, evidently thought the arrangement an infringement of the Universities' Tests Act of 1871. Mr. Baring imposed restrictions in favour of the Church of England, of the county of Essex, of Harrow School, of Founder's kin, and of the sons of past Fellows of Hertford or Brasenose—all of the type which it was the object of the University Commissions to destroy.

¹ The present Principal, Sir W. R. Buchanan-Riddell, was elected a Fellow in 1903.

² E.g. the corner block built by Sir T. Jackson across New College Lane, and the new Chapel by the same architect later.

³ The later changes mentioned here were made after 1887. Clarendon House and the adjoining houses, some of which went by the name of *aedes*, were acquired in 1897. The rebuilding of the little Chapel by the wall, which Mr. Hamilton thinks stood outside Smith Gate originally, is a happy piece of recent work. (See *Hertford College*, 146-9 and 163-6.)

found an Institution, in the first place at Oxford, bearing Mr. Keble's name, in which young men "now debarred from University Education" might be "trained in simple and religious habits." Keble had taken a warm interest in the proposals for University Extension within College walls, with which Professor Shirley was prominently connected,¹ and it was determined that the new College should not only stand for the doctrines of the Church of England as its Founders understood them, but should offer first-rate academic teaching to men of narrow means. It was to be as far as possible a College for poor men. Yet "not poverty, but simplicity of life, Christian simplicity," said Dr. Pusey, was to be its chief characteristic.

"Its object is to form *men*, men fitted for whatever state of life it may please God to call them to, but men who, to whatever they shall be called, will be good soldiers of Jesus Christ."

Its Head, its Tutors, its undergraduates were to be bound by common interests and affection to each other.² Great names were soon associated with the undertaking. Some feared that the basis of the scheme might be too narrow. Party feeling still ran high, and Dr. Hawkins of Oriel deprecated any memorial intended to promote the interests of one party in the Church. Others feared that the scheme was too ambitious. Sir J. T. Coleridge could not believe that they would raise anything like thirty thousand pounds. But these fears died away. The first Trustees included the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Oxford,³ Lord Beauchamp, Lord Nelson, Lord Lyttelton, Sir J. T. Coleridge, Sir William Heathcote, Sir Roundell Palmer, Mr. Gathorne Hardy.⁴ The first Committee included also Dr. Pusey, Dr. Mansel, Mr. Shaw Stewart, Professor Mountague Bernard.⁵ Money was rapidly collected: for the start not thirty thousand pounds but fifty thousand were required. Among the prominent subscribers were Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury,⁶ Mr. Gathorne Hardy, Sir William Heathcote, Dr.

¹ W. W. Shirley, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History since 1863, who had been a disciple of Dr. Arnold but had ceased to sympathise with Arnold's views. He won wide respect by defending his own views with great fairness. He died at the age of thirty-eight in November 1866.

² See Dr. Pusey's speech reported in the *Proceedings* at the foundation of the College in 1868.

³ Archbishop Longley till October 1868, and Bishop Wilberforce till December 1869.

⁴ Mr. Gladstone was nominated but unable to serve. For other names see the Charter of Incorporation in the *Statutes*.

⁵ The 13 members of Committee nominated by the Archbishop of Canterbury to serve with the Trustees are given in the published account of the *Proceedings* on St. Mark's Day 1868.

⁶ He was still Lord Cranborne when the first subscription list was formed.

Pusey, the President of Magdalen, many more. Lord Beauchamp in particular gave very generous support. Four and a half acres of land opposite the new Museum were purchased, theology following science to its chosen field. Mr. Butterfield was selected as architect, chiefly out of sympathy, it seems, for his ecclesiastical opinions, and a large and imposing College was designed. On the 25th April 1868, St. Mark's Day, the foundation-stone was laid by Archbishop Longley. The ceremony naturally gathered in Oxford many to whom the memories of Tractarian days were dear. And at the meeting in the Sheldonian Theatre which followed, Bishop Wilberforce struck a high, defiant note. "The worn-out hacks of political life," he said, might "offer sacrilege." But the young blood and the young intellect of Oxford wished to see "our Christian character" maintained.¹

More tact was shown in drawing up the Statutes, and caution and tact were not to be despised. For, independently of the close ties between Newman and Keble, the foundation of a distinctively Anglican College was to some extent a challenge to those who desired to see ecclesiastical tests in University education disappear. The Statutes entrusted the government of the new College to a Warden and Council of twelve members.² The members of the Council were appointed for life, and had power to fill up any vacancies in their body. The Archbishop of Canterbury was made Visitor. The Warden was to be a Clerk in Holy Orders, and by great good fortune Mr. Edward Talbot of Christ Church accepted the post. The Warden had the entire charge of administration. He appointed Tutors, officers and servants. He presided over the Council and could veto almost any of its acts.³ There were no Fellows entitled to take part in his selection or in a position to question his authority. He and his colleagues of the Council could make Statutes for the College, could wind up its affairs, dispose of its property, even move it from Oxford if they liked.⁴ No such autocratic constitution had ever been adopted for an Oxford College. It may perhaps be doubted whether provisions which allow so little power or freedom to the Tutorial body can be permanently maintained. And it says much for the character and wisdom of those who from the first filled the difficult office of Warden that the history of the College has been a history of success. The

¹ The Bishop's expression of course evaded the only controversial issue involved.

² The Charter of Incorporation, dated June 6, 1870, is reprinted in the latest Statutes, approved and published in 1926.

³ The Warden of Keble combines, it seems, the powers of a Headmaster with something more than the powers of a Chairman of Governors of a Public School.

⁴ Subject to the Visitor's assent.

same tact or caution, distrustful of politicians if not distrustful of the law, though the Trustees included both politicians and lawyers, prevented the consecration of the Chapel,¹ and caused a subsequent Bishop of Oxford some disquiet. Keble still stands on a different footing from other foundations, and does not technically rank as an Oxford College. But, if its regulations and arrangements were unusual, the requirements of the University were met. In March 1871 Convocation certified that the buildings of "the New Foundation for Academical Study and Education" were suitable for the reception of students.² Five years later a hundred and thirty students were in residence there. On St. Mark's Day 1876 Dr. Pusey proudly contrasted "this school of faith . . . this school of simplicity" with the faithlessness and self-indulgence of the world outside. Lord Salisbury as Chancellor bore witness to "the marvellous combination of piety, sincerity, enthusiasm and tact" by which its early years had been guided. And Archbishop Tait as Visitor felt able to pronounce a blessing on the College which perpetuated Keble's name.³

Keble College has no endowments. Out of its receipts and earnings it must pay its way. It owes much to the discretion of its management, more still to the generosity of its friends. To Mr. William Gibbs of Tyntesfield, who presented the lofty Chapel opened in 1876, and to his sons who presented the spacious Hall and Library opened two years later,⁴ it owes perhaps most of all. The first subscriptions went in buying the site and in building rooms for a hundred undergraduates and six Tutors. But block after block has been gradually added to form the two spacious quadrangles, all unhappily in the same vivid and unsatisfying style. The faults of Mr. Butterfield's work at Balliol and Merton were repeated. A great opportunity of building a beautiful College was thrown away. The Chapel, ambitious

¹ Because that would have brought it under the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, said the *Manchester Guardian* of April 26, 1876.

² See the *Oxford University Gazette* for March 21, 1871. The Gazette of a week earlier gave notice of a motion to be proposed in Convocation on April 18—"That the Society or House called Keble College, having complied with the conditions required by the Statute, Tit. II, Section VI, *On New Foundations for Academical Study and Education*, be admitted to the privileges mentioned in the Statute."

³ See the *Proceedings* on St. Mark's Day 1876. But older contentions survived. The *Church Times* of April 28 observed that the Archbishop—one of the Four Tutors of 1841—was blessing that "which he fain would curse," and the *Rock* showed similar freedom in expressing its opinions.

⁴ The Hall, the longest in Oxford, and the interests of the Library are happily described in Mr. Rice Oxley's volume *Oxford Renowned* (161-2).

in its plan and costly in its marbles, was conspicuous in size but strangely wanting in judgment, dignity, repose. Its crude colouring distressed spectators. Its windows were deplorable in execution and in tone. But time has mellowed the worst of its misfortunes, and even in ecclesiastical edifices has suffered taste to change.¹ Personal relics of Keble are treasured in the Library, which, apart from these, has already treasures of its own. Portraits of Keble and of Newman find places on the walls. But the success of the College has been due less to its peculiar position than to the fact that, while a fine enthusiasm created it, no narrow ecclesiasticism has ruled its course. It has maintained the views and principles it honours. But it has maintained them in a fashion void of all offence. It has adopted the ways, even the weaknesses, of other Colleges, has taken its place in teaching and in play beside the rest. It has set an example of simplicity in living which is doubly valuable in these latter days.² And in that simplicity it has found a place for its ideals of Christian training, or, in the measured language of its Charter, for "sober living and high culture of the mind."³

Closely connected with Keble College was the foundation of Lady Margaret Hall. The movement for the higher education of women was an important part of the educational demand which, led by pioneers like Frederick Temple and Thomas Acland, was drawing the University into fields of effort outside the older academic limits. An Adult School movement had been started in the eighteenth century. Mechanics' Institutes and

¹ A finer taste has remodelled the side Chapel where Mr. Holman Hunt's great picture stands, and has built the War Memorial close by. In venturing to express above what I think has become the prevalent and just opinion, it is right to remember that Mr. Butterfield's work had in his day many admirers. The *Guardian* wrote sympathetically of it on April 26, 1876, and the *Spectator* declared Keble College to be "one of the most beautiful structures of modern England, and even of the city of Oxford itself" (April 29). The *World*, on the other hand (May 3), found the building one "of unspeakable ugliness." Keble College, "an anomaly in idea," had become "a monstrosity in appearance."

² But I am informed that expenses at Keble, formerly from £80 to £85 a year, have now risen to £150. The difference of cost between Keble and other Colleges is a good deal diminished.

³ For the facts given in this sketch see the College *Statutes*, the published accounts of the *Proceedings* at the two anniversaries on St. Mark's Day 1868 and 1876, the newspapers of those and later years, and the paper by Mr. Lock in Clark's *Colleges of Oxford*. The materials are scanty; but the Warden with great kindness put into my hands all the materials he could, including some letters and memoranda of men concerned in the foundation of the College. I owe acknowledgments also to the Bursar of Keble and to Mr. Rice Oxley.

Co-operative Societies had realised the need of better education. Working Men's Colleges had begun to grow up.¹ In June 1857 Convocation, in response to a desire for the examination at school of boys whose circumstances did not allow them to go to Oxford or Cambridge, adopted a Statute with that object,² and appointed a Delegacy to frame regulations. The first examination took place in 1858. In 1873 a joint Board was formed by Oxford and Cambridge, not only for the inspection and examination of schools, but to grant certificates which would exempt boys from College entrance examinations and from the first University examinations too. Within a short time all the leading schools in the country came in. Concurrently the demand for local lectures and for better opportunities for women increased. James Stuart at Cambridge set on foot the modern University Extension movement, and in Oxford the proposals for Women's Education took a definite and lasting shape.³ A Committee was formed to organise Women's Lectures.⁴ Mrs. Creighton and Mrs. Humphry Ward were its first Secretaries. Mr. and Mrs. Mark Pattison, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Talbot, Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Green were among its earliest influential friends.⁵ Professor Stubbs became one of its first Lecturers. Thorold Rogers, with an audacity which sent a shudder through some circles, was one of the first to propose the admission of women to University examinations. In 1875 the Delegates for Local Examinations were directed to hold a yearly examination for women over eighteen. An Association for the Higher Education of Women grew up. Lectures by Professors and Lecturers of distinction were delivered in a humble room over a baker's shop.⁶ And the foundation of Women's Colleges at Cambridge

¹ See, for example, T. D. Acland's pamphlet on *Middle-Class Education* (1857) and Temple's letters quoted in it: also the surveys given in the valuable *Report of the Adult Education Committee*, 1919, and *Report on Oxford and Working Class Education* issued some ten years earlier.

² "De Examinatione Candidatorum qui non sunt de Corpore Universitatis." (See *Tit. XIX*, S. v., pp. 251-2, of the *Statutes* of 1858.)

³ But before that Miss Eleanor Smith, Professor Henry Smith's sister, had organised in 1866 lectures and classes for women, which went on for some time.

⁴ Mrs. Arthur Johnson has related how Mrs. Creighton came up to her after one of Mr. Ruskin's lectures in 1873, and asked her to join a Committee for this purpose. (See the *Short History of Lady Margaret Hall*, Chap. III.)

⁵ Other early friends of the movement were Dr. Harper, Dr. Percival, Dr. Bradley, Professor Rolleston, Professor Nettleship, Mr. H. S. Butcher, Mr. Alfred Robinson, Mr. Arthur Sidgwick, Mrs. Max Müller, Mrs. Kitchin, Mrs. Johnson, Miss Smith.

⁶ In Great Clarendon Street, and then in the old Baptist Chapel behind the present Pusey House (*Lady Margaret Hall*, p. 51).

obviously called for an effort to establish something of the same kind at Oxford, though Mr. Mark Pattison begged his coadjutors to avoid, if possible, in matters of dress and demeanour too close an approximation to what he regarded as a Girton or a Newnham type.

One serious and recurring difficulty had to be overcome. Some of the best friends of the movement desired a Hall of residence free from any denominational tests. Another influential group, with its centre at Keble, felt bound to insist upon a Hall for members of the Church of England only. The division of opinion was marked, but happily the ruin of the whole scheme was avoided. Friends agreed to differ and the two proposals went forward side by side. In November 1878, Miss Wordsworth, whose name was felt to be a guarantee of churchmanship, was invited to become Principal of a denominational Hall for women students. In 1879 the new Society started its work in a home beside the Parks, taking the name of the famous Lady Margaret, the Foundress of the first Divinity Chair in Oxford and the grandmother of King Henry VIII. The Warden of Keble was its best friend from the first. And in the same year an undenominational Hall was started in an old house, Walton Manor, further West, which took its name from Mary Somerville, a name distinguished already in mathematics and science. Miss Madeleine Shaw Lefevre was appointed Principal. Dr. Percival became an invaluable Chairman of the Council.¹ Somerville Hall had twelve students to begin with, Lady Margaret Hall had nine. Both were probably weakened at the beginning by the division of their forces. But numbers quietly increased. Before the Great War broke out there were a hundred students at Somerville. Soon after the War was over there were a hundred at Lady Margaret Hall.² New buildings were needed to facilitate this growth. At Lady Margaret Hall the first extension was completed in 1883 on ground leased from St. John's College. A Chapel was opened in 1886. A Hostel for poorer students was initiated by Miss Wordsworth in 1887.³ At Somerville a

¹ Besides those already mentioned, Lady Margaret Hall numbered among its early friends H. Scott Holland, A. G. Butler, Bishop Jayne, W. A. Spooner, Bishop Mackarness, Bishop Paget, Bishop King, Mrs. Arnold Toynbee and others, while Somerville Hall owed much to Professor Pelham, Dr. Magrath, Mr. A. H. D. Acland, Sir W. Markby, Dr. Caird, Dr. Woods and Mrs. Vernon Harcourt. Dr. Bright of University also and Dr. Heberden of Brasenose and many other distinguished men were drawn in to help one College or both—and not least in later days Professor Gilbert Murray.

² In 1923.

³ It became St. Hugh's Hall and St. Hugh's College. But the lower level of prices could not be maintained.

new wing was added in 1881. Another building was completed in 1887. And in both cases these early buildings were only the precursors of greater extensions as the years advanced.¹ The two Halls worked side by side in perfect amity, thanks to the cordial relations of their Principals and friends. From both students soon emerged well qualified to share not only the lectures given but the Honours awarded to men. In 1883 Dr. Harper and others pressed on the University the claims of women students. It was vain for Dean Burgon to tell the public that "the modesty of nature" was being "overstepped." In 1884 Honour Moderations and the Final Honour Schools of Mathematics, Natural Science and Modern History were opened to them. In 1885 some College lectures were available.² In 1888 the Final Honours School in Classics was thrown open, and a bonfire was set blazing on Boar's Hill. Every concession made by the University was quickly justified by the distinctions which women students obtained.³ But it was not till forty years had passed, till the War had brought with it many revolutions, that the rapid development of the Women's Colleges finally broke down all prejudice against them, and led in 1920 to the admission of women on equal terms to University degrees.⁴

Another new departure of great interest, another form of University expansion, followed closely on the establishment of the Women's Halls. The ancient claims of the Church upon Oxford had been emphasised afresh in the foundation of Hertford College, of Keble College and of Lady Margaret Hall. But the feeling was gathering strength that members of other religious communities ought not to be excluded from such advantages as the traditions and atmosphere of Oxford could confer. The training of students for the Nonconformist Ministry had long been a matter of concern to English Dissenters, and in providing facilities for it Manchester and Birmingham took the lead. At Manchester, where the earliest Nonconformist Academy had been founded by one of the ejected clergy of 1662, it was decided

¹ There were frequent additions to the Somerville Hall buildings from 1890 to 1897, followed by a new Library in 1904. Miss Maitland's Principalship (1890-1906) was a period of vigorous growth. Somerville Hall became by name a College in 1894. At Lady Margaret Hall the most important extensions after the first were from 1900 onwards.

² Balliol, Exeter and Corpus, it seems, led the way.

³ One of the latest and most interesting of all was the winning of the Newdigate in 1927 by Miss G. Trevelyan, a student of Lady Margaret Hall.

⁴ These facts are drawn mostly from the Short History of *Lady Margaret Hall* edited by G. Bailey, and the account of *Somerville College* 1879-1921 by M. St. C. Byrne and C. H. Mansfield. One or two other contemporary sources have been consulted also.

in February 1786 to establish a new Academy or Institution free from all denominational tests.¹ Seventeen years later this Manchester College was moved to York, and in 1840 it was moved back again under the name of Manchester New College to Manchester. It gradually became not so much a centre for North Country Nonconformists as a theological College in touch with the new University of London. The Presbyterians claimed a special interest in it, but it was held to represent all forms of Protestant Dissent. In 1853 it was moved to London, to University Hall in Gordon Square. There Dr. Martineau, a student in 1822 of the College at York, a Professor in 1840 of the College at Manchester, became its Principal in 1869, and Manchester New College in London became more definitely identified with Unitarian beliefs.

Meanwhile at Birmingham a new Nonconformist College, for the education of men for the Congregational Ministry, had been established by the generosity of Mr. George Mansfield and his sisters. The Spring Hill College was opened in 1838. It was designed to offer a thorough training in theology, based on a previous study of languages, literature, philosophy and logic. In 1856 the College moved to Moseley and had to encounter some difficult years. But the removal of religious tests at Oxford offered opportunities of fresh development which its friends were quick to appreciate. In Oxford itself there was among Nonconformists a growing demand for something more than freedom. Their admission to the University had brought with it certain disappointments. There was a fear that young men drawn from Nonconformist families might drift away from the faith of the Free Churches without finding any other faith to take its place. Observers like Professor Bryce and Professor Green began to recommend the establishment of something like a Theological Faculty for Nonconformists.² Dr. Fairbairn, of Airedale College, Bradford, boldly called on the Free Churches to take up their inheritance at Oxford, and to found there a School or Hall of Theology, which should be a religious power among Nonconformist undergraduates. The Nonconformist undergraduates themselves, led by Richard Horton of New College,³

¹ It was at first intended to train not only divines but professional and business men also. But the theological aspect soon became the most important.

² To be formed, Professor Bryce suggested in the *British Quarterly Review* for April 1884, by a joint committee representing the principal denominations, and to gather round it candidates for the Free Church Ministry. See also Dr. Fairbairn's article in the same issue and under the same title, *Nonconformity and the Universities*.

³ Mr. R. F. Horton was a Scholar of New College in 1874, a Fellow in 1879.

established an Oxford University Nonconformists Union in 1881. They wished to remove the feeling of isolation among them, to study for themselves and to explain to others what English Nonconformity really meant. The movement, and the desire to link it with Oxford, found friends, though Mr. Horton's nomination in 1883 as an examiner in the Rudiments of Faith and Religion roused bitter opposition, and was rejected by a decisive vote of Convocation. Dr. Dale's great influence was enlisted on behalf of the scheme. It was decided to reorganise Spring Hill College as a non-residential Theological Hall, to transfer its teaching to Oxford, and to re-name it by its Founder's name.¹

In 1885 this bold scheme was carried out. Dr. Fairbairn by a happy choice was appointed to be the first Principal of the new Mansfield College. Money was raised, Lancashire and London responding with special liberality to the appeal. A Building Committee was formed and an admirable design selected.² A site between Holywell Street and the Parks was secured. Another beautiful College was added to the ancient beauties of Oxford, to study theology "in a spirit at once constructive, critical, and devout." And its first Principal, speaking as the heir of the old Puritans once excluded—"they went out sadly and with many a backward look, as men who loved not Oxford less, but conscience more"—claimed for those returning nothing but a share in the pursuit of truth.

"The university is now open to England; she is free to our sons; they have entered in, and where they are we would be. It is love that brings us, love of our people, of our sons, of our struggles in the past, our hopes for the future, of the university we are once more free to call our own."³

The successful establishment of Mansfield College at Oxford gave a strong lead to those members of Manchester College who were already considering the same idea. Dr. Martineau was not among those who desired the change. But within a short time resolutions were carried authorising the transfer of that Society also to Oxford.⁴ A site was secured beside the earlier

¹ Mansfield College is a non-resident Theological Hall, devoted to the making of theologians and to preparing men for the Ministry. It is a Congregational College, but a religious centre for all Nonconformists at Oxford. Its lectures are open to all members of the University and to other accredited students, and all members of the College are required to become members of the University. (See the memorial volume on *Mansfield College, Oxford*, p. 43—to which I owe many of these details.)

² By Mr. Basil Champneys, perhaps his most successful Oxford work. The buildings, begun in April 1887, were opened in October 1889 (*Ib.* 49).

³ See Dr. Fairbairn's Inaugural Lecture (*Ib.* 126).

⁴ In 1888. See *Manchester College, Oxford*, a Historical Statement,

building. Plans less fortunate in their design were passed. The foundation-stone of Manchester New College, Oxford, was laid in October 1891. And just two years later the buildings were completed as another academic home and centre for Free Churchmen, dedicated to free learning and free teaching in theology, seeking amid old University traditions continuous study with an open mind.

Even before these new Colleges were established the old Halls had almost disappeared. Of the mediaeval Halls which lasted on into the seventeenth century four had already developed into Colleges. Broadgates Hall had given birth to Pembroke. Gloucester Hall had become the parent of Worcester. Hart Hall and Magdalen Hall had gone to make up the new Hertford College. After 1874 only four survived, and the later Commissioners settled their fate. All but one they underwent absorption as the rights of existing Principals expired. St. Alban Hall was incorporated with its venerable neighbour,¹ and has since provided a site for a small but graceful court at Merton. St. Mary Hall, on Dr. Chase's retirement, supplied a new quadrangle for Oriel. A massive frontage on the High Street has been added to the group of picturesque buildings behind. New Inn Hall for less obvious reasons was annexed to Balliol.² But very little beyond the buildings was acquired.³ Existing members of the Hall were given an opportunity of joining the College, and the College, as a part of the arrangement, set aside certain funds to enable students of small means to live at a diminished cost. St. Edmund Hall was condemned like the rest. Queen's had historical claims upon it, stronger at any rate than any which Balliol could put forward to succeed to New Inn Hall. But under Dr. Moore the vitality of the Society survived. Its prosperity refused to diminish. As its doom approached, the opinion

issued in 1914, and the *Life of Dr. Martineau* (II, 44-6, 147-54, and 191-4). The story of the foundation and development of the College really lies beyond the limits of this Chapter. But it may be added that James Drummond had become Principal and Joseph Estlin Carpenter Vice-Principal in 1885, and that the name was altered to Manchester College in 1893. Dr. Carpenter was afterwards Principal, from 1906 to 1915.

¹ The last Principal, the Rev. W. C. Salter, resigned, to facilitate the change, in 1882.

² On the death of Dr. Cornish, the Principal, in June 1887, the Statute uniting the Hall to Balliol, approved by the Crown in 1882, took effect. I have to thank the Home Bursar of Balliol for kindly supplying me with some details.

³ Most of the buildings were sold by Balliol about 1897, and were remodelled for the purposes of the Hannington Memorial Hall. The rest were pulled down.

grew that to allow so ancient and successful a foundation to perish would be almost an act of treason against the traditions of the past. The Chancellor of the University became the spokesman of this widespread feeling. And before the Great War swept away all such preoccupations Dr. Moore had the deep satisfaction of knowing that the Statute for preserving the Hall's independence had received the assent of the Crown.¹ Other Halls in latter days have made a place for themselves in Oxford. The old clients of "Stubbins" and "The Tavern" were not always able to adapt themselves to College rules. Charsley's Hall had its hour. Marcon's Hall and others succeeded. Pope's Hall won credit and successes. Hunter-Blair's Hall was established before the nineteenth century ended by the Benedictines of Ampleforth Abbey—recalling some settlements of a half-forgotten time. Parker's Hall helped to carry the tradition on.² But only St. Edmund Hall can claim to be the lineal survivor of a system older than any College, to represent the ancient Halls where the mediaeval students gathered for study, disputation, turbulence and prayer.³

VI

Bodley's Library with its earlier Lancastrian traditions was the noblest legacy left to Oxford by the Elizabethan age. The seventeenth century had seen it grow into a magnificent foundation, and the eighteenth century, which brought Dr. Johnson to read there, saw valuable additions pouring in. A store of Oriental manuscripts came from Archbishop Marsh in 1714, and were packed away, says Hearne, in a dark corner. Bishop Tanner's great bequest of printed books and manuscripts arrived in 1736, some still showing marks of their immersion in the Thames. They included the papers of Archbishop Sancroft and rich materials for the history of the Civil War. Still more

¹ In 1913. Lord Curzon, as Chancellor, rendered great assistance in saving the Hall.

² For details of these and other Private Halls, Turrell's Hall, Grindle's Hall, etc., which sprang up and had their day after 1880, see the University Calendar from year to year. In 1882 a new Statute regulated afresh the conditions under which Members of Convocation could secure licenses to open them. Other conditions were added in a Statute of 1901. A later Statute of 1918 sanctioned the establishment of Permanent Private Halls, represented by Campion Hall and St. Benet's Hall to-day.

³ Let me add here that I accepted too readily in my earlier volumes (first edition) Wood's derivation of the name of Edmund Hall from an early townsman of Oxford. That tradition, though adopted by Wood and Hearne and Ayliffe, is certainly not established by Wood. The name was more probably taken from a Saint. But whether the Saint was Edmund the Archbishop—an attractive tradition which has long persisted—or an earlier Edmund, Saint and King, it is more difficult to say.

important materials were contained in two famous collections of State papers presented soon after the middle of the century, one by the historian Thomas Carte, the other by Lord Clarendon's descendants. Brief notes included in the Clarendon papers, evidently notes passed to each other by Charles and his Minister during the sittings of the Privy Council, throw curious side-lights upon English history. Clarendon begs the King to keep to himself the "valeurables" brought by the Russian Ambassador, the arrival of which lively minds like Lady Castlemaine's were, no doubt, certain to discover. And he warns him to "a little thinke" with himself how to conduct his "Scotch affayre" through Parliament.

"I doubt the house of Peeres more than I do, the house of Comons."¹

The Rawlinson bequest, received in 1756 and the largest yet secured, contained some five thousand manuscripts and nearly two thousand printed books. Richard Rawlinson, a Non-juring Bishop, ranked with his brother Thomas as one of the most resolute and miscellaneous book-collectors of his time. His treasures included the papers of Hearne and of Dr. Thomas Smith, the State papers of John Thurloe, the Admiralty papers of Samuel Pepys. George Ballard's great collection of letters, and the papers on which John Walker based his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, came in about the same time.² And not the least fortunate addition was the purchase for a hundred pounds in 1793 of the Mazarine Bible, a copy of which was sold for five thousand, eight hundred pounds in 1911.³ It was difficult to house, it proved impossible to cope with, these accessions in the restricted Library of those days.

In the nineteenth century the flow of books continued. Richard Gough, a generous son of Cambridge, who died in 1809,⁴ bequeathed to the Bodleian a noble store of books and manuscripts and drawings, illustrating English topography, Anglo-

¹ See Mr. Gibson's notes (*Some Oxford Libraries*, 42-3). The details of these bequests and the history of the Library will be found of course in Dr. Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian*—I quote from the 2nd edition of 1890; in the Librarian's *Report* for the years 1882-7; in *Pietas Oxoniensis*, 1902; in Mr. Madan's little treatise *The Bodleian Library*, 1919; in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* and elsewhere.

² Macray (*Annals*, 230).

³ Madan (*Bodleian Library*, 31). Other notable 18th century accessions came from Nathaniel Crynes in 1745, Henry Dawkins in 1759, Browne Willis, the great antiquary, between 1720 and 1760, Charles Godwyn in 1770, etc.

⁴ "Antiquâ stirpe ortus . . . Ex mercatoribus Stapulae Calesiae Indiaeque Orientalis Divitias deduxit," says his epitaph. (See Sir G. Fordham's notice in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, V, 69-71.)

Saxon literature and the early service-books of the English Church. The Prince Regent presented rolls of papyrus from Herculaneum in 1810. Manuscripts of great value, Hebrew manuscripts especially, were purchased from the collections formed by the Venetian Jesuit Matteo Luigi Canonici and by David Oppenheimer, once Chief Rabbi in Prague. Edmund Malone's fine library of English dramatists was given in 1821. It contained the only copy of the first edition of *Venus and Adonis*, and some splendid Folios and Quartos of an author whose name had not been represented in the Bodleian catalogue even by a single volume till 1635.¹ The Douce collection came in 1834. Douce had been for a time keeper of the manuscripts at the British Museum, and he knew how to gather from every quarter not only illuminated manuscripts but treasures such as every collector loves. Seventeen thousand printed books were only a part of his gift. In the same year the Library purchased three hundred and four editions of Horace,² and received as a bequest Reynolds' beautiful portrait of the architect James Paine.³ Three years later the Sutherland prints and drawings followed, nineteen thousand illustrations of Clarendon's and Burnet's histories, including seven hundred and forty-three portraits of Charles I and five hundred and fifty-two portraits of Charles II. The hundred years preceding 1837 increased immensely the possessions of the Library, but the Victorian age was not less liberal in adding to its contents. A bequest of thirty-six thousand pounds from Dr. Mason of Queen's College was followed by other noble benefactions, by Arabic and Persian manuscripts from the Walker and Elliott collections, by British Essayists and Periodicals from Frederick Hope, by Elizabethan and Jacobean letters from Mr. George Fortescue, by a beautiful papyrus of the Second Iliad from Mr. Jesse Haworth, and by many another gift of later days.⁴ One fortunate purchase of 1887 proved to be the authentic

¹ The number of entries under Shakespeare's name in the Bodleian catalogue were in 1605 none, in 1620 none, in 1635 one, in 1674 three, in 1738 six. There are over 5,000 volumes on the subject to-day (Madan, 32).

² *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (II, 236).

³ See Mrs. Poole's *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits* (I, 192).

⁴ Among other gifts since 1888 the Shelley MSS. and letters and Shelley's nursery rattle—"the poet," says a commentator, "must have made his nursery intolerable, at least for other poets"—the 6,000 Sanskrit MSS. from Sir Chandra Shum Shere, Dr. Paget Toynbee's presents of early Italian authors and of portraits for the Dante window in the Picture Gallery, the fine collection of Chinese books from Mr. E. Backhouse, and Professor Bywater's Aristotelian books are conspicuous. (See *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, I, 36, II, 3, IV, 75 and 218-22.) 256 tracts on Homeric subjects collected by Mr. Gladstone were given in 1923. The valuable gifts of coins go back for many years.

Gospel-book of St. Margaret of Scotland, the Queen of Malcolm Canmore. In 1860 the manuscripts and printed books in the Ashmolean Museum, including gifts from Elias Ashmole, John Aubrey and Anthony Wood, were transferred to the Bodleian. In 1884 the Savilian library long housed in the quadrangle was also placed in the keeping of the Curators.¹

The problem of housing and arranging these treasures—"the endless multitude," wrote Bodley in his will prophetically, "of those y^t are p[']sent there & like hereafter to be continuall bought & brought in" ²—is one which all Librarians have had to face. And though there may have been times when the pressure overwhelmed them, and when the Picture Gallery was little better than a store-room crowded with uncatalogued effects, in modern times at any rate the difficulty has been gallantly met. Bodley's Librarians have often been able and eminent men. Thomas James, Bodley's right hand for years, and John Rouse,³ the friend of Milton, set a high standard. Thomas Barlow and Thomas Hyde, in the last half of the seventeenth century, may have had their political or personal failings, but were scholars not ill qualified to keep the standard up. John Hudson was, no doubt, embarrassed by the activities and acerbities of Hearne. He may have deserved some of the criticisms passed upon him. But he found time to edit Josephus, and his successor Joseph Bowles would, no doubt, have been ready to defend his memory against Hearne's attacks. A close connection with Jesus College grew up, and two Librarians of Welsh extraction, Humphrey Owen and John Price, ruled over the great Library from 1747 to 1813.⁴ Then Bulkeley Bandinel, a Fellow of New College, was appointed and held his post for forty-seven years, guiding its fortunes in the old-fashioned, gentlemanly ways. But he produced a memorable Catalogue of the Printed Books. His reign saw the Staff of the Library increased and their stipends more than once augmented,⁵ its Statutes revised in 1856, and a much-needed system of warming introduced. One of Bandinel's Assistants was Philip Bliss of St. John's, a life-long friend, who passed on to be University Registrar and Keeper of the Archives. Another, in later days,

¹ Some Colleges also, beginning with University College in 1882, have deposited their MSS. in the Bodleian.

² See Macray's *Annals* (406).

³ Once spelt Russe and probably pronounced so (*Pietas Oxon.* 1902, p. 29). Another spelling is Rous.

⁴ Of the 15 Sub-Librarians appointed in the last half of the 18th century 11 were Jesus men (*Ib.* 32-3).

⁵ See Macray (*Annals*, 293-4 and 336 and 362) under 1813, 1837 and 1856. In 1831 the Picture Gallery was re-floored and a new plaster ceiling replaced the fine old roof.

was Henry Coxe of Worcester College, who succeeded Bandinel in 1860 and held his post till 1881.¹ Under Coxe, a trained and scholarly Librarian, alive to new methods, and a chief who won affection as well as respect, men like Robert Payne-Smith,² Friedrich Max Müller, Ingram Bywater and Falconer Madan served as Sub-Librarians: their names alone will indicate the quality of service given. Edward Nicholson of Trinity College, who succeeded Coxe in 1882, brought experience gained as Librarian of the London Institution, combined with vigorous energies and many new ideas.³ And as Nicholson entered on his duties one veteran Assistant, William Dunn Macray, who had become the Library's historian and who for half a century had "laboured with glad labour in it,"⁴ brought his story of its fortunes to a close.

It was just after Hearne's death in 1735 that the most formidable accessions began to flow in, and in Dr. Price's day the question where to house them could no longer be avoided. Space had to be found outside the old Reading Room and the Arts and Selden Ends. In 1789, a year of revolution, the books "simply burst into" the Anatomy School, the old School of Medicine, on the first floor of the Schools Quadrangle.⁵ The invasion once begun could not be stopped. The old School of Jurisprudence on the same floor, now the Gough Room, was taken over in 1805, the old School of Rhetoric, which had exchanged quarters with the School of Music, a little later. The School of Tongues and the School of Arithmetic were annexed in 1821 and 1828, the central room on that floor, the Savile Study,⁶ in 1834, the School of Astronomy in the corner in 1835.

¹ And a third for over 30 years was Stephen Reay, also Professor of Arabic.

² Afterwards Regius Professor of Divinity (1865) and Dean of Canterbury (1870).

³ The important changes made during Mr. Nicholson's administration are described by Mr. Madan (*Bodleian Library*, 35-6), and in more detail in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (II, 168-78). The years from 1882 to 1887 are dealt with in Mr. Nicholson's own *Report*. Of later Librarians, Mr. Falconer Madan (1912) and Dr. Arthur Cowley (1919), this Chapter cannot speak, except to acknowledge the debt which every reader at the Bodleian owes them.

⁴ This is Dr. Macray's own expression in 1889 (*Annals*, 394). But in 1915 his friends were able to commemorate the seventy-fifth year of his connection with the Library. He is of course one of the historians of Magdalen also.

⁵ See Madan (31) and Macray (272). In 1794 the Anatomy School was named the *Auctarium*.

⁶ The Savile Library was moved to a small room in the South-east angle of the quad (Macray, 329), which, with the room below it, was handed over to the Library in 1884.

Ten years later the Library descended to the ground floor of the quadrangle, and the old School of Logic was added to its domain.¹ Later still, in 1856, Sir Gilbert Scott proposed that the Library should absorb the whole group of buildings, and convert the Divinity School with its great light windows into a Reading Room for its students. But the Trustees of the Radcliffe then stepped in to help. They had talked of housing the Bodleian manuscripts. They had ceased since 1811 to buy for their own Library anything but medical and scientific books. They determined to hand over their scientific books to the new Museum,² and thus to offer relief to the Bodleian. The Camera became a beautiful new Reading Room, which could be kept open until ten at night, and the arrangement provided an invaluable space for further storage.³

Still, however, the Library grew. The two hundred and twenty thousand printed volumes—each volume, it might be, containing several printed works—counted by Dr. Bandinel in 1848, had risen to nearly three hundred and fifty thousand in 1867 and to some four hundred and thirty thousand in 1885.⁴ The manuscripts had increased from some twenty-one thousand to over twenty-seven thousand in the same time. More space was always being needed, and in 1882 the opportunity for another new enlargement came. A strong case for more rooms for the University to work in had been laid before the Commissioners of 1877, and the demand for new Examination Schools, which the University sanctioned about that time, coincided with the Library's wish to appropriate the old. The Angel Inn, which had replaced the mediaeval Tabard in the High Street and had since become historical itself, was replaced in turn by an elaborate and spacious building, on which Mr. Jackson spared neither expenditure nor skill, a place of marble corridors, of fine and well-lit chambers—"ball-rooms" Mr. Ruskin called them in a critical

¹ For these details and others see the history and plan given in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (II, 74-7).

² In 1861 this proposal was carried through.

³ By judicious arrangement space for some 130,000 volumes was secured (Macray, 373). But in 1912 a great Underground Book-Store, about 126 ft. long, 72 ft. wide and 18 ft. high, was built between the Camera and the Bodleian, capable of housing over a million octavo volumes. In this, as in other benefactions, the second Earl Brassey played a conspicuous part. (See *The New Book-Store of the Bodleian Library*.)

⁴ Compare the estimates given in Macray (352, 383, 395) with the figures in Mr. Nicholson's Report for 1882-7 (p. 3). Mr. Madan put the total number of volumes at something over a million in 1915 (*Bodleian Library*, 39). But a recent estimate puts the total at 1,500,000 volumes, "representing over two and a half million separate literary pieces, and over 40,000 manuscripts, not counting a very large collection of Charters and Rolls." (See *The Future of the Bodleian*, 1926.)



DUKE HUMPHREY'S LIBRARY

mood—intended not only for the victims of examination¹ but for any larger or more hospitable purposes that the University desired. When the New Schools of the nineteenth century rose in their splendour in the High Street, the New Schools of Jacobean days were needed no more. But these were turned to other uses, not swept away like the New Schools of 1439. The ground floor of the Bodleian Quadrangle was at last set free. A decree of 1882 assigned to the Library all the rooms which it had not appropriated yet. The old School of Natural Philosophy was fitted up for books in 1884. The old Schools of Music, of Metaphysics, of Grammar and History, and of Moral Philosophy were annexed as well.² A great scheme of re-arrangement was carried through. A Law Room, a Music Room and a Hope Room for the Hope portraits were created. The basement of the Sheldonian Theatre was assigned as a store. The basements of the Ashmolean and of the New Schools were utilised later.³ The exterior of the quadrangle was restored by Mr. Jackson, windows unblocked, the Tower of the Five Orders repaired.⁴ The energy of the new Librarian, illustrated by the Report which he published in 1888, showed itself in useful administrative reforms.⁵ The year 1887 saw many archæological treasures transferred to the Ashmolean Museum, and the dangerous practice of lending books, permitted since 1856, severely checked by a decree of Convocation.⁶ And later years have seen still further signs of the enduring strength of Bodley's great foundation,⁷ and of the "glad labour" which every generation of its servants and its lovers gives.

¹ "It is like chasing and gilding a treadmill," said Mr. Goldwin Smith (*Oxford Mag.* June 2, 1886).

² And the Savile room in the S.E. corner, with the room below it, in fact the whole quadrangle except the two highest rooms in the Tower which are reserved for the Archives.

³ In 1897 and 1904.

⁴ Between 1877 and 1884.

⁵ For the details of this period see Mr. Nicholson's Report on *The Bodleian Library*, 1882-7, and the admirable sketch of Bodleian annals given in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* for Oct. 31, 1918 (II, 168-78). To that periodical, to *Pietas Oxoniensis*, 1902, and to Dr. Macray, Mr. Madan and Mr. Gibson, I owe practically all these facts.

⁶ Every loan in future required the assent of Convocation. For the battle over this difficult question, the interesting correspondence on it, and the decisive vote taken on a proposal made by Dr. Magrath and advocated with great force by Mr. Madan, see the *Oxford Magazine* for the first half of 1887.

⁷ See the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (II, 171-8). The most noticeable incidents perhaps have been the formation of the new Reading Room (1907) and of the Underground Book-Store (1912), the revision of the Catalogue, the Bodleian Statute of 1913, and the establishment of the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* in 1914. With most of these Lord Hythe's (Earl Brassey's) generosity is connected.

The nineteenth century, which allowed the Bodleian to take possession of the old quadrangle, encouraged one of its allies and neighbours to move further off. Dean Fell had installed the University Press in the Sheldonian, and the imprint of the Oxford Theatre had become familiar on its books. But the Clarendon Building had in course of time provided new quarters, and from the Clarendon Building of the early eighteenth century the Press had overflowed into smaller buildings close by. In 1826, however, it found a new home in Walton Street,¹ a home which combined not altogether unsuccessfully the needs of an industry with the aspect of a College; and there its business steadily increased. In the eighteenth century the Learned Press had languished, though the Bible Press had proved a profitable thing. Blackstone was justified in his complaint that the University Press in his day had become both lazy and obscure—

“Barely reminding us of its existence, by now and then slowly bringing forth a Program, a Sermon printed by request, or at best a Bodleian catalogue.”

But Dr. Johnson had given a better account; and with the revival of energy towards the end of the century the Press had undoubtedly improved. Later still Dean Gaisford had helped to make its classical publications famous. Later again Dr. Kitchin and Dr. Bartholomew Price were conspicuous in developing its educational side. Others helped to develop its commercial uses.² And the great English Dictionary, begun in 1884, great enough to have stirred even Dr. Johnson's envy, is a reminder that learning can still hold its own with business in the estimation of many academic minds. The great gallery round the Bodleian Quadrangle, the earliest Picture Gallery in England, to which Lord Dorset in 1605 presented its first memorable portrait,³ and to which many a donor has added benefactions since, has found a faithful historian and calls for no description here. Most of the representative Oxonians of the last two centuries have their places inevitably upon College walls. But Kneller's portrait of the Jacobite Duke of Ormonde, Reynolds' picture of Joseph Warton, Watts' picture of Dean Stanley, and portraits of Dr. Stubbs, Dr. Liddell, Dr. Acland and others from

¹ But the Delegates of the Press still retained a room in the Clarendon Building. (For these facts see *Some Account of the Oxford University Press*, published in 1922.)

² E.g. Mr. H. Hart and Mr. H. Frowde. The Press owed much recently to the administration of Mr. Charles Cannan.

³ The bust of Sir Thomas Bodley “carved to the life by an excellent hand.”

the hand of a great painter who was also an Oxford Professor,¹ are at least reminders that the treasures which the Gallery has gathered together represent the story and the loyalty of many a well-known Oxford man.

VII

The Bodleian had absorbed the older Schools, but the new Schools in the High Street gave the University examinations more spacious surroundings than they had ever known before. And the years which preceded and followed their erection were marked by fresh efforts to organise University studies. By various Statutes the existing examinations were placed under the control of ten Boards of Studies, three for the First Public Examination and seven for the Second.² These Boards were formed by associating with the Professors of the different subjects a certain number of examiners and other persons. They were intended to supervise the examinations and to prescribe the subjects of study, and they soon claimed to occupy the position of Boards of Faculties and to take charge generally of the academic interests of the studies with which they were concerned.³ The influence of the higher Faculties in Oxford had for many generations been practically extinguished. The absence indeed of separate Faculty organisation and the control of educational details by Congregation had from a very early date been a special characteristic of the Universities of England.⁴ But in 1882 the University Commission established four Boards for the four Faculties of Theology, Law, Arts and Natural Science, authorised them to settle lists of lectures, and left it to the University to develop their powers.⁵ In the years which followed, University Statutes, improving on the Commissioners' plan, divided the Faculty of Arts into three—*Literae Humaniores*, Oriental Languages and Modern History—and the Faculty of

¹ Sir Hubert Herkomer. For these and many other details see Mrs. Poole's well-known *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits* (vol. I).

² In Moderations there was one for Honours in Classics, one for Honours in Mathematics and one for the Pass School. In the Final Schools there was one for *Literae Humaniores*, one for Mathematics, one for Natural Science, one for Jurisprudence, one for Modern History, one for Theology, and one for the Pass School and the Rudiments of Faith and Religion. The Boards for the Pass Schools outlasted the others. (See Sir C. Firth's pamphlet on *The Faculties and their Powers*, to which I am indebted here.)

³ See the *Evidence* taken by the University Commission (1881, p. 116).

⁴ See Rashdall (*Universities of Europe*, II, 371-2, 387-8, 447, 450).

⁵ See *Statuta Universitatis Oxon.* (Tit. V, S. i). They were much larger bodies than the Boards of Studies. The examiners dropped out and the elected element was much increased. The new Boards were also given a voice in the administration of the new Common University Fund.

Natural Science into two, namely, Medicine and Natural Science.¹ And after a time it became clear that the Boards of Faculties, like the Boards of Studies, must be entrusted with larger powers, and must be enabled to do more than merely arrange details of lectures and examinations. Each Faculty, it appeared, might well be given a voice in the appointment of teachers, a share in the administration of endowments, and generally a larger control of the academic interests of the special study or science which it endeavoured to represent.²

It is probable that the reorganisation of the Faculties at Oxford will prove to be the best solution of the problem of reconciling University and College teaching, which the Commissioners failed to solve. But it cannot be said that in the twenty years preceding 1887 that difficult question advanced far towards a settlement. The Professors in increasing numbers were men of genuine learning and distinction. Yet College lectures still absorbed the time of students, and the Professors in too many cases continued to lecture to half-empty rooms. Here and there a popular figure, round whom controversy, romance or publicity had gathered, appealed to a popular audience with a force which not even undergraduates could withstand. In February 1870 Mr. Ruskin began to lecture as Professor of Art.³ "I have a little too many irons in the fire," he had written to his mother in the previous year. And the labour of his Professorship, of his many social and philanthropic interests, and of his writings, not on art only but on botany, geology, political economy and almost every subject of public interest, might well have taxed the strength of a stronger man. But he threw himself with delight into his new work; and the charm and humour and enthusiasm which he brought to bear upon it, the power and freshness, the fine gifts of declamation, the exquisite elaboration of the style—to say nothing of the unexpectedness and the enlivening indiscretions—would have filled any lecture-

¹ *Statuta Universitatis Oxon.* (Tit. V, Ss. ii and iii).

² For later developments in Faculty organisation see Sir C. Firth's pamphlet already cited, Lord Curzon's *Principles and Methods of University Reform* (1909, Chap. VI), and the *Report* of the University Commission appointed in 1919. In 1912 eight Faculties were created, with some Sub-Faculties, composed of teachers in the subject, each with a Board at its head. In 1913 a General Board of the Faculties was created, to take over matters of curricula and examinations, and to exercise some control over the different Boards (*Report* of 1922, 74 sq.).

³ Mr. Felix Slade had left money in 1868 for Professorships in Fine Art at Oxford, Cambridge and University College, London. Mr. Ruskin's touching letter thanking Dr. Acland and Dean Liddell for efforts which had helped to secure his unanimous appointment, now in the Acland collection in the Bodleian, has been printed in Sir E. T. Cook's *Life of Ruskin* (II, 171). He was re-elected in 1873, 1876 and again in 1883.

room in Europe. The first lecture, arranged for the Museum, had to be given at the Sheldonian, the audience which could not get into the Museum adjourning to the larger building with the Lecturer at their head. Every word of these early lectures was carefully written. A young man was sent to the University, Ruskin told his audience, "not to be apprenticed to a trade, nor even always to be advanced in a profession, but always to be made a gentleman and a scholar." The Art Professor's duty was to teach the elements of drawing and the principles of criticism, and for this Ruskin established his Drawing School and his Art Collection.¹

"Any youths who have an eye for colour will, perhaps, by Heaven's help, sometimes find that there are rainbows elsewhere than in jockeys' jackets, before they get through their College life."

He hoped to make the study of art an integral part of general education. He grudged no pains to accomplish this purpose. And he gave money as ungrudgingly as he gave himself.

The inaugural lectures were soon followed by courses on Sculpture and on Landscape, by lectures on Michael Angelo and Botticelli. The criticism of Michael Angelo gave serious offence. It was misunderstood, but he would not retract it. The roof of the Sistine Chapel, he insisted, was an example of great power abused. "I've been going in at M. Angelo with all I know," he writes in December 1872.² All his lectures were not of course equally popular. There were moments when he found his audience thin. There were moments of disillusionment when even old friends disappointed him, when Oxford was declared to have "no future to look to," when hardly a painter living appeared to know "what painting means." On the question of admitting women students Ruskin wrote frankly in 1871.

"I cannot let the bonnets in, on any conditions this term. The three public lectures will be chiefly on angles, degrees of colour-prisms (without any prunes) and other such things, of no use to the female mind and they would occupy the seats in mere disappointed puzzlement. They shall all come, if they like, when I get on the religious schools again."³

¹ Mr. Alexander Macdonald was appointed Master of Drawing by Ruskin, who provided the means, and he filled the post successfully for many years.

² Sir W. Richmond, who succeeded Ruskin in his Chair, and generously made way for him again later, made it the first business of his lectures to vindicate the work in the Sistine Chapel. (See Cook's *Life of Ruskin*, II, 210.)

³ This letter, to Sir Henry Acland, is in the collection of Acland papers in the Bodleian.

But the bonnets found their way in. The lectures on Florentine artists delivered in 1874 were among those liked the best. And the "Readings in *Modern Painters*" given in the autumn of 1877 found the lecture-room as crammed as ever, Lord Selborne, Chairman of the University Commissioners, and Mrs. Acland and even Mrs. Liddell unable to get in. Ruskin regarded it as the most important course which he had given. Corpus, at his own desire, had allotted him rooms in its Fellows' Buildings, and had made him an Honorary Fellow of the College. Here "tea and counsel" for undergraduates were forthcoming, kindly and simple hospitality; even among the Common Rooms of Oxford Ruskin would hanker wistfully for the simple life. Here Prince Leopold found a friend and teacher who had "gazed in clear radiance on visions innocent and fair."¹ Here Ruskin collected his diggers, preaching the value of practical work, and set on foot in 1874 his scheme of making a new road along the foot of the hills to Ferry Hinksey:—"I don't know in all England a lovelier *site* of road." He writes to Acland to explain his purpose and enlist the Doctor's help.

"I am resolved now to let the men understand what I mean by useful art. I have waited patiently for five years to see if any good came of lecturing. None does; and I will go at it now otherwise."²

Mr. Harcourt's permission was secured. Alfred Milner and Arnold Toynbee were among the diggers. Toynbee rose to be a foreman. Ruskin himself took lessons from a stone-breaker, so as to be able to advise his "too impetuous pupils." The world laughed, but it laughed tenderly. Why should not young Oxford lend hands at Hinksey? asked *Punch* in kindly verse.

"Careless wholly of critic's menace,
Scholars of Ruskin, to him be true;
The truth he has writ in *The Stones of Venice*
May be taught by the Stones of Hinksey too."³

In January 1883 Ruskin was re-elected to the Professorship, and his lectures on *The Art of England* gave vivid pleasure to many old friends. These lectures and those on *The Pleasures of England*, which followed them, drew the same crowded and delighted audience. But the preparation of the last course was less complete and careful than of old. The improvisations were

¹ See the eloquent passage quoted from F. Myers by Sir E. T. Cook (*Life of Ruskin*, II, 183). Ruskin once protested to Mrs. Acland that he did not know how to behave to undergraduate Princes.

² This letter is in the Acland collection at the Bodleian, with others on the subject and particularly the interesting letter printed by Sir E. T. Cook (II, 187-8). The road-making at Hinksey had been preceded by an experiment in road-sweeping in St. Giles' in January 1872.

³ Quoted by Sir E. T. Cook (II, 189, n.).

more numerous, the judgments sometimes more provocative, the whimsicalities more marked. The strain of work and of bad health was telling, and in 1885 Ruskin suddenly resigned his Chair.¹ But whatever clouds arose the years dispelled. "I trust," he could write in 1888 to a friend who never failed him, "I trust the day is coming for the 'Dominus illuminatio' indeed to both of us."²

Henry Acland had been largely responsible for Ruskin's appointment, and he continued to show himself through all vicissitudes a wise and tender adviser. The many letters that passed between them, almost too intimate sometimes for quotation, are full of affection and charm. But Acland himself was a vigorous Professor, Regius Professor of Medicine from 1858. His great correspondence, deposited now in the Bodleian Library,³ shows the depth and variety of his interests and the wide influence which he enjoyed among distinguished men. He was always ready to use it in the University's behalf. Mr. Gladstone consulted him constantly and on all sorts of subjects—on the academic constitution, on the difficulties of the Commissioners, on the desirability or otherwise of removing clerical restrictions, on the problems of the Pentateuch—"I have long thought that the Cosmogony of Genesis cannot have been intended as a Scientific record"—on the possibility of making Ruskin Poet Laureate,⁴ on the approaching visit to Oxford of the Emperor

¹ The immediate cause of his resignation was the vote of Convocation "endowing," as he put it, "vivisection," when moneys were granted for building and maintaining a laboratory for the new Professor of Physiology. On that contentious subject see Atlay's *Life of Sir H. W. Acland* (420 sq.), Acland's Preface to the reprint in 1893 of his little book on *The Oxford Museum*, and Dean Kitchin's paper on *Ruskin at Oxford*.

² This letter is in the Acland collection. It is signed "Ever your lovingest Master of Ravenswood—and Brant."

³ Many of the letters in this great collection, which, by the courtesy of Sir Henry Acland's family and the kindness of the Bodleian authorities, I have been allowed to examine, are of wide public interest. Some of the most characteristic of Mr. Ruskin's letters have been already printed: others I have referred to here. Ruskin appears in every mood, serious, sad, mocking, petulant, irritable and overflowing with affection. "Your loving cricket" is no uncommon signature: the nickname was a corruption of critic. "What a lark you are!" he once addresses Acland. "If *you* don't know what the Dean of Christ Church will do, I'm sure I don't." Judgments on painting, on Oxford and its limitations, on individuals, on arrangements, are as frank and perhaps at times as unconsidered. But their vividness and their intimacy never fail. The correspondence with Mr. Gladstone, with Lord and Lady Salisbury, with Dean Liddell, with the Royal Family, with Florence Nightingale, and with many others prominent in the academic, political or scientific world, is both varied and important.

⁴ This was in 1892.

of Brazil. In January 1872 Mr. Gladstone was appealed to by Dr. Acland to stop the indiscretions of Mr. Lowe. Lowe had made a speech at Halifax, attaching, as Acland thought, "a severe stigma" to the Professoriate of Oxford. He had more than hinted that they were untrustworthy as examiners, inefficient and overpaid. There had been a rash phrase about "immense salaries." There had been some curious talk about founding more Universities—"not many Universities, the fewer the better: what I mean by an University is an examining board."¹ And Acland was not alone in feeling indignation and astonishment at Lowe's apparent indifference to the progress made.

"Is Mr. Lowe aware that 15 years ago where the Museum is, was a ploughed field? Does he know our work?"

Mr. Gladstone administered comfort as he best knew how: but he did not offer to enter the lists against the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Salisbury consulted Acland as freely. Liddell trusted him always, even scolded him sometimes, as a most intimate friend. Pusey and Stanley both turned to him for counsel. Royal personages sought his companionship. Florence Nightingale was "thankful" to hear from him. Lowell sent him American visitors, placed a future President under his care. And all his life Acland worked steadily and zealously for the advancement of medical science, for his conception of what medical study in the University should be. It may be that his conception did not satisfy all the friends of medicine in Oxford. Powerful voices pleaded in 1886 that even after the new Statutes and the creation of a separate Faculty for Medicine much still remained to be done. New departments of Physiology and Human Anatomy had been established. New subjects of examination had been added, particularly Pathology and Organic Chemistry in its application to Medicine; but those new subjects had still to be taught. The medical student in Oxford still needed more practical opportunities of studying disease. The whole School in Oxford needed a more complete and thorough organisation, before it could offer its clients the advantages which Medical Schools elsewhere possessed.² In 1890 Acland summed up the results of his long experience in a published letter, which reviewed the progress and admitted some of the failings of Oxford science in his day. No man knew better the debt due to many of his scientific colleagues, to Dr. Rolleston,

¹ Mr. Lowe's speech is reported in the *Times* of December 5, 1871.

² See the Article signed J. B. S. in the *Oxford Magazine* of Jan. 27, 1886, and the letter from the same writer in the issue of Feb. 10. The writer, Dr. Burdon-Sanderson, played a great part in strengthening and reorganising the Medical School in Oxford in the years that followed.

who held the Linacre Professorship of Anatomy from 1860—a great biologist and a student of all sorts of knowledge, from Homer to Tennyson, from Aristotle to George Eliot—to Sir Benjamin Brodie who became Professor of Chemistry in 1865, and who was succeeded by Sir William Odling, for long a representative figure in Oxford science, to Professor Pritchard and his work at the Observatory, to Professor Burdon-Sanderson, the circumstances of whose appointment to the Chair of Physiology in 1882 had caused Mr. Ruskin sorrow and chagrin.¹ With these names and others to adorn it, and with men like Henry Smith and James Sylvester rendering the Chair of Geometry illustrious, science in Oxford in the latter half of the nineteenth century was quietly making way. But academic traditions are stubborn things, and there was room still for effort and improvement before the University Commissioners' demand for fair play for the newer forms of knowledge could be regarded as completely met.

Meanwhile Professors of the more familiar forms of learning continued to win honours in the Victorian age, an age when possibly the leaders of opinion, in Church and State, in science and in letters, were men of larger stature than in ours.² Theology, in spite of some endeavours to unseat it, kept its throne. Dr. Pusey's influence grew among those who shared and respected his opinions, though these opinions no longer dominated Oxford as in Newman's day. Christ Church Canons and Ecclesiastical Professors maintained their teaching and their reputation. Liddon's noble eloquence drew men to St. Mary's. He delivered a memorable course of Bampton Lectures in 1866, and became Ireland Professor of Exegesis four years later. A great free-lance, engaged in controversy often, but with depths and heights in his nature which no controversial issues could conceal, Liddon could not accept the changing ways of the University around him; he could only mourn with Pusey over the declining authority of the Church. But his voice commanded the public and his companionship delighted his friends.³ James Mozley succeeded Dr.

¹ See Acland's Letter to Dr. James Andrew on *Oxford and Modern Medicine* and the review of it by W. Probyn-Nevins entitled *Oxford, Natural Science and the Faculty of Medicine*. Professor Story Maskelyne, Professor Westwood and Professor Clifton also are among the earlier leaders in this period of Oxford science. For the great fight over the "Vivisection" Grant of March 1885, see the record of that date in the *Oxford Magazine*, Atlay's *Sir H. W. Acland*, already cited (426 sq.), etc.

² It may be interesting one day to compare the memorable figures in the half-centuries which precede and follow 1887.

³ Two of the most discriminating tributes to Dr. Liddon will be found in Dr. Stubbs' chapter appended to Mr. Johnston's *Life* and in Canon Scott Holland's article in *D.N.B.*

Payne Smith as Regius Professor of Divinity in 1871: Goldwin Smith thought him the greatest theologian in the Anglican Church. Walter Shirley had died prematurely a few years before. Edward King became Professor of Pastoral Theology in 1873, and a Bishop well-loved later. Dr. Driver succeeded ten years later to Dr. Pusey's Chair. Francis Paget, William Sanday, Thomas Cheyne were Canons and Professors in 1887.¹ Paget was destined to succeed as Dean, and to sit in the Cathedral as Bishop also. Philosophy found distinguished exponents, in J. M. Wilson, elected in 1872 President of Corpus, in Henry Mansel, Henry Chandler and Thomas Hill Green. Law was represented by Henry Maine, James Bryce, Frederick Pollock, Albert Dicey,² Logic, when Wall died, by Thomas Fowler, Political Economy by Thorold Rogers and Bonamy Price. Sir Frederick Ouseley for many years held the Chair of Music. Mr. Ruskin found successors in Professor Richmond and Professor Herkomer. Max Müller was appointed to the Chair of Comparative Philology in 1868, where A. H. Sayce presently became his assistant. At first, Max Müller tells us, his lectures were well attended both by Tutors and by undergraduates. But presently the College Tutors began to teach a minimum of Comparative Philology, and as the College teaching increased the resort to the Professor's lectures declined.³ To the Chair of Latin, held in turn by Conington and Edwin Palmer, Henry Nettleship brought his fine scholarship and his wide interests in 1878.⁴ Jowett continued to fill the Chair of Greek, to unfold to his hearers and disciples ever more and more fully the treasures of the high philosophy he loved. The Classics held their ground, but their domain was threatened. History, English Literature and Modern Languages began to lift their heads in the advancing tide. In literature one of the clearest of all Oxford voices was raised alike in criticism and in song. And the songs he sang seemed to the generation which listened instinct with the spirit, suffused with the beauty of the place.

When Matthew Arnold was appointed Professor of Poetry in

¹ And Dr. William Bright was still Professor and Edwin Hatch Reader in Ecclesiastical History.

² And also by Mountague Bernard, Thomas Holland, Thomas Raleigh and William Markby. The last two held Readerships. A sketch of the progress and position of the teaching of Law in Oxford will be found in Bryce's Valedictory Lecture of 1893.

³ After Max Müller's appointment to the new Chair of Philology, his old Professorship of Modern Languages was abolished. It may be added that in 1885 Mr. Vere Bayne succeeded Dr. John Griffiths, who had been Keeper of the Archives since 1857.

⁴ In 1887 Robinson Ellis was Reader in Latin Literature and Ingram Bywater Reader in Greek.

1857, he had already published some of his noblest verse.¹ The fine critic, as well as the poet, spoke in the memorable preface to that volume. Literary criticism had always been the principal work of the Oxford Chair. And in the years which followed the critical side of Arnold's genius developed with increasing force. The lectures on translating Homer have been justly described as a classic of criticism.² The later lectures on the study of Celtic Literature showed, if not the same mastery of the subject, the same rare mastery of analysis and style. The *Essays in Criticism* of 1865 contained the richly-wrought apostrophe to the "beautiful city, so venerable, so lovely, so unravaged by the fierce intellectual life" of the time. And in their writer the habit of reflection deepened, till it controlled and probably weakened the impulses of song. Unsatisfied with beauty only, he must ever seek for a purpose in mankind. The gipsy content to wander at his pleasure

"Above the forest ground called Thessaly,"

became more seriously and more intently the scholar waiting for the spark from heaven. And the year when Arnold laid down his Professorship and published his immortal tribute to an Oxford friend, found him, if saddened, yet serenely hopeful that the loveliness which he remembered had comfort as well as memories to yield, that the mountain-tops would always hold their sunshine for the seeker, that the light seen in boyhood might be shining still.

Matthew Arnold brought to the world of literature academic qualities of the highest type. But the study of English Literature for the Schools was long regarded with some suspicion by academic authorities. It was suggested to the Commission of 1850.³ It was admitted in 1873 into the Pass examination for the Final Schools. It was proposed to attach it to the School of Modern History, and Dr. Stubbs objected to hampering the History School with "dilettante teaching" of that kind.⁴ Mr. Goldwin Smith proved more sympathetic, and the Commissions were followed by the foundation of the Merton Professorship of

¹ *Sohrab and Rustum* and *The Scholar Gipsy* appeared in 1853. *Thyrsis* was published in 1867. Arnold's successors in the Chair of Poetry were F. Doyle (1867), J. C. Shairp (1877), F. T. Palgrave (1885).

² It is interesting to compare them with Keble's lectures on Homer in the *Praelectiones Academicæ* published in 1844. These Latin lectures for the same Chair, delivered from 1832 to 1841, were translated at last by E. K. Francis in 1912.

³ One result of the evidence given to the Commissioners was the enlargement in 1858 of the subjects taught by the Rawlinsonian Professor of Anglo-Saxon. (See Sir. C. Firth's pamphlet on *The School of English Language and Literature*, 21.)

⁴ *Ib.* (23).

English Language and Literature in 1885.¹ But a School of English Literature was still looked at askance, and in 1887 Congregation proposed to create a School of Modern Languages instead.² A battle of opinions and pamphlets arose. One distinguished teacher deplored "the degrading vassalage of literature to philology." Another retorted that a School of Literature alone was only too likely to degenerate into mere "chatter" on the subject. For a time the philologists prevailed. But in the end the cause of English was separated from the cause of Modern Languages,³ and after a long struggle the establishment of a final Honour School in English was approved by Congregation in December 1893.⁴

Professor Stubbs had contended for the separation of Literature and History, and no man brought to the teaching of History qualities more valuable than his. When Goldwin Smith resigned in 1865 the Chair in which he had won general admiration, Stubbs was working in a country parsonage, and so busy, he told Freeman, thinking about himself, Benedict of Peterborough and Kilcolman Lodge, that the Manx Kings, about whom Freeman was curious, had quite passed from his mind. To Freeman Stubbs' appointment gave strong satisfaction. "It would be painful to have Froude," he had written, "and worse still to have any body else." The new Professor, at any rate, had English history in his blood.

"I was born," he once told an audience, "under the shadow of the great castle in which Becket's murderers found refuge during the year that followed his martyrdom, the year during which the dogs under the table declined to eat their crusts. There, too, as customary tenants of the Forest, my forefathers had done suit and service to Richard, King of the Romans, and after him to Queen Philippa and John of Gaunt, long before poor King Richard was kept a prisoner in the King's chamber. My grandfather's house stood on the ground on which Earl Thomas of Lancaster was taken prisoner by Edward II. . . . The first drive that my father ever took me led us across Marston Moor; one great-grandfather lived in an old manor-house of the monks of Fountains; another had a farm in the village where Harold Hardrada fell before the son of Godwin." ⁵

¹ Mr. A. S. Napier was the first Professor. Critics complained that what ought to be a Chair of National Literature was being turned into a Chair of Early English Philology.

² There was to be an examination in six languages including Irish and Welsh. (*The School of English Language and Literature*, 25.) Sir C. Firth's sketch of the proposals on this subject is full of interest. He gives the whole story which ended in the foundation of Professor Raleigh's Chair of English Literature in 1904.

³ A School of Modern Languages was established in 1903. It may be added here that a Readership in Geography was founded in 1887.

⁴ The first examination took place in 1906.

⁵ This passage is quoted by Dr. Hutton in his *Memoir of William Stubbs* (p. 4).

With such traditions Stubbs became one of the greatest of Oxford historians, and it is surely a significant example of the want of co-ordination between Professorial and Collegiate teaching that his lecture-room should have been so rarely filled.¹ Modern History, separated from Law in 1872, and not attached to Literature, as some suggested, became an increasingly popular School. Stubbs in time gave place to Freeman, Freeman by the irony of circumstance or statesmanship to Froude.² But neither found that the Chair of History yielded him quite the opportunities which he desired. Freeman spoke of the College Lecturers as crammers, complained of the fetters in which he had to work, denounced the "fashion of over-examination" as "a perfect madness." Froude was as critical of the examination system, and half ashamed of his own popularity in Oxford. But his fame and eloquence drew many hearers round him, restored and heightened the reputation of his Chair.³ And if at the end of the nineteenth century the problems of teaching in the University were still unsettled, and the relations of the teachers to each other raised such sharp discussion as they evidently did, it was at least a proof of the interest which the subject commanded and of the vitality which the Schools enjoyed.

VIII

In the year 1869 Lord Salisbury succeeded another famous Christ Church man as Chancellor, while a third, more famous than either, held for the first time the helm of the State.⁴ But in the years which followed, the pre-eminence of Christ Church seemed to be passing to Balliol for a time. Christ Church indeed maintained its tradition of magnificence. New College with its noble endowments was steadily growing in popularity and importance. Oriel, Corpus, Trinity had won great honours.

¹ The present writer cannot help thinking it significant that, while a History student at Balliol under one of the first History Tutors of the day, he was never advised to attend Professor Stubbs' lectures, though he was sent to History Lectures at other Colleges. Stubbs' pupils seem to have steadily decreased in number, but they included men like J. H. Round, T. F. Tout, C. H. Firth and R. L. Poole.

² Froude was succeeded by Prof. York Powell (1894) and Prof. Firth (1904). See Sir C. Firth's interesting little sketch of *Modern History in Oxford* 1841-1913.

³ There were many distinguished teachers of History, apart from Ecclesiastical History, in Dr. Stubbs' day. Montagu Burrows had been Chichele Professor of History since 1872, and Dr. Bright of University, Mr. A. L. Smith of Balliol, Mr. Arthur Johnson of All Souls, Mr. H. D. George of New College, Mr. Sidney Owen of Christ Church, were some of those taking a conspicuous part in the work.

⁴ Lord Salisbury succeeded Lord Derby in 1869. Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister in 1868.

University and Merton, Magdalen and Brasenose, each and every College, had characteristics which it would exchange for none. But when Jowett set to work in 1870 "very seriously" to see what could be made of a College, Balliol began to take a special place. "If we had a little more money, we could absorb the University," Jowett confided to a friend. The numbers rose. The buildings grew. The Statutes were revised to embody the decisions of the Commission. New Inn Hall was absorbed with the consent of the Chancellor. Balliol men continued to win Scholarships and prizes—more than half the Ireland Scholarships awarded¹—to pass on to Professorships and Fellowships at other Colleges, to take a prominent part in public life. In the world outside they numbered Archbishops and Viceroys, Ministers, Ambassadors and Judges, a Speaker, a Lord Chancellor, a Prime Minister, and others only less officially eminent than they.² Clough, Matthew Arnold and Swinburne were sons of the College; Robert Browning was made an Honorary Fellow in 1870. The influence of Balliol in the University steadily increased. Nine Colleges in turn, Merton, All Souls, Oriel, Lincoln, Magdalen, Exeter, Brasenose, Wadham, Corpus, elected former Balliol men as Heads. Some Tutors drawn from Balliol were hardly less influential. And the Tutors left at Balliol included remarkable teachers still. Thomas Hill Green, whose life has been written by a Balliol Tutor hardly less distinguished than himself, a strong, serious, attractive figure, at first perhaps a little lonely and rebellious,³ was a notable example of the thoughtful Liberals of his day. Succeeding in 1866 to James Riddell's place as a College Tutor, Green quickly made his powers felt. He had lectured successfully on history, but it was in his teaching of philosophy that his originality and understanding, his direct and winning honesty of purpose chiefly showed.

"I never go to see Green," said one undergraduate, "without feeling that I ought to be ashamed of myself, and, by Jove, I am ashamed of myself."⁴

Critics noted Green's "rare combination of deliberative, analytic

¹ 34 "Irelands" out of 60 were won by Balliol from 1837 to 1896; and the proportion of "Hertfords" was almost as large (Davis, *Balliol College*, 223).

² Jowett's colleagues and pupils included such names as Tait, Temple, Lang, Lansdowne, Elgin, Milner, Curzon, Grey, Coleridge, Bowen, Chitty, Sumner, Peel, Loreburn, Asquith. Many others, Ambassadors and Judges and public men of distinction, might be added to this list. Lord Lansdowne, so lately among us, had Balliol memories going back to 1863.

³ He was in early days a little inclined to rebel against Oxford work. (See the *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green* by R. L. Nettleship on that and other points alluded to here.)

⁴ See Jowett's *Life* (II, 192).

and systematising power." But they noted even more his force and steadfastness of character. He undertook in 1867 to preside over the Hall for poorer students established by Balliol in St. Giles'. He rejoiced in Jowett's accession to the Mastership, and expected "strong personal government" from him. He noted with pleasure how "all minor defects" seemed with his elevation to have disappeared. He never resented the Master's criticisms. They differed sometimes, but as friends, as Master and disciple. No one mourned him more deeply than Jowett when death removed him suddenly in 1882. "One of the noblest men who ever adorned Oxford" had passed away.

There were other notable Tutors at Balliol to succeed to the traditions of William Newman and of Henry Smith. Evelyn Abbott, Strachan Davidson, De Paravicini entered the College in 1862 together, to become lifelong companions and friends. Lionel Smith, like Strachan Davidson a well-loved Master later, proved himself for many years a mainstay of the College, an inspiring force and an invaluable friend. Lewis Nettleship, with his fine and simple ideals of education, succeeded to Green's place as a teacher of philosophy, to much of Green's influence with those who knew him well. By many undergraduates, as Jowett once said of him, he was "wonderfully beloved," and his romantic death on the Swiss mountains in 1892 brought home to them the fulness of their loss. Andrew Bradley, who was to edit Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics* and some of Nettleship's *Philosophical Lectures and Remains*, ranks beside them in capacity and service. Arnold Toynbee, drawn from Pembroke¹—"Balliol, sir, is a kidnapping College"—contributed to the study of moral and economic problems a rare endowment of enthusiasm and charm. And the undergraduates who gathered round these teachers were often of a quality to appreciate their gifts. H. H. Asquith and W. H. Mallock were among the freshmen of 1870, Asquith's powers already foreboding the great destinies of after years. Charles Gore and Rowland Prothero came up in 1871, Herbert Warren in 1872, Alfred Milner in 1873. A. D. Godley and S. G. Hamilton, W. P. Ker and R. L. Poole helped to form a memorable academic group in 1874.² St. John Brodrick and John Hewett, Charles Firth and Rennell Rodd and Arthur Hardinge followed from 1875 to 1877. Curzon and Hamilton, Mackail and Beeching and Strachey are among the names of 1878. Three Scholars of distinction, Charles Eliot, W. R. Hardie, Francis Pember, came up in 1880. Edward Grey and Robert Younger were among the Commoners that

¹ In 1875. For the circumstances see Jowett's *Life* (II, 65-6).

² A group to which Richard Lodge, D. G. Ritchie, J. H. Round and others belonged.

year. Anthony Hope Hawkins won a Scholarship, J. A. Spender an Exhibition, two of a group not inconspicuous, in 1881. Cosmo Lang, T. A. Brassey, Charles Harris, Godfrey Benson belonged to the same company, though they did not join it till 1882 or 1883. It is difficult to resist the temptation to add the names of many others, round whom the memory and affection of those who knew them linger yet.¹

The records of the Union in these years bear witness to the celebrity of some Balliol speakers. Asquith and Milner were soon prominent in debate. They were Presidents respectively in 1874 and 1876. Asquith was already noted for the restraint and finish of his speaking. But fate ordained that he should be beaten by Ellis Ashmead Bartlett in his first contest for the Presidency in 1873. Thomas Raleigh of Balliol reached the same dignity in 1875. A. A. Baumann, Lord Lymington and St. John Brodrick, also from Balliol, were Presidents in 1877 and 1878, George Curzon in 1880, J. A. Hamilton, Hudson Shaw, Cosmo Lang and Anthony Hawkins between 1882 and 1886.² Men of fame of course from other Colleges divided the honours with Balliol. Richard Horton, Edward Cook and Arnold White came from New College, Poulton from Jesus, Mackinder from Christ Church, Wise and Horsburgh from Queen's. Michael Sadler brought his high repute from Trinity: he passed the Chair in 1882. Dyson Williams brought his wit from Corpus, as Herbert Paul had done some years before. Robert Cecil of University, who became President in 1885, was already beginning to merit the tribute which Lord Rosebery at the Union offered to his father for a "pure, exalted and laborious life."³ Others destined for high Parliamentary distinction, Lord Rosebery himself, Lord Randolph Churchill and Sir Edward Grey, found apparently no pleasure in the Union debates.⁴ But the Balliol men as a whole

¹ The *College Register* is the real record. I hesitate to name even so many where it is difficult to pay the tributes due. But I must mention also two little groups which belong mainly to Jowett's epoch, though they came up after 1887, one, of future Dons, Cyril Bailey, F. F. Urquhart, A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, the other, of future politicians, Herbert Samuel, Arthur Ponsonby, L. C. M. S. Amery and Francis Acland.

² I take the names and dates largely from Mr. Morrah's history of *The Oxford Union*, with some other facts referred to here. Some are within my own recollection. Hamilton, Hawkins and Lang of Balliol are known now as Viscount Sumner, Anthony Hope and the Archbishop of York. There was at one time some little feeling against the monopoly threatened by Balliol men.

³ Lord Hugh Cecil was never a candidate for the Presidential Chair, but A. G. V. Peel of New College, his contemporary, filled it in 1890.

⁴ It has even been asserted that Lord Randolph Churchill was struck off the list of members for not paying his subscription: but this is a point into which I have forbore to probe.

seem to have been most emulous of fame as speakers. Asquith was Secretary to the Committee which organised the Society's Jubilee in 1873, in which Tait and Manning, Coleridge and Matthew Arnold represented their old College. Lord Salisbury, Lord Selborne, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Cardwell, and other unforgotten orators of a bygone day, took part.

Many forms of activity besides triumphs in the Schools and triumphs at the Union marked the passing of those happy years. The love of disputation inherited from mediaeval Oxford found expression in innumerable Societies within College walls, in essays, discussions, debates on every topic of literature, philosophy, politics or art.¹ The Oxford Historical Society, first planned by J. R. Green, arose after his death to do admirable work.² Other societies sprang up to study special subjects, architecture,³ philology, genealogy, Dante, Browning, many more. Politicians gathered in the Canning, the Chatham, the Palmerston, the Russell. Smaller coteries of intimate friends would carry their discussions far into the night. Theology had ceased to reign, but the instincts which produce it never ceased to stir inquiry. Plato and Aristotle still held the Schools.⁴ But new cults grew up beside the old philosophies. There were followers of Comte and followers of Mill. Rationalism and Utilitarianism made their appeal. But after Mill's death in 1873, Utilitarian influences, never perhaps very powerful in Oxford, declined.⁵ Idealistic influences tended to replace them. Some felt that philosophy itself was being displaced by projects of practical philanthropy on one side and by the growth of natural science on the other. Social reform, hardly yet wearing the aspect of Socialism, became a moving theme. University Settlements were founded in East London.⁶ Arnold Toynbee set to work to combat Henry

¹ On any subject, said one shrewd observer, from the Origin of Evil to Bimetallism.

² In 1884. F. Madan, C. W. Boase, A. L. Smith and C. R. L. Fletcher were among the prime movers.

³ An *Oxford Architectural and Historical Society* was founded as early as 1835.

⁴ The books recommended for "Greats" in 1878 included not only works like Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*, but Locke on the Human Understanding, Hume and Bentham on the Principles of Morals, Butler's sermons and portions of Kant, Mill, Buckle and Sir Henry Maine.

⁵ And it can hardly be said that the Positivist philosophy ever played much part in Oxford life.

⁶ Toynbee Hall was founded by a movement inaugurated at Balliol in 1884, in which, among others, Mr. A. H. D. Acland, Mr. Forbes and Mr. Bolton King took part. The Oxford House in Bethnal Green, started under the auspices of Dr. Talbot and others, was opened before the end of that year. Toynbee Hall was opened in January 1885.

George's theories, and George, the advocate of land nationalisation, had to face a tumultuous meeting when he came to speak at Oxford in March 1884.¹ Ritualism increased and gathered force in some of the Oxford churches. Here and there a little group of Hedonists, professing Pagan ethics and Pagan sympathies, was formed. Pater's writings on Aesthetic Poetry, his love of Pre-Raphaelite art, his delicate studies of the Renaissance, his passion for Greek beauty, clothed in language of great richness and distinction and appealing to senses sometimes imperfectly controlled, found disciples too ready to exploit his phrases and to translate them into a decadent philosophy of life.

"We have an interval, and then our place knows us no more. Some spend this interval in listlessness, some in high passions, the wisest in art and song. For our one chance is in expanding that interval, in getting as many pulsations as possible into the given time."²

The pulsations at times became too feverish. But it is needless to add that there were moments when even the intellects of undergraduates relaxed. "I am sick to death," writes an Oxford man in one novel of 1878, "of my little list of rules for purifying religion, elevating humanity, reforming the universe."³ Intercourse perhaps was simpler at Vincent's or the Bullingdon. Fashion and athleticism always had their vogue. College Clubs and College dinners sustained the lighter sides of life. College Wines still ministered to gaiety, and gaiety sometimes ended in bonfires. But the habit of drinking was going out. The disorder at the Encaenia, which caused trouble in 1874 and 1875, was gradually overcome.⁴ Music steadily developed. Its practice grew.⁵ Its standards rose. The softer influences in life made way. The habit of reading quietly increased, while the habit of exercise held its own. Games multiplied, advanced in skill and science, absorbed, it may be, too large a share of energy. But at the same time a revolt against the ascendancy of athletics had begun.

The aesthetic movement, with its search for exquisite sensations, may have found a strain of ancestry in the teaching of

¹ But the tumult was partly due to Mr. George's unhappy method of answering questions. A year later the Socialist League, with William Morris as speaker, had a very disorderly meeting in Oxford.

² See the Conclusion of Pater's *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873).

³ See Mr. Julian Sturgis' story *John-A-Dreams* (75).

⁴ By the simple expedient of allowing the undergraduates to sit with their friends, instead of being herded in the upper gallery of the Theatre together. (See Jowett's *Life*, II, 73-4.)

⁵ The Oxford University Musical Club and the Oxford University Musical Union were in full vigour by the end of 1884.

Morris, of Ruskin and of Pater. But it is probable that those distinguished writers would have been unwilling to acknowledge the descent. Founded, no doubt, in the love of beauty, and touched often with a fine appreciation of literature and art, aestheticism began to claim the privileges and to put on the airs of a sect, to develop dogmas, jargon, to surround itself with catchwords and eccentricities, which young men of coarser fibre found it difficult to bear. Oscar Wilde, a Demy at Magdalen in 1874 and a winner of the Newdigate in 1878, became the most notorious exponent of the new cult. His wit and precocity, his egotism, his paradox, his bric-à-brac and sunflowers, his studied affectations, all played their part in the war against the Philistines, all led too readily to exaggeration and abuse. And even after Wilde had passed from Oxford there were outbreaks against the tone and practices of his disciples, in which the aesthetes inevitably suffered from the brutal masculinity which they had challenged and provoked.

Aestheticism as a fashion was not destined to outlast its founders. But the longing for self-expression, the instinct for letters, survived. Poets arose not unworthy to follow where Arnold and Swinburne had led.¹ Their idler hours gave opportunities for disrespectful verse. Periodicals were started, flourished, perished. There had been an *Oxford University Magazine* in 1834 and again in 1869.² The *Oxford Critic and University Magazine* of 1857, at one and sixpence, had been serious and improving. *Great Tom* and *Dark Blue* were lighter ventures of 1861 and 1867. The *Oxford Spectator* was a bolder enterprise of 1867 and 1868. And the *Oxford Magazine*, which began its weekly issues in January 1883, proved to be the most fortunate and continuous of them all.³ Oxford wrote and played

¹ Robert Bridges, Rennell Rodd, Mackail and Beeching and Nichols, Henry Newbolt, Arthur Quiller-Couch, Lionel Johnson and Laurence Binyon were among those who carried on the poetic tradition set not only by Matthew Arnold and Swinburne, William Morris and R. W. Dixon, but by F. W. Faber, W. Alexander, J. C. Shairp, E. Arnold, A. G. Butler, and others.

² The later one was called the *Oxford University Magazine and Review*.

³ The *Magazine* was an undergraduate project, and among the undergraduates who helped to start it were D. S. Maccoll of Lincoln (Sub-Editor), M. E. Sadler of Trinity, O. Elton of Corpus, W. H. Shaw, C. N. E. Eliot, A. H. Hawkins and C. G. Lang of Balliol. The early Editors were Dons, R. Lodge of Brasenose, who conducted it through its earliest troubles, P. E. Matheson of New College, and then Charles Cannan of Trinity, who brought in A. T. Quiller-Couch. T. H. Warren of Magdalen also was a strong and early supporter, and Dr. Bartholomew Price of the Press was a valuable friend. W. Pater, J. A. Symonds, J. W. Mackail and Horatio Brown were among the early contributors. Jowett sent a sermon preached at Balliol by W. Rogers. Others soon, like C. E. Montagu, A. D. Godley, J. E. King (afterwards Editor) and Gilbert Murray, gave

and worked, but it never lost touch with outside interests. Rents failed. Commissions troubled. But the hospitality of the Colleges never ceased to flow. Their old votaries loved to revisit them, stretching out their hands in longing for the shores which they had left. Dr. Newman stirred deep and tender memories by his visit to Oxford in February 1878: he had been elected an Honorary Fellow of Trinity the year before. Later, at the end of 1883 he wrote to Mark Pattison in his grave illness a letter which brought tears into the Rector's eyes. Pattison could still declare that he had learned more from his "dear master" than from any other man whom he had known. The old love and reverence had never been extinguished.

"Let me subscribe myself for the last time Your affectionate son and pupil."¹

Mr. Goldwin Smith came and stayed in Oxford for the summer term of 1886. Mr. Gladstone paid more than one visit. He came in 1876, to present Dean Liddell's portrait at Christ Church. He came again in February 1890, staying at All Souls as a student, spending some time in the Bodleian reading, meeting old friends in the Colleges. He seemed "supremely happy," and talked, said Liddell, "to every conceivable person on every conceivable subject."² He was persuaded to speak on Homer at the Union, and his concluding words, delivered with rare feeling, swept his audience off their feet.

"Apart from any question of opinion, every subject of controversy, there is not a man who has passed through this great and famous University that can say with more truth than I can say, that I love her, I love her from the bottom of my heart."

He came once more as Romanes Lecturer in October 1892. The audience packed the Sheldonian, broke the railings and overflowed into the street.³ He was Prime Minister again, in his eighty-third year, his figure as erect, his voice as strong, his mastery of his hearers as incomparable as ever. He spoke of Oxford and her greatest sons, unrolled again the whole inspiring

powerful support. And many other distinguished contributors helped. I have to thank the Archbishop of York, Sir A. H. Hawkins, Sir A. T. Quiller-Couch, Mr. Matheson and above all Sir R. Lodge for supplying me with information on the subject.

¹ See Ward's *Life of Cardinal Newman* (II, 481-2).

² See Thompson's *Memoir of Dean Liddell* (238-9). But the spell which Mr. Gladstone cast on almost all he met during his visit is shown in the little book *Mr. Gladstone at Oxford*, 1890, by C. R. L. F.

³ The arrangements came in for sharp criticism both at Mr. Gladstone's lecture and at Professor Froude's brilliant and over-crowded inaugural lecture, which took place at the Museum in the same week.

story in eloquence as varied and inspiring as his theme. Other old visitants returned no more. Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, a great prelate and a great figure in University and city, died with startling suddenness in 1873.

"I do not think that he was worse than about half the bishops," wrote Jowett to Morier, "but he was more versatile and able."

Dean Stanley and Dr. Pusey, even more characteristic representatives of noble differences in Oxford thought, died in 1881 and 1882. Liddell grieved for Stanley's "all-embracing loving kindness," doubted if there was anyone in England who would be more deeply, widely missed. Matthew Arnold paid his homage to his old friend, his father's biographer, in verse. And Stubbs' tribute to Dr. Pusey, "a good soldier of Jesus Christ," who had borne the burden of many sorrows, the failings and disappointments of many other men, expressed the reverent sympathy which Pusey's fine aims never failed to stir. Before the year 1884 was over, Pusey House was open in St. Giles', and Charles Gore was lecturing to substantial audiences of undergraduates within its walls.

In the year of Dr. Pusey's death Jowett became Vice-Chancellor. Apart from the glory of the "pokers" preceding him, "two of gold and one of silver," he confessed to a friend that he was "really pleased." The sensitive heretic of a quarter of a century before had become a dominant force in Oxford. He had learned to think that his troubles had not been without their compensations. They had placed him to some extent "above the opinion of the world." But they had increased his habit of reticence, his inclination to do things alone. Autocracy perhaps had grown upon him. Old friends noted his stimulating and rebuking power. But those who differed from the Vice-Chancellor in opinion sometimes found reason for complaint. His energy, however, and his public spirit everyone admitted. And the years of his rule were full and prosperous years. Among College Heads the older figures were slowly passing. Dr. Cradock at Brasenose, Dr. Lightfoot at Exeter, Dr. Sewell at New College, Dr. Bulley at Magdalen were among those who survived.¹ But at Merton and at Oriel, where Dr. Marsham and Dr. Hawkins had each reigned for over half a century, and at Worcester, where Dr. Cotton had reigned for over forty years, new rulers had just come into power. Both at Merton and at Oriel the

¹ Jowett's predecessor and successor in the Vice-Chancellorship, Dr. Evans of Pembroke and Dr. Bellamy of St. John's, were also Heads of old standing.

new-comers were old Balliol men.¹ At University again and at Corpus, at All Souls and at Queen's, new Heads had recently succeeded, not unwilling to look with sympathy on Jowett's plans: one of them, the Warden of All Souls, had been Jowett's pupil.² At Trinity and Keble Dr. Percival and Dr. Talbot shared Jowett's liberal outlook, though they might not wish to be credited with all his views. Liddell at Christ Church and Mark Pattison at Lincoln were old friends tested under difficult conditions, and Mark Pattison was ere long to be succeeded at Lincoln by another old Scholar of Jowett's College.³ Liddell was his close ally in one scheme of Oxford improvement, the new out-let to the Cherwell, which greatly diminished the ravages of floods. But the Vice-Chancellor's light-hearted disregard of opposition did not prevent the abandonment of some parts of his plan.⁴ The widening of Magdalen Bridge was finally completed in 1885, and the criticism roused by it slowly died away. Wider opposition was evoked by the proposal to allow a Non-conformist Fellow of New College, Dr. Horton, to act as an examiner in the Rudiments of Faith and Religion. And criticism if not opposition attended even the Vice-Chancellor's views about the stage. He had welcomed the performance of the *Agamemnon* in Balliol College Hall.⁵ He sanctioned the formation of an Amateur Dramatic Club. He invited Irving to lecture before the University.⁶ He encouraged the building of a new Theatre in Oxford, and appeared amid enthusiastic cheering at the first performance given. Professor Freeman, returning to Oxford after forty years, and finding much to criticise in its Schools, its buildings, its methods, its ideals, in the "direct glorification of idleness, the amazing importance attached to mere amusements," reserved his sharpest censure for the "portentous rage for play-acting," which "the chief resident officer of the University" seemed to sanction and approve.⁷ But public opinion was not long in endorsing the Vice-Chancellor's common sense.

¹ G. C. Brodrick and D. B. Monro: Monro had already done the Provost's work for some years. Dr. Cradock was also an old Balliol man.

² Sir William Anson.

³ W. W. Merry, in 1884. Two other old Balliol men, T. H. Warren and W. W. Jackson, became Heads of Magdalen and of Exeter in 1885 and 1887.

⁴ See the details given in Jowett's *Life* (II, 219-21) and in Thompson's *Memoir of Dean Liddell* (197).

⁵ In 1880. The moving spirits and actors were W. N. Bruce, F. R. Benson and G. P. C. Lawrence.

⁶ In 1886.

⁷ See Freeman's two articles on *Oxford after Forty Years* in vol. LI of the *Contemporary Review* (1887).



OXFORD IN FLOOD

After two years' work Jowett felt able to claim that his tenure of office had "thus far been a success." The wide agenda which he had sketched out for himself had indeed only been begun. It included schemes for new museums, laboratories and Schools, for planting Broad Street, for buying land across the Cherwell, for cricket-grounds and swimming-baths, for stained glass in St. Mary's and Greek plays in the Theatre, which never got beyond the stage of schemes.¹ But the impulse which he gave to all activities was vigorous and lasting. Friends and supporters died, but he never lost courage.² He would never do things in a half-hearted or commonplace way. He bought at a moment's notice the open ground on Shotover Hill, and would have been glad, had it proved possible, to purchase the whole of the hill-slopes surrounding Oxford and to bring them within the University limits. He was firm in upholding the Vice-Chancellor's authority, even the debatable jurisdiction of the Vice-Chancellor's Court.³ He was a staunch and liberal friend of opportunities for Non-conformist students. He saw and encouraged changes in the Schools. The old examination in the Rudiments of Faith and Religion disappeared. Students of science were exempted from Pass Moderations. A new Laboratory was opened in the Parks. The Medical School was slowly reorganised. The Vice-Chancellor's interest in the Clarendon Press was unremitting. Its standards were raised, its work and staff and buildings were enlarged. Enterprises like Dr. Murray's great Dictionary and Dr. Birkbeck Hill's great edition of Boswell's Life of Johnson owed much to his indefatigable sympathy. And plans for extending University benefits to poorer students owed still more. The condition of the Non-Collegiate students at Oxford, their social disadvantages, their low level of instruction, had always caused Jowett serious concern. He exerted himself to improve their education and their discipline, to strengthen the Delegacy responsible for their control. He had taken an active part in the arrangements which brought candidates for the Indian Civil

¹ See the list of his plans for his Vice-Chancellorship given in his *Life* (II, 214). Among minor changes of those years, though not among Jowett's special projects, was the new Proctorial Cycle, each College taking its turn in the order given in the *Calendar*, approved in June 1885.

² The death of T. H. Green in 1882 was followed by the death of Henry Smith, of Arnold Toynbee, and, it may be added, of J. R. Green, in 1883. Archbishop Tait died in 1882, William Spottiswoode in 1883, Alexander Grant in 1884.

³ See the case of *Ginnett v. Whittingham*, 1885 (*Law Reports*, Q.B.D., vol. 16), and Lord Coleridge's comments. See also the comments of the *Oxford Magazine* for Jan. 27, 1886. Dr. Rashdall has an interesting appendix on the Vice-Chancellor's jurisdiction (*Universities of Europe*, II, 785-90).

Service to Oxford,¹ and which provided for teaching in Oriental subjects. The Indian Institute, for which Professor Monier Williams had laboured, was successfully established in 1883-84.² The larger question of admitting Indian students to the Colleges was in those years only beginning to arise. But Jowett's liberality of mind was always anxious to throw open the advantages of Oxford as widely as he could. The demand for lectures and examinations, put forward by the representatives of artisans on one side and of women students on the other, had contributed to a wide movement for the local development of higher education. Local Colleges had begun to be founded: Jowett took an active part in the establishment of University College, Bristol, in 1876. Cambridge had definitely inaugurated in 1873 a scheme of local lectures by University teachers, and Oxford had followed this up five years later with similar arrangements, which for a time had only a limited success.³ But during Jowett's Vice-Chancellorship the Oxford University Extension system was placed on a new footing. The President of Trinity College became a valuable friend. Jowett himself presided at the early meetings of the new Committee.⁴ A new Secretary, with a special gift for organising education, Michael Sadler of Trinity, soon to be Steward and Student of Christ Church, was appointed in 1885. One or two lecturers with a real power of handling audiences, Hudson Shaw a Fellow of Balliol, Halford Mackinder a Student of Christ Church,

¹ Lord Salisbury was the prime mover. He accepted the advice of a Committee appointed under Dr. Liddell's chairmanship in 1874, and the plan was adopted for candidates selected in or after 1878. Jowett's co-operation was assured, though his suggestions were not as a whole adopted. Jowett's independent action roused some criticism. (See his *Life*, II, 135-42.)

² The Prince of Wales laid the foundation-stone in May 1883. The Vice-Chancellor opened it in October 1884. Mr. Champneys was the architect.

³ Dr. Temple was one of the first to develop from 1854 onwards the system of local examinations, which Sir T. Acland helped to establish in the West. (See T. D. Acland's pamphlet on *Middle-Class Education*, already cited, and the important letters from F. Temple to Dr. Jeune there printed.) Mr. James Stuart, a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was a pioneer of local University lectures for women in 1867, and the real founder of the University Extension Movement in its modern shape. Mr. A. H. D. Acland was the Secretary of the Oxford Committee appointed for this purpose in 1878. (See *University Extension, Past, Present and Future*, by H. J. Mackinder and M. E. Sadler, 1891, and consult also the *Report of the Adult Education Committee*.) The movement at Oxford for training teachers should also be noted.

⁴ The Committee was appointed by the Delegacy for Local Examinations. The Provost of Queen's, the Master of University, the Principal of Jesus, Mr. Acland, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Poulton, were among those who served on it and greatly helped.

both, like Sadler, old Presidents of the Union, began to lecture in history and geography with the happiest results.¹ Lectures upon literature drew many hearers, women especially, but not women alone. Students of all types and classes, great audiences of artisans in the North of England, responded readily to the opportunity offered. It was found that a high quality of teaching was not incompatible with a popular appeal. And it may be fairly claimed that the movement then started has had no inconsiderable influence in securing for the University of Oxford a place in the esteem and affection of many to whom it was only a synonym for privilege before.

But all these activities were only interludes in a philosopher's career. Jowett and many of the finer spirits round him in the busy academic world of 1886, with its full and vigorous life, its range of educational efforts, episodes, contentions, its large contributions to the problems of society and government outside, still treasured the old ideals of speculative Oxford, still walked in the footsteps of Aristotle and Plato, still kept their under-sense of greatest things. New interests and new sciences might be arising. The ancient system might have passed, the ancient ecclesiastical tradition have been broken. A dangerous liberalism, as some thought, might triumph. Heresy might enter into the high places of the Church. But the task of the forgotten Schoolmen was still to a large extent the task of their successors. Theology and the overshadowing problems it included ranked as the supreme science with many an Oxford man. "I think that I believe more and more in Christianity," wrote Jowett to a young friend in 1887, "not in miracles or hell, or verbal inspiration, or atonement, but in living for others and in going about doing good."² Doctrines, he added, in the notes which he jotted down for his own use and consolation as his Vice-Chancellorship was drawing to a close—doctrines might become unmeaning words. But the essence of religion, self-sacrifice and self-denial, would remain. And if such utterances seemed to some theologically insufficient, they at least represented in their breadth and simplicity a powerful element in contemporary thought.

¹ Other names, not less well known, appear in the story of the Oxford University Extension Movement under M. E. Sadler's guidance in the years that followed 1885. J. A. R. Marriott, F. S. Boas, C. G. Lang, H. Llewellyn Smith, J. A. S. Hewins, E. L. S. Horsburgh and others were prominent among the early Lecturers. Mr. H. H. Asquith had already appeared as a Lecturer under the auspices of the London Society.

² See the delightful letter of Feb. 15, 1887, addressed to Miss M. Tennant—"Rejoice, O young lady, in thy youth," etc.—printed in Jowett's *Life* (II, 317-19).

"Est in eo enitendum," he pleaded, in the Latin speech with which he laid down his office in October 1886, "ut stabiliantur, ut nobilitentur juvenum animi, ut discant falsa a veris discernere, ut ad vitæ certamina paratiores fiant."¹

Dr. Bellamy of St. John's, who succeeded Jowett as Vice-Chancellor, belonged to a different circle. But he carried on generally the same administrative traditions. His first year of office, a memorable date in a memorable era, found the University's prosperity assured. Its Colleges were growing still in splendour. Its streets, for all the sins of their builders, were still unspoilt. Its teaching had never been more varied or successful. Changes were going forward, reforms being suggested and opposed.² The spirit of learning and the habit of discussion were both vigorously alive. Echoes of larger controversies from the world of politicians, where the tide of feeling ran bitterly and strongly, were heard on Oxford platforms, divided Oxford Professors, lent sound to Oxford debates. Death played its part and thinned the ranks of survivors. Dr. Lightfoot of Exeter died, and Dr. Scott, once Master of Balliol. Lord Iddesleigh, a well-loved veteran of politics and a well-remembered Scholar, passed away. Two younger Scholars of the same College found their feet set upon the path of statesmanship.³ Dr. Percival left Trinity to become Headmaster of Rugby. Other familiar figures left empty places in Chapel or Hall. But the representatives who in 1887 carried to Queen Victoria at Windsor the University's message of homage and devotion, had reason to congratulate their Sovereign and themselves. Time had fulfilled the prayer which an earlier Queen had uttered to the Masters gathered about her on Shotover Hill. God had signally prospered the studies of Oxford, preserved her inheritance and increased her sons. Seven long centuries of fame and achievement lay behind her. Who would dare to number the centuries ahead?

¹ The speech is printed in the *Oxford Magazine* for Oct. 20, 1886.

² E.g. the proposals to create new Doctors' degrees in Literature and Science, to vary and eliminate Moderations, to abolish the *Viva Voce* examinations. (See *Oxford Magazine* for February and November 1887.)

³ Lord Iddesleigh died in January 1887, Dr. Lightfoot in April, Dr. Scott in December of that year. Mr. Alfred Milner became Private Secretary to Mr. Goschen, and Mr. H. H. Asquith triumphed in the House of Commons.

CHAPTER XXVII
FORTY YEARS ON
1887-1927

I

IT is not possible yet to treat as history the years which separate us from 1887, or to appraise the work of Oxford men, still happily among us, who have helped to carry an unbreakable tradition on. But it may be allowable to close this record by summarizing some of the more memorable changes which have marked the passing of the last forty years.

The long reign, which in 1887 seemed to be moving so serenely to a conclusion, was destined to last for nearly half a generation longer and to be clouded with anxieties before the end. But in Oxford there was little at first to mar the sense of security and progress. The numbers of the University went up.¹ The new Colleges brought new students, of whom women formed no inconsiderable part. The ancient Colleges prospered. Christ Church, New College, Balliol retained on the whole their pre-eminence in numbers, but other Colleges too ranked high. New College, freed from its old limitations, took a place in Oxford worthy of its great endowments. Balliol had to struggle hard

¹ I think this is generally true, though numbers fluctuate. Figures published in the *Oxford Magazine*, and supplied generally by College Bursars, put the total number of undergraduates in residence at 2,676 in 1890, 3,007 in 1913, and 3,097 in 1914: some B.As. battling are latterly included. The Commission's Report in 1922 (p. 26) gives 3,460 students (men and women in residence below the degree of M.A.) in 1913 and 4,651 in 1920. The Report of the University Grants Committee for 1923-4 gives the total of Oxford students as 4,163 then. The figures given in the *Oxford Magazine* for Colleges seem to me a little less clear. The table for 1913 gives Christ Church leading with 221, New College second with 210, Balliol third with 196. But earlier statements give larger figures. Generally speaking, in the years before the war, Christ Church and New College were the largest Colleges, while Balliol, Keble, Exeter, Magdalen, and in 1913 St. John's, were high in the lists. A letter in the *Magazine*, however, for June 11, 1914, points out that matriculations had only risen from 784 in 1883 to 953 in 1913, and that this rise did not keep pace with the growing wealth in the country.

for distinctions which it had begun to regard as its due.¹ Magdalen steadily rose in reputation. Trinity, Corpus, University retained their popularity, and not they alone. Wadham emerged² again in sudden splendour. A Private Hall carried off the Hertford and the Craven.³ The Non-Collegiate Delegacy was able to show an increase of students and even to contribute handsomely to University finance.⁴ Colleges found funds for building and architects not unworthy of their confidence. A new court arose at New College under the shadow of the city walls. And the same old walls added their charm to the new court at Merton, which absorbed the Lodgings where Fitzjames had ruled and Henrietta Maria sojourned, and the garden which the fifteenth century Wardens had in their day annexed from St. Alban Hall.⁵ But Mr. Champneys, the architect of the new buildings at Merton, was thought to be less happily inspired at Oriel, at least in the statuary with which he decorated the new and substantial High Street front.⁶ At Hertford Sir Thomas Jackson completed his work with a new Chapel.⁷ At Magdalen and at University the fine old roofs of the Halls were restored. Improvements were made in Sir John Acland's Hall at Exeter. New windows were added in the Hall at Queen's. At Lincoln space was found for a new and charming College Library. At Balliol in the Northern corner on St. Giles' some additional rooms were set up.⁸ Somerville College and Lady Margaret Hall

¹ Not quite in vain : e.g. in 1888 in the examinations for the Ireland, Craven and Hertford Balliol claimed 7 out of the 9 leading men, and in 1907 Balliol won 9 Firsts in Greats. But New College had 7 Firsts in Greats in 1904.

² Lord Birkenhead's phrase at the Union Centenary Banquet, used not without ironical intent.

³ Pope's Hall under different Heads and names had a remarkable record of distinctions in the 20 years preceding 1917. (See the *Oxford Magazine* for Nov. 30, 1917.)

⁴ The 40th Report of the Delegacy showed that the University was receiving £2,300 a year in return for its annual grant of £1,000 and its capital expenditure of £7,000. (*Ib.* Nov. 12, 1908.) The number of Non-Collegiate students rose to 219 in 1890, but declined to 162 in 1913.

⁵ The old site of St. Alban Hall helped to supply a site for the new Merton buildings. The new Warden's house was built on the other side of Merton Street in 1906-7. It seems that the College authorities exercised a salutary control over the buildings of the new quadrangle, but gave the architect a free hand in regard to the Warden's house.

⁶ This was not completed till 1911.

⁷ The Chapel was begun in 1906. The handsome buildings at the corner on the North side of New College Lane are also Sir T. Jackson's work.

⁸ I hope that a loyal son of the College may be pardoned if he protests against the latest attempt to add new attic chambers at Balliol, the ignoble piece of patchwork which now disfigures the S.W. corner of the garden quadrangle. More satisfactory is the recent recovery of the old College gates.

built new buildings for ever-increasing students. Turrell's Hall beyond Magdalen Bridge came down, and a new boarding-house for Magdalen College school-boys rose upon its site. The ancient relics of New Inn Hall disappeared. St. Mary's received new statues and new pinnacles.¹ Tom Tower was restored.² David Loggan's famous pictures of the Colleges found worthy successors in those of Mr. Edmund New. The College gardens bloomed. The suburbs spread.³ The Parks developed. The rivalry between the old learning and the new, between the Schools of the past and the encroachments of science, was illustrated afresh whenever the question arose of annexing new sites in the Parks for science buildings. The liberality of one benefactor helped to secure a few acres of marshland and wood near Besselsleigh, to be called by Mr. Ruskin's name and kept as a Reserve for plants and natural history. Thirty acres of wild ground on the South-west of Shotover Plain was bought by the foresight of another.⁴ But larger schemes of extending the University's borders to the crown of the low hills encircling Oxford failed to secure in time the support which they deserved.⁵

The problems raised by the University Commissions were not allowed to sleep in the years which followed. The demand for modern studies and for the better organisation of teaching went on. Some changes were made. The Boards of Faculties claimed and were conceded larger powers. The rules for examinations were reconsidered. The *viva voce* in Responsions was abolished. There was talk of abolishing Honour Moderations. Compulsory Greek was frequently attacked, but it was not till 1911 that scientific and mathematical students were able to escape from Greek in Responsions. New studies were encouraged. Separate Professorships for English Language and English Literature at last arose. A School of Modern Languages was established. Geography received recognition. A School of Forestry was founded. Research degrees were introduced. New Doctorates in Literature and Science and a new Professorship of Engineering were proposed. History grew in popularity. Writers and

¹ In 1893 and 1902.

² In 1909. Dean Liddell's statue had been set up on the North side of Kill-Cannon in 1893.

³ The population of Oxford rose from 29,000 in 1861 to 53,000 in 1891. (See the *Oxford Magazine* for Feb. 18, 1891.)

⁴ In 1908. Mr. Arthur Johnson collected the subscriptions for it.

⁵ Mr. A. L. Smith, when a Tutor at Balliol, proposed to purchase in the University's interest the hills and countryside round Oxford to a considerable extent. The scheme found powerful encouragement, but owing to the difficulty of finding funds was allowed to drop. Speculators and builders stepped in to reap the profits which the University might have secured. Something, however, was done in this direction later during Mr. Smith's lifetime with help from him and others.

teachers of distinction, York Powell, Charles Firth, Charles Oman, succeeded to the older Chairs of History. New Chairs and Lecturerships grew up.¹ But more still were needed.² The Oxford Historical Society continued to produce admirable work. But the older studies held their own. The teaching of Theology was strengthened. The numbers of candidates for "Greats" in 1895 and for Honour Moderations in 1899 were the largest numbers ever known.³ The value of the old system seemed to be vindicated in the Civil Service examinations, where Oxford men repeatedly met with remarkable success.⁴ Some of the new studies, the School of English Literature especially, were slow in making way. Proposals for change were not always popular. Congregation could not be persuaded to admit women to degrees.

Meanwhile the life of the University moved on. In 1891 Dean Liddell resigned: a noble and familiar presence ceased to be seen in the Cathedral precincts. In 1893 Jowett died, glad to the last that he had laboured to interpret the ideas of Plato to the world. Ideas, he affirmed, had had a deeper effect even than science on mankind. "The souls of the righteous," he wrote to a friend, "are in the hand of God." In the same year Lord Salisbury visited the Sheldonian as Chancellor, to plead the cause of medical study, while Mr. Huxley came as Romanes Lecturer to speak on Evolution and Ethics. Mr. John Morley, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Roosevelt, were among the Romanes Lecturers of later years.⁵ At the Union younger orators succeeded, recalling often the triumphs of older men. Names well-remembered, Peel and Gladstone, Asquith and Temple, reappeared. New speakers found celebrity. Frederick Smith of Wadham won his spurs by opposing Local Option in 1892. Lord Beauchamp, Lord Balcarras, Hilaire Belloc and John Simon were among those who occupied the Chair.⁶ College societies prospered as of old.

¹ E.g. the Ford Lecturership in English History in 1896, the Beit Professorship of Colonial History in 1905, the Chichele Professorship of Military History, developed out of an earlier Lecturership, in 1909.

² On this point see the *Statements of the Needs of the University* issued in reply to the Vice-Chancellor's Circular Letter of 1902.

³ For Greats in 1895 there were 167 candidates, as against 150 for Modern History: for Honour "Mods" in 1899 there were 267. (See *Oxford Magazine* for May 29, 1895 and March 1, 1899.) The Final Honour Schools in 1896 showed 143 candidates for Greats, 120 for History, 91 for Law and only 3 for English Literature (*Ib.* June 10, 1896). Later the entries for Honour "Mods" declined: they fell to 160 in 1911.

⁴ E.g. Oxford men won 17 out of the first 20 places in 1899, 10 out of the first 12 in 1904, 7 out of the first 10 in 1908, and all the first 7 in 1909.

⁵ In 1897, 1909 and 1910.

⁶ Among notable Union Presidents of these years were Lord Ampthill, 1891, Earl Beauchamp, 1893, Lord Balcarras and F. E. Smith, 1894, H. Belloc, 1895, J. A. Simon and F. W. Hirst, 1896, A. H. D. Steel (Maitland)

Games flourished as much as debating. Music advanced in popularity year by year. The Oxford Pageant of 1907 reproduced the long, romantic story of the city with which the story of the University is so inextricably entwined. The ease of life, no doubt, developed, as its resources and amusements increased. An elder generation noted the untidiness and eccentricities of Oxford dress. There was hardly an undergraduate in that great assembly, said Mr. Gladstone after speaking at the Union in 1890, who could not have been dressed for ten pounds. They noted too the generous, democratic temper, the ever-growing readiness to share with others the treasures and traditions of the place. University Extension prospered. By 1890 some thirty-five thousand students were attending local lectures. In 1903, at the Summer Meeting at Oxford, over a thousand students and visitors assembled, drawn from every European country, to hear the American Ambassador give an inaugural address. Foreigners came more and more to Oxford. School teachers were encouraged to seek training and refreshment there. Students from the East sought admission to the Colleges. Young members of the Universities of India submitted a strong claim. And, as their numbers grew quickly, problems arose not always admitting of a quick solution.¹ Outside voices urged, and many a voice within the University joined in the suggestion, that more should be done to make Oxford accessible to working men. The days had gone by since Arthur Young had inquired how "the lower classes" were to learn "that truly excellent religion which exhorts to content and submission to the higher powers." Ruskin College was inaugurated in 1899, and after some early difficulties became widely representative of the Trade Union movement.² The Workers' Educational Association, founded in 1903 and claiming to speak for over a thousand educational bodies, set itself to stimulate in co-operation with the University the demand for higher educational facilities for artisans. Powerful helpers within the University were forthcoming. Dean Strong of Christ

and J. Buchan, 1899, R. Asquith, 1900, W. Temple, 1904, W. G. C. Gladstone, 1907. (See the list in Mr. Morrah's *Oxford Union*, 313-16.)

¹ The Dean of Christ Church, the Master of Balliol, Dr. Pope and others—not least Mr. S. M. (now Sir Stephen) Burrows—were among those who rendered valuable service in dealing with this question. The Reports of the Indian Students' Department at the India Office may be consulted for details from 1912 onwards.

² The students of Ruskin College were mostly manual workers from the North of England and Wales, who came up for one or two years and were lodged, boarded and educated for £52 yearly. The reconstitution of the Council of the College in 1909 is described in the *Oxford Magazine* for Nov. 11 of that year. See also the *Report of the Adult Education Committee*, 1919.

Church and Mr. A. L. Smith of Balliol were among those who took a prominent part. A great conference was held in the Examination Schools in 1907. A Joint Committee was appointed, representing both the University and the working-class associations, which at the end of 1908 issued an encouraging report. And Tutorial Classes were established in populous centres, which met with a considerable measure of success.¹ The name of Oxford, it was found, had still a magic for the world outside it. And to that world's claim for a share in its inheritance, the University yielded no illiberal response.

The last years of the nineteenth century saw changes among many who had helped to make its history. In 1890 Cardinal Newman died.

"For no one in our memory," said Manning from the pulpit of the Oratory, "has such a heartfelt and loving veneration been poured out."²

Before seventeen months were over the Archbishop of Westminster had followed his great colleague to the grave. In the year of Cardinal Manning's death, which was the year of Lord Sherbrooke's death also, Mr. Gladstone became for the fourth time Prime Minister at the age of eighty-two. Men ought not to suffer from disenchantment, he had lately told a friend. In March 1894 he retired. Four years later, as he lay dying at Hawarden, the Vice-Chancellor forwarded from the Hebdomadal Council a touching message of sorrow and affection to one linked to Oxford by no ordinary bond. And the sufferer roused himself to answer in words that breathed a love unquenched, unbroken, for the University which he had entered almost seventy years before.

"There is no expression of Christian sympathy that I value more than that of the ancient university of Oxford, the God-fearing and God-sustaining university of Oxford. I served her, perhaps mistakenly, but to the best of my ability. My most earnest prayers are hers to the uttermost and to the last."³

Many an Oxford man has added to the nobility of public life. But none more typical or more majestic ever moved across that high-set stage. In the same year, 1898, died Sir Thomas Acland,

¹ See the Report on *Oxford and Working-Class Education* issued by the Clarendon Press, and Lord Curzon's comments (*Principles and Methods of University Reform*, 1909, Chap. III). The Report of the Tutorial Classes Committee of the University Extension Delegacy in 1910 stated that one-third of the students in the Tutorial Classes reached the standard of a First Class in Modern History.

² See Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning* (1896, II, 750), and the biographer's comments.

³ I give the message as printed in the *Life* by Lord Morley (III, 528).

ten days after the illustrious contemporary whom he had known so well. Dr. Liddell had died some months earlier, Lord Selborne in 1895. Another veteran, Sir John Mowbray, for over thirty years a University Burgess, was succeeded by Sir William Anson in 1899. And, as the nineteenth century passed into another, the tale of change and loss went on. John Ruskin died in the same year as Henry Acland, his familiar friend.¹ Dean Paget, who had succeeded Dean Liddell, passed to a Bishopric and was succeeded by Dean Strong. A Provost of Oriel, for the first time since 1741, again undertook the office of Vice-Chancellor.² The Bodleian kept its tercentenary. The venerable Warden of New College died in 1903, leaving his College at the height of its fame. He could count some three hundred terms of almost continuous residence within College walls.³ At Merton Mr. George Brodrick retired, carrying respect and affection with him. In the same year two outstanding figures, Archbishop Temple and Lord Salisbury, passed away.

“With strength to labour as the strength of ten,”

a Balliol poet had sung of Temple. And few Oxford men had faced heavier labours or deeper responsibilities than Lord Salisbury in the service of the State. A few years later the University was mourning the loss of another Chancellor, Lord Goschen, and Corpus, University and Trinity had bidden good-bye to well-loved Heads.⁴ New men had taken up new duties. Older men, long known and honoured, had laid their burdens down.

Outside the walls of Oxford greater changes were occurring. The war in South Africa overshadowed the end of Queen Victoria's reign. It cannot be said to have affected very deeply the life of the University. But at the beginning of the year 1900 a substantial number of Oxford men were serving with the colours.⁵ There was a rush to join the Imperial Yeomanry. There was no lack of candidates for the commissions which the War Office

¹ In 1900: and Prof. Max Müller also.

² Mr. Monro, in 1901.

³ Dr. Spooner succeeded Dr. Sewell. Dr. Inge, Provost of Worcester, and Dean Bradley, once Master of University, were among the losses of 1903. Many other Oxford men of distinction passed from the scene between 1888 and 1905.

⁴ Dr. Fowler of Corpus died in November 1904. Dr. Bright of University retired in 1906. President Pelham of Trinity, a noble figure, died prematurely in 1907. To these three Headships, Dr. Case, Dr. Macan and Dr. Blakiston succeeded. Dr. Caird made way for Mr. Strachan-Davidson at Balliol in 1907.

⁵ The list of Oxford men serving in South Africa published in the *Oxford Magazine* for January 31, 1900, allots 29 to New College, 27 to Trinity, 21 each to Balliol and Magdalen, 20 to Christ Church, and so on. But the list is obviously incomplete.

put at the Vice-Chancellor's disposal. Lord Lovat's Scouts earned great distinction. A Keble man won the Victoria Cross.¹ Prince Christian Victor, once a Magdalen undergraduate, lost his life.² The relief of Ladysmith produced an interchange of telegrams between the Oxford Union and Sir George White. The relief of Mafeking was marked by rejoicings which recalled in spirit the riots of the past. At the close of that year it was noticed that twelve Oxford men had seats in the Cabinet over which the Oxford Chancellor presided. But the new year had hardly begun when the death of Queen Victoria announced that a great reign was over, that a great era was passing away. King Edward was proclaimed in the Divinity School and again from a platform on the South side of St. Mary's. And, as the critical days of the war went by, and confidence returned and peace succeeded, there was little in the life either of Oxford or of England to suggest that a new era had imperceptibly begun. The feeling roused by events in South Africa had found expression in June 1899 in a protest against the Honorary Degree offered to Mr. Cecil Rhodes. But Mr. Rhodes' death in 1902 helped to dim and to allay resentments. And the publication of his will with its noble scheme for Scholarships in Oxford, and its touching testimony to the value of a system of which his own experience had been so brief,³ profoundly impressed English opinion. The scheme had critics. Some doubted whether the accession of a hundred or two hundred Scholars, drawn from the British Dominions, from Germany and the United States, trained under very different traditions, and chosen for physique and character as much as for their intellectual gifts, would prove acceptable to the Colleges of Oxford. The Union carried by a considerable majority a motion condemning the whole proposal. The first election of Rhodes Scholars in 1903, which included seven South Africans and five Germans, was received with a certain degree of coolness.⁴ But the large idea made way. Mr. George Parkin of Toronto, the Secretary to the Rhodes Trustees, an Oxford man of Lord Milner's generation, won the confidence of the authorities in Oxford. There were seventy Rhodes Scholars in residence in October 1904. The Trustees found it possible to

¹ Major C. H. Mullins, who had been at Keble from 1888 to 1891 (*Oxford Magazine* for Feb. 20, 1901).

² The President of Magdalen wrote a Memoir of him, by his family's request.

³ Cecil Rhodes was at Oxford for nine terms altogether in intermittent periods from 1873 to 1881. He never lived in College, or showed any special interest in studies or games—a record which makes his bequest the more striking. (See the *Oxford Magazine* for April 30, 1902.)

⁴ Notice, for instance, the comments in early days of the *Oxford Magazine*.

make grants for academic purposes. Mr. Beit established a Professorship for the study of Colonial history. The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Fowler of Corpus, did much to dispose of difficulties. The qualities of the young Scholars themselves did more. In October 1905 there were a hundred and forty-six in residence, no longer doubted but made welcome as friends. In 1906 they won seven Firsts in the Schools and carried off the Ireland Scholarship. Their prowess in other fields was soon allowed. Before the Great War began in 1914, and the German Scholars fell out of the ranks to which they had been admitted, Oxford, as well as Oriel, had determined to count Mr. Rhodes among its benefactors, and to recognise the fine, far-sighted purpose of his great bequest.

II

Lord Goschen's death in 1907 removed an impressive figure from academic politics. It marked also the beginning of a fresh movement for University reform. The growth of democratic feeling, the new Parliament, the emergence of a Labour Party, had been accompanied by reminders in the Press that Oxford was still far from fulfilling the ideals which some friends of national education entertained. Lord Curzon, the new Chancellor, installed at the Sheldonian in May 1907, and bringing to his duties the wide vision and the compelling energy which had signalised his work elsewhere, was quick to realise the needs of the University and the feeling behind the popular demand. Mr. Thomas Brassey¹ had already taken an active and generous part in raising funds for academic purposes, and the new Chancellor's first step was to lend strength to this endeavour and to issue an appeal for an endowment or re-endowment fund.² Before the year was over Lord Curzon had been in vigorous consultation with Heads of Houses, Professors and Tutors in Oxford, while finding time to visit Windsor to present to the German Emperor the University's Honorary Degree, and in February 1909 he addressed to the Vice-Chancellor a valuable and comprehensive Memorandum on the *Principles and Methods of University Reform*. He found the reforming spirit active inside the walls of Oxford. He believed that Oxford men could do more than any Commission to adjust the University to modern

¹ Afterwards Viscount Hythe and Earl Brassey. He died from an accident in 1919. See Mr. A. L. Smith's tribute to him in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (II, 296-7).

² The Chancellor's appeal brought in £130,000 in little over a year. Among other benefactors the Goldsmiths' Company gave £10,000 for a Readership in English, and the Drapers' Company offered in the same year, 1908, to build an Electrical Laboratory at a cost of £23,000. The Drapers had already given the new Radcliffe Library.

needs. And reviewing the whole subject with great lucidity and candour, he set forth a series of important suggestions for the consideration of the Hebdomadal Council and of the University authorities at large. The proposals of the Memorandum covered a wide field. They did not always take a rigid or definite form. But the Chancellor recommended the abolition of the separate orders which still divided Council into Heads of Houses, Professors and others. He pointed out the unsatisfactory nature of Congregation, a fortuitous body of some five hundred members, depending not on a teaching but on a residential qualification: the "venerable and innocent archaism" known as the Ancient House of Congregation¹ he did not propose to disturb. He discussed various proposals for the reform of Convocation, which now consisted of six thousand, seven hundred members. He reviewed the efforts of the Commissions to make better provision for poor students. He pleaded for a closer analysis of what was meant by the term poor. He urged the wisdom of providing for both leisured and unleisured people, the need of maintaining the free and happy mingling of classes in work and play and fellowship from which "the glory and the benefit of Oxford" sprang. He noted the ample endowments provided for some classes of students, distinguished the special needs of artisans, and explained the steps taken already to meet them. He recommended for consideration the idea of a new College within the University confined to poorer men. He examined the cost of Oxford education,² and suggested the possibility of reducing fees. He found that the assistance given by Scholarships and Exhibitions to men who really needed it was liberal and widespread.³ But he thought that the whole system of distributing both Scholarships and Fellowships might with advantage be considered afresh.

As regards examinations Lord Curzon faced boldly the difficult question of compulsory Greek.

"In the pathway of every endeavour to open the University to wider classes or to the poor, stands the vexed question of Greek in Responsions—a question which no scheme of reform can overlook, and which cannot be permanently ignored."

¹ Left in existence, possibly by accident, by the Government of 1854.

² Lord Curzon put the minimum outlay for a careful undergraduate in the majority of Colleges at £100 a year, and the average outlay at £120 or £130 a year, exclusive of travelling, clothes, books, pocket-money, wine, tobacco and vacation expenses (*Principles and Methods of University Reform*, p. 70).

³ The Royal Commissioners of 1919 found (*Report of 1922*, p. 132) that in the two years before the Great War nearly 50 per cent. of Oxford and Cambridge Scholarships and Exhibitions were awarded to boys from the cheaper boarding-schools and day-schools in the country.

Compulsory Greek in Responsions he was unable to defend. And he would gladly have eliminated Responsions altogether, and have substituted for it an entrance examination. He pleaded for the education of the Pass man, for a special training for a business life. He discussed with candour the time-honoured controversy between the Professorial and the Tutorial system, and deprecated any rivalry between them. He noted the growing strength of University teaching since 1882. He reviewed with great clearness the steps taken to constitute Boards of Faculties and Boards of Studies since the Commission of 1877, considered the criticisms brought against them, and examined various schemes of alteration or improvement, including one for creating a Central Board of Faculties, and for the possible absorption by that body of the Common University Fund. He invited the University and the Colleges to co-operate in some settled programme for the further encouragement of research. He raised undauntedly the difficult question of "the final emancipation of the Theological Faculty and degrees." He pleaded for the grant of degrees to women: the University could no longer, while yielding the reality, withhold the name. But he was not prepared to admit women to the governing bodies of the University. He dwelt on the need of pensions for Professors. He inquired closely into the University's finances,¹ criticised with justice the incompleteness of the published accounts, pointed out how inadequate still were the contributions paid by several Colleges to the Common University Fund: "the money-levy exacted" by the Commission of 1877-82 had never yet been paid in full.

"A well-off College, even if its main funds are protected as recent gifts, should not consider its duty to the University satisfied by the payment to the Common University Fund of a sum of £18 10s."²

He dealt frankly with the main anomalies which existed in financial administration. The University had no single Treasury, no Chancellor of the Exchequer and no Budget. It had an ancient University Chest, a modern Common University Fund and a newly-started University Re-endowment Fund. The whole financial system called for reconsideration, for more co-ordination and control. The Chancellor hazarded the suggestion that a central Board of Finance, to review the accounts both of the University and of the Colleges, might prove to be the most

¹ See Chapter VII of the Memorandum. The figures there given may be usefully compared with those given on pp. 196-9 of the Report of the Commission published in 1922.

² These words did not of course refer to Colleges like All Souls, Magdalen and others, which had done their duty well.

effective solution of difficulties which had never been adequately met.

Whatever might be thought of Lord Curzon's conclusions, the force of his Memorandum could not be denied. No Chancellor since the days of Laud had grappled so thoroughly with University problems. No document so authoritative or outspoken, so large in its survey, so illuminating in its comments, had been contributed of recent years to University reform. The Hebdomadal Council could not refuse to follow the lead given them, and in May 1909 they set to work in earnest on the subject. An exhaustive discussion took place. The President of Magdalen, acting as Vice-Chancellor, helped to make agreement easier and difficulties less. And a number of resolutions were adopted by Council,¹ accepting in principle the reform of Council, of Congregation and of Convocation, the establishment of a Board of Finance, the reconstitution of the Boards of Faculties, the abolition of compulsory Greek, and appointing Committees to consider these and various other subjects. The Council pledged itself, in the Chancellor's words, to a definite scheme of policy upon almost every debated issue of University reform.² In due course the Committees reported, new Statutes were proposed, and many debates took place upon them during the sixteen months which followed. A new Finance Statute was accepted.³ A General Board of Faculties was created.⁴ The orders or classes in the Hebdomadal Council were modified, so as to consist of three Heads of Houses only, with six Professors and nine others.⁵ Membership of Congregation was restricted to persons engaged in teaching or administrative work.⁶ Other proposals made by the Chancellor, especially those for the abolition of compulsory Greek, for greater liberality to women, and for the throwing open of theological degrees, secured a large measure of support. But ancient prepossessions proved hard to overcome. Convocation was more cautious or less liberal-minded than the residents in Oxford. The awakening caused by the Great War was needed to bring home to minds long inured to obstruction the wisdom and necessity of University reform.

At the same time inevitable changes were proceeding. The Ashmolean Museum was reorganised in two departments, one

¹ See the 14 resolutions published in the *Oxford Magazine* for May 6, 1909.

² See Lord Curzon's summary of the Council's conclusions, as set out in his introduction to the Report of the Hebdomadal Council on his Memorandum published in 1910.

³ In 1912, creating a Board of Finance (*Statuta Univ. Oxon.*, Tit. XIX, 18).

⁴ In 1913 (*Ib. Tit. V, S. xii*).

⁵ In 1915 (*Ib. Tit. XIII, S. ii*).

⁶ In 1913 (*Ib. Tit. X, S. iii*).

called the Antiquarium and the other the Department of Fine Arts.¹ St. Edmund Hall, marked down for extinction, was saved and preserved in its venerable independence. Mr. Walter Morrison, greatly daring, offered twenty thousand pounds if Balliol College would pull down and replace Mr. Butterfield's Chapel, but found the College lacking courage equal to his own.² Familiar figures passed—Mr. Vere Bayne, long Keeper of the Archives, a fine survivor of the older Common Rooms of Oxford, who had lived in Christ Church sixty years, and Dr. Bellamy, a member of the second University Commission, who for thirty-eight years had been President of St. John's College.³ Mr. Talbot gave place as University Burgess to Lord Hugh Cecil. Mr. Godley succeeded Dr. Merry as Public Orator, bringing a wit as quick and polished to his task. Mr. Madan succeeded Mr. Nicholson at the Bodleian, bringing a rich experience with him. New Professors were appointed, a Professor of Engineering in 1908, a Professor of Military History in 1909.⁴ Older Professors gave way to new-comers. Professor Murray, succeeding Professor Bywater in the Chair which Jowett had occupied so long, delivered his inaugural lecture to a great audience. Dr. Scott Holland was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity in 1911.⁵ Dr. Burge returned to be Bishop of Oxford. Dr. Lang had long since been Archbishop of York. Mr. Wells was elected Warden of Wadham College.⁶ New faces showed in the familiar streets. King Edward died, widely lamented, and the new Sovereign sent his son to join the University of Oxford, as his father had joined it fifty years before. At Magdalen, where King James' son, King Charles' elder brother, had won all hearts three centuries ago, the Prince of Wales found a home and a deep welcome for two happy years. But he lived, as his grandfather had not lived, an undergraduate's life, and he enjoyed, in companionship untouched by ceremony but not untouched

¹ The University Galleries and the Museum were incorporated in 1908 under one title. In 1894 the Ashmolean Collections had been transferred to new rooms beside the University Galleries, where the Professor of Classical Archæology had been installed since 1888.

² Mr. Morrison ultimately divided the money between Egyptology and pensions for Professors.

³ Mr. Vere Bayne died in 1908 (and was succeeded by Mr. R. L. Poole), Dr. Bellamy in 1909. Dr. Bellamy had resided in Oxford with only one year's absence since 1836. Dr. Tylor, "the Father of Anthropology," resigned his Chair at the end of 1909.

⁴ Mr. C. F. Jenkin and Mr. Spenser Wilkinson.

⁵ Among other Professorial changes Mr. A. J. Smith succeeded Dr. Case as Waynflete Professor of Moral Philosophy in 1910 and the President of Magdalen became Professor of Poetry in 1911.

⁶ Dr. Burge became Bishop of Oxford in 1919, Mr. Wells Warden of Wadham in 1913, Dr. Lang Archbishop of York in 1909.

by affection, all that Oxford could offer of honour and delight.

"Mense Octobri," said a fellow-student, speaking a few months later in the Hall of the College, "Princeps Walliae, dilectissimi regis filius, in hoc collegium receptus est, qui omnes comitate et simplicitate sua oblectavit, in studiis diligentissimum se praebuilt, in ludis acerrimum atque strenuissimum."¹

It is not often that a Latin compliment to Princes will bear such a literal translation. Many who might even have grudged their homage to a Sovereign paid irresistibly their homage to the man.

In the world of politics battles still raged fiercely. They grew fiercer as the critical year 1914 approached. The Union echoed these conflicts, but the University seemed to be in no way shaken. The debates on University reform continued. The Schools were full of candidates.² Finances flourished. The Press was a steady source of revenue.³ The College contributions to University objects had exceeded forty thousand pounds a year and showed signs of increasing further. Magdalen and All Souls were giving a generous lead.⁴ The contributions to the Re-endowment Fund were not to be despised. Old prejudices seemed to be softening, though old traditions were maintained. Oliver Cromwell's portrait was hung in the Bodleian.⁵ Mr. Bryce laid the foundation-stone of a Presbyterian Chapel for University men. It was noticed that he was the only Englishman proposed in 1914 for an Honorary degree.⁶ Sir William Anson's death that year was felt wherever Oxford men were gathered. But presently Mr. Rowland Prothero replaced him as University Member, and Mr. Francis Pember as Warden of All Souls. Exeter College kept its sexcentenary. At the end of May 1914 the Union condemned the "unnecessary and un-

¹ See the *Oxford Magazine* for May 8, 1913.

² The Modern History School had 193 entries in 1914: it reached 210 the year before: *Literae Humaniores* had 141, Law and Science respectively 99 and 92.

³ Lord Curzon put the receipts from the Press at an average of £5,200 a year for 36 years up to 1907. (See his Memorandum, p. 164.)

⁴ In 1908 the Colleges were giving, it seems, almost £40,000 a year to University objects, Magdalen over £9,000, Christ Church and All Souls over £6,000 each, Merton and New College about £4,000 each, and Brasenose not much less. (See the figures given in the *Oxford Magazine* for April 30 and May 14, 1908, and compare them with those in Lord Curzon's Memorandum of 1909.) Fresh endowments were promised in 1909 by All Souls and St. John's, and Magdalen largely increased its contribution in 1914.

⁵ It may be added that Roger Bacon's statue was unveiled at the Museum.

⁶ And he might—on a Scotch platform—have repudiated the designation.

natural" policy of the Triple Entente.¹ In June the German Ambassador visited Oxford, to glorify the Hundred Years of Peace, and a banquet at the Masonic Hall sanctified "the *Wahlverwandschaft* between German Geist and Oxonian Kultur." The summer term brought its tale of toils and pleasures to a close. Before the autumn term began, the Examination Schools had been turned into a Hospital. The Yeomanry occupied Christ Church. Territorials were housed in Balliol and in Keble. Over two thousand applications for commissions had been received. The streets were emptied of their accustomed occupants. The youth of Oxford had gone out to war.

This is not the place to dwell upon that moving story, the fearless sacrifice, the splendour of achievement, the irremediable loss. The effects of the Great War on the University were immediate. By the beginning of 1915 the numbers in residence had fallen from three thousand to one thousand. A year later they had fallen to five hundred and fifty. By the end of 1917 there were only three hundred and fifty students, of whom fifty were Orientals not allowed to serve, twenty-five were foreign refugees, thirty medical students, and about a hundred and twenty boys waiting to qualify for Officer Cadet Battalions.² Specialists were busy in chemical laboratories. Professors were engaged in Government work. Few teachers under fifty remained. And College servants also played their part as men. Games practically ceased till the Cadets revived them. College clubs and interests languished. At the Union the heart had gone out of debates. Rules inevitably had to be re-made. Emergency legislation was needed. Fees fell off. Finances showed a deficit.³ Rigid economies were instituted, Professorships and Scholarships suspended, grants and salaries reduced. All members of Congregation were invited to subscribe thirty shillings a year to the University funds. The lists of dead came in. One young Guardsman, among the first to fall, had gaily registered "Brain-

¹ The writer may be allowed to mention that the cause of the Entente was defended by a Balliol undergraduate, V. A. L. Mallet, whose father and uncle, Sir Bernard and Sir Louis Mallet, had added in their day to the distinctions of the College.

² In June 1917 there were 47 entries for the Final Pass Schools, about one-ninth of the pre-war average.

³ But University finance stood the strain well: the Colleges suffered more. Wise economies and new contributions and the Emergency Fund started proved very useful. The University accounts for the year ending December 31, 1918, showed receipts of £82,000 and expenditure of £92,000. But the deficit was made good out of the Emergency Fund, and that fund carried forward £43,000 to 1919. (See *Oxford Magazine* for May 23, 1919.)

fag Oxford " as his telegraphic address.¹ A young Gladstone of Hawarden was killed early in 1915. Recent Commoners of Oxford Colleges served and fell, no doubt, among the German troops.² The Rhodes Scholars had flocked into the Imperial Service.³ The Vice-Chancellor, Dean Strong, was deeply occupied with public interests. The new Master of Balliol, Mr. A. L. Smith, was prominent among those who found time to help the State.

"No one," wrote a contemporary on Smith's election, "has ever better deserved, for strenuous or whole-hearted personal service, the first place and honour which his College could give." ⁴

He lived at least to serve it till happier days appeared.

The hard work of the war went on, many Heads of Colleges and Oxford leaders co-operating freely. The School of Instruction for young officers, formed at Oxford at the end of 1914, passed three thousand young officers through in fifteen months. In March 1916 it became the training-ground for two Officer Cadet Battalions, in which candidates for commissions were prepared. These Battalions were quartered in the Colleges, in Keble and Wadham, in New College, Hertford, Magdalen, Trinity and elsewhere. A School of Military Aeronautics was formed. Cadets and mechanics of the Air Force found quarters at several Colleges, including Christ Church and Exeter, Brasenose, Corpus and Queen's.⁵ The Clarendon Press was busy producing books and pamphlets on the war. May-day came round to find an Oxford poet singing

"I walk in ways where pain and sorrow dwell,
And ruin, such as only war can bring . . .
Fraught with remembered horrors none can tell,
And no more is there glory in the spring."

By the end of 1916 the lists showed that Christ Church had well over a thousand men serving, New College nearly a thousand, Magdalen over seven hundred, Balliol only a few less. Many had fallen. The New College tale was longest, a hundred and thirty killed. Many had won distinctions. Three Balliol men, among others, had received the Victoria Cross.⁶ The years

¹ The Hon. J. N. Manners of Balliol.

² Among others, Von Hindenburg (1892) and Von Bethmann Hollweg (1908), the latter a Rhodes Scholar, were Balliol names before the war.

³ 167 had taken commissions before March 1916, of whom by that time several had won distinctions and six were already dead.

⁴ Mr. Smith's Mastership dated from May 1916. His predecessor, Mr. Strachan-Davidson, was mourned by innumerable friends.

⁵ On these points see the introduction to the *Roll of Service* issued in 1920 by the Clarendon Press.

⁶ See the figures given in the *Oxford Magazine* for December 8, 1916.

moved slowly forward. French and Italian Professors were welcomed in Oxford.¹ Serbian students were received at the Colleges. St. John's provided for Belgian boys. Merton found space for hospital nurses, University for hospital patients. There was a branch hospital at Somerville,² an aerodrome at Port Meadow, a camp in the Parks. Games revived where the Cadets fought matches on behalf of the Colleges which sheltered and adopted them. The gravest crisis came and passed. An "infinite tremendous hope" began, "that there shall come an ending." In October 1918, when the Allied advance was rolling onwards, the University saw the first heralds of the revival, forty disabled soldiers, in residence once more. The rejoicings over the Armistice were quiet: young Oxford was still absent at the front. But enough of the ancient spirit remained to paint the "Cæsars'" heads round the Sheldonian red during the night. The grim task was done. The grim totals remained to be counted. Over fourteen thousand, five hundred members of the University had enlisted in the Forces of the Crown. Sixteen Victoria Crosses, with countless distinctions only less ennobling, had been won by Oxford men.³ The losses of New College were still heaviest, two hundred and fifty-seven. Christ Church came next with two hundred and twenty-five killed or permanently missing, then Balliol with a hundred and ninety-three. But each College had its tale of sorrow, its share of unforgotten service.⁴ Few men died, it may be, with more glory than some of these, so lately happy-hearted boys. "Yet many died, and there was much glory."

III

Slowly but steadily students and teachers took up the thread of life again. Academic legislation had not ceased during the war, though some had felt that controversial proposals ought not to be brought forward. Plans for the reform of Moderations and Responsions, for freedom from some of the old restrictions, were revived. The needs of science were widely discussed and admitted. The financial situation had been difficult, and demands for public money not unnaturally arose. Men now accustomed to the State's colossal expenditure persuaded themselves that its resources were boundless, that the needy had only to ask to receive. The expansive temper of Government and public seemed to encourage this idea. The Warden of Wadham

¹ In 1916 and 1918. The Italians found Blenheim "un luogo maraviglioso."

² Somerville students found shelter at Oriel.

³ Captain N. G. Chavasse of Trinity even won a bar to his V.C.

⁴ See the *Oxford University Roll of Service* (1920).

introduced and carried in June 1919 a proposal that the University should apply for a Government grant. On all sides the spirit of change was at work. Important steps were being taken to carry out Lord Curzon's ideas.¹ The constitution of Council and of Congregation had already been revised. The Faculties and their Boards had been reconstructed, and a General Board of Faculties created to co-ordinate teaching and relieve Council of some of its duties. A new Board of Finance had been set up.² And Statutes involving the abolition of compulsory Greek, the removal of denominational restrictions for divinity degrees, the admission of women not to degrees only but to full membership of the University—the collapse of the old opposition was most significant here—showed that a new wind was blowing through the ancient ways. A Committee presided over by the Master of Balliol declared that adult education was a permanent national necessity, “an inseparable aspect of citizenship,” and should therefore be “both universal and lifelong.”³ In November 1919 another Royal Commission was appointed, by a Minister who had not long since been a distinguished Tutor at an Oxford College, and who was ere long to return to that College as its Head. Mr. Asquith, the Chairman, was supported by a remarkable list of representative names. And by the spring of 1920 the new Commission was steadily at work.

Meanwhile the familiar activities revived. In January 1919 the Union Society was debating whether the world ought to be made safe for democracy or not.⁴ Undergraduates were returning to their old employments, their games, their clubs, their studies. In October 1919 there were gathered in Oxford more undergraduates than the University had ever seen before. The pressure on space was very great. The Colleges were overcrowded. The estimate of students in residence had risen in 1920 to four thousand, six hundred and fifty. The expenses of College life were heavier, and in every College efforts for greater economy were made. Something of the old, easy, light-hearted spirit had passed away. Reading was more universal. Short courses in Honours were arranged for men who had served in the war. Experienced Tutors found that the new generation yielded the best pupils that they had ever had. The balance-

¹ Even before the Royal Commission reported.

² In 1920, however, a new Board of Curators of the University Chest superseded both the Board of Finance and the old Curators of the Chest.

³ See Mr. A. L. Smith's introduction to the *Final Report of the Adult Education Committee* (1919).

⁴ Mr. Sidney Ball of St. John's, who died in 1918, had rendered valuable service as Treasurer in carrying the Union on during the war, and shortly before the end of 1917 an Emergency Standing Committee had been appointed to help him.

between work and play, between intellect and athletics, inclined to work and intellect much more than before. Seriousness had increased. Sadness was not wanting. Returns, wrote one of the older students, were apt to be unsatisfying things for those who had left an arm, an eye and all their youth behind.¹ Many men only asked for leave to turn their backs upon that picture. War memorials rose quickly and properly at every College. But generally speaking undergraduate society became "a burning conspiracy to forget war."² Old soldiers were thankful to submit to the tame docilities of civil life. Young Dons from the front treated their service pupils as their equals. A Brigadier-General, rebuked, on the day of resuming civilian dress, for walking on the grass of his College quadrangle, by a Don who had served as a Second Lieutenant in the Army Service Corps, chuckled, obeyed and passed on. Games were played with additional intensity, clubs re-started, magazines produced, debates fought out with even greater fervour. New periodicals, bearing strange titles,³ showed that some at least of the ancient irresponsibility survived. A veteran of the "forties" and the "fifties," visiting Oxford in June 1921, to see M. Clémenceau rapturously received in the Sheldonian and *Twelfth Night* played in the gardens of Wadham on a summer afternoon, found little to complain of in the stir and bustle, the new learning and the new ideas, the army of young men and women whirling about on wheels through every by-way, the vision of bare heads, bare necks, bare limbs, the easy freedoms of unsophisticated youth.⁴ The changes on the surface were innumerable. But there was little change in the essential things.

With the revival after the war a new chapter of Oxford history opens, a chapter with which only later chroniclers can deal. Dr. Blakiston brought to an end in 1920 his difficult labours as Vice-Chancellor. Dr. Farnell reigned till 1923 and gave place in turn to Mr. Wells. The Warden of All Souls succeeded the Warden of Wadham in 1926. Many new Heads of Houses appeared. Between 1913 and 1926 three-fourths of the College rulers were renewed.⁵ And the new rulers were invariably

¹ See the *Oxford Magazine* for May 16, 1919.

² I am quoting a Note kindly made for me by Mr. Guy Boas of Christ Church on experiences at Oxford just after the war.

³ E.g. *The Infant, The Goat, The Topaz of Ethiopia, Bumps, Hush, The Aunt, The Spout, The Cardinal's Hat* and *The Oxford Outlook, The Oxford Fortnightly* and *The New Oxford* were perhaps more promising, if in title more tame. *The American Oxonian*, the Rhodes Scholars' journal, was started in 1914.

⁴ Mr. Frederic Harrison, who died in 1923 at the age of 91, and was buried in the Chapel of his old College, described in the *Times* of July 5, 1921, a visit which he had recently paid to Oxford.

⁵ Seventeen out of twenty-two Houses, Exeter, Wadham, Oriel, All

welcome, though they replaced others long honoured and well known. In 1924 Mr. A. L. Smith's death removed one of the most representative figures in Oxford, and one of those perhaps best loved. Dr. Case's retirement left a vacancy at Corpus. Dr. Spooner's withdrawal from New College—he had been the first open Scholar of that great foundation—helped to close a memorable epoch there. And others as well as they left memories warm with affection to pupils and friends.¹ Death took its toll not only among Heads of Colleges.² Lord Loreburn died and Lord Grey of Fallodon succeeded him as Visitor of Balliol, a statesman singularly rich in the regard of men. Mr. Asquith passed from the House of Commons, taking his title from the University city where his early triumphs had been won. The year 1925 removed Lord Curzon, a Chancellor who had rendered signal service, a public man of great and high ambitions, and of a spirit and industry worthy of his aims. Lord Milner was proposed as his successor, but died before the plan was carried through. In October Lord Cave was elected to the Chancellorship, and brought back that rare distinction to St. John's again. Discussions on new Statutes went on. Schools developed. Teachers increased. New Professorships and Readerships had grown up. By the year 1927 the University possessed ten Boards of Faculties³ and counted some eighty Professors and seventy Lecturers or Readers among its teaching staff. New buildings were proposed. The Commission asked that fifteen acres in the Parks should be assigned to science. A new bridge was built across the Cherwell, and the Parks found extension and compensation there. The Prince of Wales came to unveil the War Memorial at Magdalen. The Queen visited Oxford in the same year, 1921. The Union celebrated its centenary in 1924 with a banquet at which illustrious speakers exemplified its training

Souls, Pembroke, Lincoln, Worcester, Brasenose, Christ Church, Keble, Hertford, University, St. Edmund Hall, Balliol, Corpus, New College and Jesus, received new Heads—of whom a substantial majority were laymen—between the beginning of 1913 and the early days of 1926. Only two Heads with a long record remained, Dr. Magrath, elected in 1878 at Queen's, and Sir H. Warren, elected in 1885 at Magdalen.

¹ Dr. Macan was succeeded by Sir M. E. Sadler at University in 1923. Mr. Lindsay became Master of Balliol and Mr. P. S. Allen President of Corpus in 1924. Mr. Fisher at New College and Dr. Hazel at Jesus entered on their duties in 1925 or 1926.

² Many other figures well-known in Oxford passed away between 1915 and 1927, whose names I will not dwell on here.

³ Besides the General Board of Faculties and three Boards of Studies. Among other changes there was a remarkable development of the Modern Languages School in 1919–20, a School of Agriculture and Forestry was founded in 1920, and a new Final Honour School of Philosophy, Politics and Economics approved in 1921.

and its fame.¹ It had lately recorded its desire to return to Victorian ideals, and its conviction that the overwhelming defeat of Germany had proved a misfortune for Europe. The bicentenary of Wren's death was followed by the sexcentenary of Oriel College. The gloom of the war years slowly lifted. The natural joyousness of the University returned. In the autumn of 1926 Oxford freshmen were coming up in numbers which not even the new entrance examination could discourage or repress.²

The Report of the Royal Commission was issued in 1922, and the Oxford and Cambridge Universities Act, giving effect to its principal conclusions, received the Royal Assent in the following year. Of the value and interest of the Commission's Report, its width of outlook, its liberality of temper, there could be only one opinion. It preserved the independence of the Colleges. It introduced into the University no external control. But it was inevitably preoccupied with financial considerations,³ and its most important recommendation was that the University should receive a large annual grant from the State. The Commissioners found that University teachers were insufficient in number and insufficiently paid. They asked for more staff and for the encouragement of more studies, for better salaries and pensions, for the further endowment of research, for a better provision for Libraries, Museums and Laboratories, for new sites and new buildings, for more money for women's education and for extra-mural work. In the government of the University their recommendations confirmed and extended some of the changes recently proposed. They swept away all remaining distinctions of orders in the Hebdomadal Council. All places there, except those of *ex officio* members, were to be filled by open election.⁴ Congregation was to be confined to members of the University who took part in teaching or administrative work. Convocation was to be deprived of its absolute right to veto new Statutes if Congregation persisted in them. Council, rendered more democratic, would thus retain its initiative in legislation,

¹ Lord Curzon, Mr. Asquith, Sir J. Simon, Archbishop Lang, Lord Birkenhead, Dr. Temple, Lord Cecil and Mr. Belloc were among the speakers. See the printed report of the proceedings.

² But the examination excluded some candidates. In a list of freshmen published in the *Oxford Magazine* for October 21, 1926, Christ Church was credited with 81, Balliol with 80, Exeter and New College with 70 each.

³ "Whereas We have deemed it expedient that a Commission should forthwith issue to consider the applications which have been made by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge for financial assistance from the State"—so ran the preamble.

⁴ The Heads of Houses serving in 1927 were the Provost of Worcester and the Principals of Jesus, Hertford, St. Edmund Hall and Lady Margaret Hall.

while Congregation, already rendered more representative of the real life of Oxford, would become the real Legislature of the University, and able to carry through necessary changes in the long run even if Convocation disapproved. For the General Board of Faculties they proposed to substitute a Board of Studies and Research, and for the recently-created Delegacy of the University Chest a new Finance Board: but they rejected the suggestion that Government representatives should serve upon these Boards. They approved and confirmed the system of Faculties at Oxford, and made valuable proposals for the better organisation of teaching and research. They recommended more elasticity in regard to the hours and duties of teachers, better opportunities for specialisation, better status, better rates of pay. Professors' salaries, it was suggested, should be raised to twelve hundred pounds a year. They realised the need of co-ordinating and harmonising University and College teaching. They recognised that the provision of lectures was a special duty of the University and that individual teaching was the special strength of the College system. They attached great importance to the combination of College endowment for research with payment for actual teaching. They laid great stress on the value of advanced work. They suggested that the burdens of tuition might be more equally distributed, that College Fellowships might be generally reorganised, their number increased and their remuneration in some cases improved.¹ The connection between the Colleges and the Professorial Chairs should be strengthened.² And it should be regarded as essential, alike for University and for College teaching, that it should be done by men "who have a capacity for increasing as well as for imparting knowledge."

The Commissioners considered in detail the special conditions of All Souls College, and advised that its special character should be maintained. It was pointed out that All Souls had risen nobly to the obligations imposed upon it, and had, like Magdalen, contributed to the needs of the University much more than statutory demands imposed.³ They made suggestions for the development of scientific teaching.⁴ They strongly encouraged

¹ For Unofficial Fellowships a maximum of £300 was suggested, for Official Fellowships a maximum of £500 (*Report* of 1922, p. 107).

² Non-stipendiary Fellowships should be available for every Professor. They should each have "an academical home and an assured College status" (*Ib.* p. 103).

³ See pp. 108-13 of the *Report*. In 1920 out of a net income of £20,000, All Souls contributed four-fifths, £16,000, for University and external purposes. In that year the Colleges as a whole contributed nearly £77,000 in cash and kind to University purposes, of which £58,000 was paid under Statute (*Ib.* pp. 204-5).

⁴ On the continued need for College Laboratories some doubt was expressed (*Ib.* pp. 116-17).

extra-mural work, both Extension Lectures and Tutorial Classes.¹ It was to be regarded as a necessary part of the University system, and to receive a special grant of six thousand pounds a year. Close attention was given to the question of providing facilities for poor students and of reducing the expenses of College life. The Commissioners proposed that Scholarships should normally carry only the privilege of rooms in College, and that emoluments in money should be reserved for those who could not afford to reside in Oxford without them. Inquiry into the needs of applicants would be necessary, and a Central Committee should be established in each University to lay down principles on the subject. Simpler standards of living were suggested, bed-sitting-rooms, cheap meals in Hall, more efficiency in catering and accounting, more economy in the management and in the purchase of supplies. Some novel machinery was tentatively recommended for this purpose.² Steps, it was advised, should be taken "to raise the general intellectual standard" of Non-Collegiate students, as well as to supply more funds for their benefit, to make provision for older men qualified for University training,³ to develop State Scholarships and Local Scholarships too. The Commissioners, reviving an old controversy, insisted on a University entrance examination. They recommended more facilities for Vacation study. They pointed out the necessity of a comprehensive and adequate pension scheme. But a pension scheme implied an age for retirement, seventy for Heads of Houses, sixty-five for the teaching and administrative staff. They were of opinion that the Women's Colleges should be placed on a more satisfactory financial footing by receiving, for a period of ten years only, a grant of four thousand pounds a year. And they wound up by asking for a Statutory Commission with power to modify Statutes and to alter trusts.

Other points also were considered and other recommendations made.⁴ But the most serious change was the proposal to make the University to a large extent financially dependent on the State. For this proposal there were solid grounds. The difficulties felt during the years of war, the immediate pressure of circumstances in the years which followed, the sharp rise in

¹ A New Board with two Committees, one for Extension Lectures and one for Tutorial Classes, was proposed (*Ib.* p. 129).

² A resident Catering and Buying Expert was to be appointed by the University, with "an outside business man in the catering world to consider his reports" (*Ib.* p. 152). These proposals did not escape criticism.

³ On Adult Students see pp. 159 to 164 of the Report.

⁴ One may be mentioned, that every proposal for a change in College Statutes, whatever its nature, should be communicated or submitted to the University before going to the Privy Council (*Ib.* pp. 202 and 248).

prices, the inadequacy of many existing salaries and arrangements, the rush of new students, the need of new teachers, the large demands for educational facilities and for fresh expenditure on every side, weighed heavily with the Commissioners' advisers. The desire to do justice both to teachers and to students, to provide alike for learning and for poverty, to make the old Universities in all respects worthy of their incomparable traditions, seemed to necessitate a generous response. Without a large increase in fees, in College payments or in private benefactions it seemed difficult to provide for urgent needs. The Commissioners came to the conclusion that none of these alternatives offered the relief immediately required, although they looked to private benefactions as the chief hope of the Universities in future. To a grant of public money to the Colleges they were opposed. But they decided to recommend that the University of Oxford should receive an annual grant of a hundred thousand pounds from the State, in addition to ten thousand pounds a year for special purposes and a lump sum for pension arrears.¹ Critics of this proposal doubted the necessity for so large and significant a change. It was pointed out that the University's finances had stood the strain of war surprisingly well and already showed promise of recuperation. In the year 1920 ² the available University income amounted to two hundred and ten thousand pounds,³ and the University expenditure to a hundred and ninety-five thousand, while the available income of the Colleges was six hundred and thirteen thousand, as against an expenditure of five hundred and seventy-nine. Taken together, the University and the Colleges had eight hundred and twenty-four thousand a year to dispose of, and their income exceeded their expenditure by very nearly fifty thousand pounds.⁴ Stern economists questioned whether these figures justified prodigality on the part of an impoverished Exchequer. It was urged that time was required to consider thoroughly so serious a new departure, that no hasty decision, taken in exceptional years and under exceptional conditions, should be allowed to commit the University to permanent dependence on the State.

¹ And in addition also to certain Departmental grants of about £12,000 a year, which the University already received. It must be remembered that the University receipts already included a Government Emergency Grant which exceeded £28,000. Of the £100,000 now asked for £90,000 was to be for general purposes and £10,000 for the Bodleian Library.

² The year for which detailed figures were given in the Report (pp. 196-9).

³ This included the Emergency Grant from the Government and the Departmental Grants also.

⁴ It is interesting to compare these figures with those in the Commission's Report of 1874.

The advocates of the new system were reminded that charity had its consequences as well as its spoils, that independence once lost was not easily recovered, that the acceptance of public money might in future make it difficult to resist some measure of public control. It was suggested that, if grants from the Treasury were taken, they should be grants made for special purposes, for institutions or branches of study which had special claims on national support. And it was questioned whether private benefactors would be likely to come forward so readily in future, once it was realised that the University had become a pensioner of the State. There was some power still in the ideals of frugality and independence on which for many generations the University's greatness had been built.

Oxford, the ancient home of disputation, permitted itself this expression of opinion. But the Commissioners' conclusions and their open-handed liberality naturally won a large measure of support. The time has not yet come to judge of their proposals fully, or to review the changes which have already followed on the Act of 1923.¹ But on some points agreement has been readily secured. The Hebdomadal Council has taken a more popular form. Congregation has established its right to regulate the affairs of the University without undue interference from Convocation. The organisation of studies has been extended and improved.² The General Board of Faculties, the supreme authority on all questions of study, remains, with powers substantially undiminished, but reduced in numbers from twenty to twelve.³ The appointment of recognised teachers as University Lecturers with additional pay will, it is hoped, give their teaching a new character and status and prove to be of service to College finance.⁴ The Board of Finance has been slightly reconstituted, and the supervision of accounts more fully

¹ The Statutory Commission set up for Oxford by the Act of 1923 included Lord Chelmsford, Bishop Strong, Sir A. Garrod, Miss Penrose, the Warden of All Souls, the Provost of Worcester, and Messrs. S. C. Peel, P. E. Matheson, D. G. Hogarth, C. R. Cruttwell and A. Mansbridge. The results of their work will be best seen in the published Statutes of 1926.

² If evidence of the extension of Oxford studies in recent years is needed, it may be found in a very visible form in the group of scientific foundations bordering on the Parks, beginning with the scarlet building opposite Keble, presented by the Drapers' Company in June 1910 for the study of Electrical Science, and extending South and East of that far along the South Parks Road. Further North the Engineering School built before the war has been extended since.

³ Besides three *ex-officio* members. See *Statuta Univ. Oxon.*, 1926 (*Tit. V*, S. ix). Proposals made by the General Board and not approved by Council are to be referred to a Joint Committee of the two bodies with the Vice-Chancellor as Chairman (Ss. 2, cl. 5).

⁴ *Ib.* (*Tit. V*, S. vi). See also S. vii—"of University Demonstrators.

developed as regards the University and the Colleges alike.¹ Provision is made for a Statutory Committee of Estates Bursars which may give valuable help with College accounts.² And on questions of catering and kitchen management an Inter-Collegiate Committee of Domestic Bursars will replace the more perplexing arrangements suggested by the late Commission.³ Some of the new proposals have of course encountered criticism. But in the end the Colleges have been asked to surrender nothing essential to their independence. Conditions have been laid down for the grant of Scholarships which, while maintaining the high status and qualifications of Scholars, aim at reserving their more substantial emoluments for men of narrow means, and an Inter-Collegiate Committee has been appointed to advise on that subject. An age limit has been adopted for teachers and even for Heads of Colleges. A liberal pension fund has been established. Fellowships have become definitely official or non-official. The old Prize Fellowships have ceased. Even at All Souls some special study or research is⁴ required. Before appointing to an official Fellowship the Colleges are now expected to consult the Board of Faculty concerned. But this check on College appointments is not likely to be abused.⁴ It may well be that the generous grant of public money has tended to smooth these processes of change. But whether with State aid or without it the future of Oxford and its foundations is assured.

The ancient Universities have lately passed through some of the hardest tests that can confront a nation. They have emerged substantially unaltered, stronger in effort and achievement than before. Somnolent, privileged, obscurantist as they appeared to older generations of reformers, they have yet contrived to lay a spell upon democracy which none of the younger generations can resist. Age has done much to weave romance about them. Many centuries have passed since they set up their Schools, since Kings and churchmen cast their mantle round them, since wealth began to follow where piety and learning led. No revolution has been suffered to destroy them. Parliament in the seventeenth century was slow to raise a hand against foundations where Pym and Hampden, Milton, Cromwell had been reared. Names little less illustrious, Walpole and Chatham, Fox and Pitt and Peel and Gladstone, guarded them

¹ *Statuta Univ. Oxon.*, 1926 (*Tit. XIX*, Ss. 16 sq.).

² *Ib.* (*Tit. XIX*, Ss. 21, 3).

³ *Ib.* (*Tit. XIX*, Ss. 23). This Committee will nominate a firm of accountants to inspect triennially kitchen accounts.

⁴ See on these points also the Statutes of 1926 (*Tit. XII*, S. v, *Tit. XXIV*, *Tit. XXV*, *Tit. V*, S. iv, Ss. 3, etc.).

later from inconsiderate attack. But the part which they have played in English history has made Oxford and Cambridge national possessions: and the demand that they shall share with many never yet admitted their noble courts and spacious, pleasant places, and all their kingdom of opportunity and power, is a demand which few may be willing to deny. So far as it has found utterance already, it has been wisely met. To extend the boundaries of a close, historic system without changing its character or standards, to adapt its methods to new circumstances and wider needs, to breathe fresh life into the old philosophies, to reconcile the older learning with the imperious advance of thought—these are among the problems which the Universities may be called upon to solve. It is not likely that the Church will ever lose her influence in Oxford, if by the Church is meant not a political or hierarchical conception but the pursuit of things divine. Creeds may grow shadowy and watchwords alter. But ideas will not perish even when science prevails. It is not likely that any generation of Englishmen will wish to see those royal Colleges dismantled, their loveliness disfigured or despoiled. The rush of life outside will only deepen the charm of their grey beauty and abiding peace. Nor is it likely that the love of letters, of clear, fine thought, of judgment and expression, will as education strengthens fail in its appeal. The future holds no grounds for apprehension so long as the spirit of Oxford survives, a spirit of immortal memories and immortal youth, ever awakening the impulse to attainment, ever unsealing the sanctuaries of knowledge for those who seek to enter an enchanted land.

APPENDIX A

THE ASHMOLEAN BUILDING

I HAVE stated briefly in an earlier volume (II, 435-6) what I believe to be the facts about the building of the Ashmolean Museum. They are well-ascertained, and the evidence so far forthcoming seems to leave little room for doubt. But, as they have been recently questioned, it may be worth while to examine them in more detail.

Let me take the contemporary evidence first. We have an Oxford print by M. Burghers, dedicated to Dr. Halton in his fourth Vice-Chancellorship (from October 1685 to September 1686), which gives the name of T. Wood as architect, and which does not seem to have been challenged at the time. We have T. Wood's bills from 1679 to 1683, with details of the expenditure, in the University Archives (*Computus Vice-Canc.* 1666-1697). He seems to have been both architect and builder, as was frequently the case with Oxford buildings of the seventeenth century, and the University Bailiff, Mr. Davis, supervised the work. We have Wood's name and Davis's name and the names of several of the workmen in the Vice-Chancellor's Accounts, and from first to last in the story of the building there is no mention of Christopher Wren. That alone is not conclusive; Hawksmoor's name is not mentioned in the Vice-Chancellor's Accounts for the Clarendon Building. But Wren was more famous than Hawksmoor, and his name is not omitted from the Sheldonian accounts. Apart from the University Archives, there is a full description of the new Museum in Edward Chamberlayne's *Angliae Notitia*—both in the issue of 1684 and in the issue of 1687—which, Dr. R. T. Gunther has suggested, may have been written by the first Curator, Dr. Plot. Whether that be so or not, there is no reason to doubt that it is substantially correct. Anthony Wood, who was living in Oxford at the time, and who must have watched the Museum rising, copied out this description from Chamberlayne's issue of 1687, with a few insignificant changes (see *Wood MS. F. 31, f. 141*, and Clark's *Life of Wood*, O.H.S., III, 54-6). Dr. Ayliffe, who matriculated in 1696, quoted, abbreviated and supplemented this description later (*Antient and Present State of the University of Oxford*, I, 475-6). Chamberlayne, Plot, Anthony Wood and Ayliffe were all Oxford men, living in Wren's life-time and in a position to know the facts. Anthony Wood, in particular, could hardly have failed to be aware of it, if the Museum had been the work of Wren; and I find it difficult to believe that in that case he would have omitted all mention of Wren's name.

No evidence indeed has yet been forthcoming to show that any of Thomas Wood's contemporaries doubted the claim made on his behalf.

But it was not only Wren's contemporaries who ignored his share, if he had any, in the Ashmolean. His son and his grandson ignored it also, to say nothing of the great architect himself. In 1720 Sir Christopher's son seems to have drawn up a list of his father's buildings, which is to be found in Lansdowne MS. 698 in the British Museum (pp. 143-45, part of the brief *Chronologica Series Vitae, et Actorum, Hon^{ms} Patris mei D^{ns} Chr^t Wren Eq. Aur.*), and which has been printed inexactly by Elmes. In this list, which appears to have Sir Christopher's concurrence—at least there are written on the back of the title-page the words "Collata Oct. 1720 CW"—the Ashmolean is not included. And in 1750 Sir Christopher's grandson published in the *Parentalia*, Memoirs of the Wren family, in the publication of which Joseph Ames had a hand, another list of Wren's works at Oxford, which again leaves the Ashmolean out. (See Section XII.) It is fair to add that both these lists are incomplete and inaccurate: both omit to mention Wren's work at Trinity, and the earlier one omits to mention Wren's work at Christ Church too. But still it is worth noting that neither Wren nor his son nor his grandson, any more than his contemporaries in Oxford, claimed the Ashmolean as his work.

The nineteenth century, however, had no such hesitations. In 1814 Ackermann published two large illustrated volumes upon Oxford, in which the history was written by William Combe, an Oxford man with a curious story, not specially distinguished for reliability of statement. He boldly declared that the Ashmolean Museum was the work of Wren, and with equal courage he attributed the Clarendon Building to Vanbrugh and Laud's quadrangle at St. John's to Inigo Jones. (See Vol. II of Ackermann's *History of the University of Oxford*, pp. 235, 238 and 130.) Combe produced no evidence for any of these statements. He may have picked them up from current talk or local guide-books; he was probably unaware that they required some proof. And they were, no doubt, in loose circulation when James Elmes appeared upon the scene. Elmes devoted a good deal of time and labour to writing about Wren. He brought out in 1823 a large volume of *Memoirs of the Life and Works of Sir Christopher Wren*, and many years later, in 1852, he issued another lighter volume entitled *Sir Christopher Wren and His Times*. In these two volumes he made several statements which are both uncritical and misleading. In the first (1823) he accepted without examination the theory that Laud's quadrangle at St. John's was by Inigo Jones, and passed on to statements about Gibbs and Hawksmoor which are not conspicuous for knowledge or for judgment (see pp. xxxiii and xxxvi). He dealt rather fully with Wren's work on the Sheldonian and at Trinity College (Oxford), and he printed the well-known letter of 1668 in which Wren sketched out a plan for a house for the Royal Society in London. He stated boldly under 1683 that "another of Sir Christopher Wren's public works this year was that useful structure, the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford" (p. 428). But he produced no

evidence for this statement, and it apparently did not occur to him that the Ashmolean could have anything to do with the plan suggested for the Royal Society fifteen years before. He credited Wren with the building of Queen's College Chapel, on the strength, no doubt, of the Lansdowne MS., to which he referred. But, oddly enough, he omitted all mention of Wren's work at Christ Church. In the later volume (1852) Elmes repeated (p. 301) the brief statement ascribing the Ashmolean to Wren: he printed rather inexactly and without any comment on its discrepancies, the list in the Lansdowne MS., which says nothing about the Ashmolean Museum (pp. 414-19): and he then went on to print a fuller list of his own (pp. 420-35), in which the Ashmolean is again inserted, and in which Wren's work at Christ Church and at Trinity are left out. Finally, he included in this last list, under the date of 1711, which purported to be the date of its completion, the building for the Royal Society in London, which Wren had sketched out forty-three years earlier, but which never came into existence at all. It will be admitted that some better authority than Elmes's statements may be needed to establish Wren's responsibility for the Ashmolean Museum.

The twentieth century, however, has done what it could to supply the void. The *Dictionary of National Biography* has briefly declared the Ashmolean to be one of Wren's best works, again without producing any evidence on the subject (see the article on Sir C. Wren). And more recently Dr. R. T. Gunther has suggested some possible arguments in support of the idea. Dr. Gunther has devoted so much time and thought to the Ashmolean that any theory he propounds is entitled to respect. But he will, I am sure, forgive me if I point out where I think his theory fails. In a small pamphlet entitled *Historic Instruments for the Advancement of Science* (1925) Dr. Gunther suggests that the interior of the Ashmolean at any rate was Wren's design, and "embodied all the more important features" of the plan proposed for the Royal Society's house in 1668. I am not sure whether in this pamphlet Dr. Gunther intended to claim the external features of the Ashmolean as Wren's work or not. Of the most remarkable external feature, the great doorway on the East, the "very magnificent Portal" of the contemporary descriptions, Dr. Gunther only says in his pamphlet "as to its designer we know nothing." But in an article published in *Country Life* on May 9, 1825, Dr. Gunther seems to carry further the claim made on Wren's behalf. It is there stated in positive terms that Wren's design for the Royal Society "was executed in Oxford" as the Ashmolean Museum, and that the building is "one of the most interesting, as one of the smallest, of Wren's works." Its history is said to be known and the builders' bills for it preserved: it might have been added that those bills contain no record of Wren's plan and no mention of Wren's name. The East doorway is described as "a great welcoming doorway." Wren, it is said, "grasped this essential," and the result is "the superb portal"—words which seem to convey the impression that the doorway was designed by Wren. For this view no evidence has ever been produced. Architectural theories are dangerous things: but those who have studied the work

of Oxford builders in the seventeenth century, the bold mingling of styles on which they ventured, and the admirable effects which they sometimes secured, will understand how an ornamental feature like the great Ashmolean doorway—borrowed, it may be, from some building elsewhere—might appeal to an Oxford builder of that day, more readily perhaps than to a professional architect like Sir Christopher Wren or Inigo Jones. One recalls the porch added to St. Mary's, with its effective though incongruous design, the work of John Jackson, the great Oxford builder of the earlier part of the century, whose work has been repeatedly attributed to Inigo Jones, and whom it may not be fanciful to consider the forerunner of Thomas Wood. In Dr. Gunther's article again the monogram of Charles II over the door-head is spoken of as Wren's design, and the balustrade round the roof as matching the balustrade over the Sheldonian. But there seems to be no reason why an Oxford builder should not have copied both from the specimens before him. As a matter of fact the balustrade on the Ashmolean differs noticeably in detail both from the balustrade on the Sheldonian and from the balustrade on the west front of Christ Church. But neither the resemblances nor the differences help to prove that the Ashmolean was Wren's work. The article ends with the reminder "honour be to whom honour is due," a precept which Thomas Wood might be tempted to echo rather bitterly to-day. And it should be added that the theory in the article has been supported by the insertion of Wren's arms in a window over the staircase of the Museum, which must tend to strengthen the impression that the Ashmolean is his work. One is reminded of the Fellows of University in the Middle Ages who inserted new glass in their windows to fortify the legend that King Alfred had founded their College.

What is the foundation, the very frail foundation, on which this edifice of surmise is built? Dr. Gunther, if I understand him rightly, rests it on the fact that Wren sketched out in 1668, for the Royal Society in London, a plan resembling in a few points of internal detail the plan adopted years later for the Ashmolean Museum. Wren was concerned in more than one attempt to find a house for the Royal Society, and all the plans to which we know he was a party had, as most buildings of the kind naturally would have, points of resemblance to the Ashmolean Museum, namely, a Laboratory, a Meeting Room, and spaces for "rarities" and books. In June 1668 he wrote to Henry Oldenburg, the Secretary of the Royal Society, that he had been talking over with Henry Howard plans for a house in London, and had been "commanded" by Howard to trace out a design. He described this design to Oldenburg in some detail: and I have printed his letter in full below from the original at the Royal Society, which differs in a few small points, mostly unimportant, both from the copy in the Society's Letter Book and from the published versions. I will summarise the main points here. Wren suggests a building a hundred feet long and thirty feet wide. Howard at first thought the cost would be too high, but consented to give the space required at Arundel House. It was to contain five floors.

On the two lowest were a cellar, a Laboratory, a little shop or two for forges, a kitchen and a larder; and over them a vestibule or passage, a large room for a Library and Repository, a parlour for the house-keeper, and a grand staircase leading only to the floor above. The third floor was to contain an ante-chamber and a Great Room for meetings, the latter forty feet long and two storeys high; the two could be thrown together, making a total length of fifty-five feet; and on this floor also there was to be a Council Room and a closet for the Secretary. The fourth floor was to supply two rooms with closets for the Curators, a gallery over the ante-room looking down into the Great Room, and back-stairs leading from top to bottom of the building. On the fifth floor, among the timbers of the roof, besides a gallery for scientific experiments running the whole length of the building, with little shops for operators and rooms for servants upon either side, there was to be a "Cupolo" for observations, which might "be fitted likewise for an anatomy Theater." But the details of the design were not all filled in. It was never in fact carried out. The site was assigned. Over a thousand pounds was collected. The lists of subscribers are at the Royal Society; Pepys and Bishop Seth Ward were among them: John Evelyn promised fifty thousand bricks. But the offer of Chelsea College intervened and upset for the time all other proposals. I understand Dr. Gunther's view to be that Wren's plan for the house in London was adopted some eleven years later by the authorities at Oxford, who set to work to alter its arrangements and incidentally suppressed Wren's name.

As this is the only evidence hitherto brought forward for attributing the Ashmolean Museum to Wren, it may be worth while to consider rather closely whether Wren's design really resembles the Oxford building in any marked degree. The contemporary description of the Ashmolean is clear and simple. Anthony Wood's account of it, taken from Chamberlayne's *Angliae Notitia* of 1687, is easily accessible in Dr. Clark's *Life of Wood* (III, 54-56). Each building, no doubt, has a Laboratory in the basement, a large room above that, and another large room higher up. But there the resemblance seems to end. Wren's design has five floors, with a cupola or observatory at the top: the Ashmolean has three floors with no cupola. Wren's building was to measure a hundred feet by thirty: the Ashmolean measures internally a little over fifty-six feet in length and about forty feet for the most part in depth. The measurements are in fact all different; and I do not find so surprising a coincidence as Dr. Gunther does in the fact that Wren's Great Room and ante-room thrown together might have measured fifty-five feet, whereas the longest rooms in the Ashmolean measure fifty-six foot three. Wren's building might have contained twenty rooms, more or less; the exact number is not given. The Ashmolean, when opened, had ten rooms; to-day it has eight. Wren's Great Room was two storeys high, with a gallery for spectators. His building had places for experiments, shops for workmen, a couple of staircases; it differs from the Ashmolean at point after point. Of the external features, which are at Oxford so distinctive, Wren's design says not a word.

Is there really any ground in this comparison for setting aside all that contemporary history tells us of the building of the Ashmolean Museum?

But that is not quite the whole story. Wren's sketch of 1668 was not his only contribution to the problem of housing the Royal Society. In 1701 he drew up fresh proposals, which are printed by Weld (*History of the Royal Society*, I, 363-4). I have not succeeded in tracing the original at the Royal Society. Wren suggests "these necessary parts"—a well-lit cellar for a laboratory and a house-keeper: a fair room and a large closet on the next floor: a place for a repository over that: a place for a library over the repository: and a place at the top for observing the heavens. Five floors, with a good staircase and a reasonable area behind it, could, he thought, be comprised in a space forty feet long and sixty feet deep. The plan was more modest, but the five floors and the observatory remained. This scheme also fell through. But later still, in 1710, Wren, then an old man of seventy-eight, was a member of the Royal Society's Committee which recommended the purchase of Dr. Brown's house in Crane Court, Fleet Street, and made it the home of the Royal Society for over seventy years. The accommodation there was still more limited: the Meeting Room measured only twenty-five feet by sixteen. The details are all available if anyone wishes to compare them with those of the Ashmolean. But I cannot persuade myself that any of these designs affect the question of who was the builder of the earliest Oxford Museum.

I subjoin a complete copy of Wren's letter to Oldenburg written from Oxford on the 7th June 1668.

"Sr

Howard

His honour Henry of Norfolk was extreemely obliging to us in his returne this way & was pleased to accept of us, such publique respectes as were proper for an University to receive him with. when I waited upon *him*, he tooke delight to shew me some Designes he had thought of himselfe for your buildings, & comāded me to trace out to him what I had considered, the same in effect I shewed you at London. but this at first appearance seemed to him too chargeable a Designe, but afterwards he acquiesced in the reasons I gave him, & having taken the Scetch with him, & delivered your leter with his own hand, he enjoyned me to give you an account of it. The Designe is indeed somewhat greater than was proposed, as being 100 foot long & 30 foot broad, w^{ch} length M^r Howard doth not scruple to allow you. It containes in the foundations first a Cellar, & a fair Elaboratory, then a little shop or 2 for forges & haīmer workes with a kitchin & a little larder. In the first story it containes a Vestibule or passage-Hall leading through from both streetes. a fair Roome for a Library & Repository w^{ch} may well be one roome placing the bookes after the moderne way in glasse presses, or if you will divide the roome with pillars it will the better support the floor of the great roome above it,

& soe place the presses for books in one part & the presses for rarities in the other; upon the same floor is a parlor for the house keeper: & from the Vestibule the great Staires leads you up to the antichamber of the great roome & noe higher: the great Roome for the meeting is 40 foot long & 2 stories high, divided from the Antichamber by a Skreen between columnes, soe that the whole length in case of an entertainment may be 55 foot: upon the same floor is the Councill roome & a little closet for the Secretary. in the 3^d story is 2 chambers with Closets for the Curators & backstaires by them w^{ch} lead from the bottom to the top, one of the chambers being over the
or Gallery

great Staires, upon the same floor is a Closet / over the antiroome looking down into the great roome very usefull in case of Solemnities. the 4th story is the Timbers of the rooffe w^{ch} being 30 foot wide & to be leaded cannot be firme without bracing it by partitions to the floor below. these partitions are soe ordered as to leave you a little passage gallery the whole length of the building for tryall of glasses & other experiments that require length, on one side of the Gallery are little shops all along for operators, on the other side are little chambers for operators & servants. the platforme of Lead is for traversing of Tubes & instruments and many experiments, in the middle rises a Cupolo for observations, & may be fitted likewise for an anatomy Theater, & the floores may be soe ordered that from the top into the Cellar may be made all experiments for hight As to the Charge of this fabrick, I confesse it is my opinion that a fair building may easier be carried on by contributions with time, than a sordid one, & if I might advise I could wish the foundations were layd of the whole, but then you need not build more than one halfe at present, & this may be don for 2000 pound & will containe the necessary roomes, & soe you will leave your selves an opportunity of enlarging hereafter upon the same modell. if you thinke fit to have a Modell made I shall willingly take care to have it don. I have soe fowlded the papers, as to shew you what part I would have at present built, together with an extempore Staircase of deale boards & lath. the Cupolo may be left till the finishing.

Sr

I am

Your humble Servant

Chr: Wren "

I submit that this letter contains no proof that Wren built the Ashmolean Museum; that Wren's design of 1668 for a house in London for the Royal Society was dropped; and that all the evidence available points to the conclusion that some eleven to fifteen years later a different building for a different purpose was built in Oxford by another man.

APPENDIX B

THE OLD OXFORD CONGREGATIONS

TWO interesting papers have been lately published on the history of the ancient Congregations in the University of Oxford. In an earlier volume¹ I accepted generally the late Dean Rashdall's view that there were originally three assemblies at Oxford to which the name of Congregation was applied: first, the Great Congregation of Regent and Non-Regent Masters—*Congregatio Plena* or *Magna*—represented later by Convocation; secondly, the Congregation of Regents in all Faculties—*Congregatio Regentium* or *Congregatio Minor*—which, though destined to see many changes, gradually developed into the chief administrative body; and, thirdly, the Congregation of Regents in Arts only—*Congregatio Artistarum* or *Congregatio Nigra*²—long since extinct, which claimed for generations the right to consider in a previous assembly all proposals for new Statutes. Dr. Rashdall's view is still accepted by Mr. Strickland Gibson, who has restated it fully in an important paper, which first appeared in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* of February 24, 1926.³ But Mr. H. E. Salter has lately raised a doubt⁴ whether a separate Congregation of Artists ever existed, and is disposed to think that it may have been identical with the Congregation of Regents throughout. Between such experts it is not easy to decide. All I can do is to summarise what seem to me the main points of the discussion, and to submit the conclusions to which I incline.

It is generally admitted that the Faculty of Arts both at Paris and at Oxford claimed a special predominance in University affairs. At Paris, it seems, the Nations of Artists and their officers secured at an early date a large measure of control. The Faculty of Arts was completely organized at a time when the other Faculties were undeveloped, and the Rector of the Artists became the University's agent and Head.⁵ The predominance of the Artists in the University of Paris was reproduced even more strongly at Oxford, because at Oxford the other Faculties never acquired the development and im-

¹ *A History of the University of Oxford* (I, 140, 177, etc.).

² Other names also were applied occasionally to all three assemblies.

³ Vol. IV, pp. 296-314.

⁴ See his paper in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* of May 3, 1926 (Vol. V, pp. 19-22).

⁵ See Chapter V of Dr. Rashdall's *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, especially pp. 311-334 of Vol. I. The influence of the Faculty of Arts and its Rector was largely due to their control of funds (*Ib.* p. 326).

portance which they subsequently attained at Paris.¹ With the history of Paris before us it is not in any way surprising to find the Artists at Oxford claiming an initiative in University affairs, and exercising in a separate assembly something like a veto on University legislation.² The evidence of the claims made by the Artists to be found in the mediaeval statutes at Oxford is, no doubt, rather fragmentary in its nature, but it is not inconsiderable in effect. We find the Faculty of Arts spoken of in 1339 as *fons et origo caeteris*.³ We have four references to a Congregation of Regents in Arts meeting at St. Mildred's Church,⁴ whereas we have every reason to think that the two larger Congregations met at St. Mary's. The Congregation of Regents had from about 1330 a house of its own at St. Mary's, and there seem to be few grounds for assuming that these four references to the Congregation of Artists really apply to the Congregation of Regents. We have a clear and definite ordinance of 1325, asserting the right of the Artists *seorsum ab aliis facultatibus* to deliberate first by themselves on the business which is to come before the Full Congregation.⁵ This can hardly refer to a Congregation to which Regents of other Faculties belonged. We have in 1344 a decree that previous Congregations of Artists may be summoned by one Proctor only, if the other be obstructive.⁶ We have an ordinance, undated but probably before 1350, in regard to the place of Determination, passed by the Chancellor, Proctors and Regent Masters in Arts.⁷ We have in the *Historiola* in the Chancellor's Register, which may be dated from about 1350, a statement that the assembly (*coetus*) of Regents and Non-Regents has the right to alter and add to Statutes, *quatenus major pars Universitatis et sanior, deliberatione praevia, duxerit ordinandum*,⁸ which appears to be a reference to the previous assembly of the Faculty of Arts. In 1357 there is another clear reference to the claim of the Regents in Arts at St. Mildred's not only to consider but to dispose of questions intended for the Full Congregation. In this case the Regents in Theology and Law apparently opposed the claims of the Artists, and that does not look as if they were members of the assembly at St. Mildred's.⁹ In the Chancellor's Register in the second half of the fourteenth century we have an assertion that the assent of the Faculty of Arts was

¹ *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, II, 371-2. I see no reason to doubt Dr. Rashdall's statement.

² From which, it may be, the Proctorial veto of later days was derived.

³ See Anstey's *Munimenta Academica*, 142.

⁴ See *Mun. Acad.*, 81, 146, 189 and *Snappe's Formulary* (O.H.S.), 210. In an earlier volume (I, 177, n.) I have suggested that the word *faciendam* on p. 81 of *Mun. Acad.* and the word *faciendas* on p. 146 both require to be read *faciendis* if the passages are to be understood, and I think it is allowable to assume that that reading is correct. St. Mildred's Church disappeared in the fifteenth century.

⁵ *Ib.* 117.

⁶ *Ib.* 146.

⁷ *Ib.* 411.

⁸ I quote from *Mun. Acad.* 369. But see also *Bodl. Quart. Record*, IV, 299.

⁹ See *Mun. Acad.* 188-9—where the words *et Non-Regentibus* are wrongly inserted—and *Bodl. Quart. Record*, IV, 300.

required to give effect to statutes, ordinances and graces passed by the Congregation of Regents or by the Congregation of Regents and Non-Regents.¹ Surely three separate bodies are indicated here; and it is worth noting that the Artists' claim here is for previous deliberation on motions to come before the *Congregatio Minor*, as well as on motions to come before the *Congregatio Plena*. In the inquisition held at Oriel College in September 1411 we hear of a Proctor making a Small Congregation of Regents in Arts for the purpose of holding a Black Congregation: the terms *Parva* and *Nigra* are both applied here to the Congregation of Artists.² In 1441 the right of the Artists to previous deliberation *seorsum ab aliis facultatibus* is again affirmed, with a suggestion that the practice was falling into disuse and that the status of the Regents was suffering in consequence.³ In 1450 and again in 1456 we have records of Black Congregations. Both are spoken of as Congregations of Regent Masters: there are no words confining them to Artists. But both are called Black Congregations, and the former is also called the Small Congregation of Regents. In both cases, however, these Congregations deliberate on proposals afterwards submitted to the Great Congregation. And in the latter case, 1456, the Black Congregation is followed both by a Great and by a Minor Congregation, which seems to distinguish the Black Congregation from the other two.⁴ Finally, towards the end of the fifteenth century we find a form in the Chancellor's and Proctors' Registers, describing the processes of University legislation, which confirms the impression that the Black Congregation was summoned for previous deliberation before the Full Congregation met. It is not clear whether the Black Congregation is here confined to Artists or not.⁵ Phrases in these passages from the Statutes are sometimes doubtful: the wording is not always perfectly clear. But it does seem to me that all these references cannot apply to the Minor Congregation. They give, on the other hand, strong grounds for thinking that the Congregation of Artists

¹ *Per Universitatem Regentium, sive Regentium et Non-regentium.* (See *Mun. Acad.* 429, and *Bodl. Quart. Record*, IV, 300.)

² See *Snappe's Formulary* (O.H.S.), 207. But in another reference to the same incident the term a "small congregation of regents" is used (*Ib.* 199).

³ See *Mun. Acad.* 331-2.

⁴ See *Bodl. Quart. Record*, IV, 300 and 309-11. In 1450, it may be noticed, the Small Congregation sought special powers to grant graces, a power which the Minor Congregation possessed. Mr. Gibson quotes from Reg. Aa. (*Ib.* 301, n.) all the dates on which the Congregation of Regents was held in 1456. It met often, and the Black Congregation only once, that year. The latter was clearly declining.

⁵ All Regents are said to be summoned; but Register B (1477) inserts *arcistarum* just afterwards, while Register C (1407) does not. Mr. Anstey's heading also is wrong. Mr. Gibson gives the date as "about 1480-8." (See *Mun. Acad.* 481-3, and *Bodl. Quart. Record*, IV, 301.) At the date of the later Register (B) it may have seemed more necessary than earlier (C) to remind people that the Black Congregation was the assembly of Artists.

had in early days a separate existence and considerable powers. Our knowledge of the early history of the Universities of Paris and of Oxford renders that view not unlikely. And I find it difficult to set such a weight of evidence aside.

As time passed, however, it may well be that the Congregation of Regents increased in importance, while the separate Congregation of Artists declined and disappeared. The Black Congregation is mentioned in 1528, when certain articles were referred to it and afterwards to a Congregation of all the Faculties.¹ But in 1534 it is the venerable Congregation of Regent Masters which is considering articles to be determined by the Great Congregation,² doing, in fact, the Black Congregation's work. The Edwardian Code of 1549 speaks of two Congregations only being summoned each term, but neither that Code nor Cardinal Pole's statutes of 1556 throw light upon the point at issue.³ In 1570 the old need for previous deliberation was evidently felt before matters came up in Convocation, and the Proctors, at the Vice-Chancellor's request, called a meeting of the Black Congregation, which had already become obsolete.⁴ But so many doubts about its legality arose that the experiment was not repeated, and the need for preliminary discussion was met by appointing Committees, until in the seventeenth century the Hebdomadal Board grew up. It is clear, I think, that in 1570 the Congregation of Regents and the old Black Congregation were not regarded as having been the same thing all along.

How far do Mr. Salter's criticisms dispose of the view submitted here? ⁵ His plea that, if there had been three assemblies, we should expect to find the terms *parva*, *magna*, *maxima*, or *prima*, *secunda*, *tertia* in use, and that the use of the term *minor* suggests two congregations rather than three, is obviously a fair one, and there is undoubtedly some want of system in the names we find. We do indeed find the terms *parva* and *maxima*, and Mr. Salter himself points to the use of the term *congregacio prima* once in March 1442. But the truth is that the terms used in the mediaeval statutes are not always as logical or clear-cut as we could wish. Such irregularities must have their weight; but they do not perhaps weigh heavily against the evidence gathered above. Moreover, the term *Congregatio Minor* does not, I think, appear before 1456,⁶ when the Congregation of Artists was losing its importance. Again, Mr. Salter's plea that the *Historiola* mentions two Congregations and two only, loses its force if the phrase already quoted, in regard to the previous deliberation of the larger and saner part of the University, refers, as I think it does, to the Congregation of Artists.⁷ Mr. Salter's plea that, had

¹ *Congregationem quandam nigram, deinde Congregationem omnium facultatum* (Bodl. Quart. Record, IV, 302).

² *Ib.* 302 and 312.

³ *Ib.* 302 and 313.

⁴ *Ib.* 303 and 314.

⁵ For these criticisms see the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* for May 3, 1926 (vol. V, pp. 19-22).

⁶ In *Registrum Aa.* 93-7 (*Bodl. Quart. Record*, IV, 299, n.).

⁷ For the words of the passage in the *Historiola* see *Mun. Acad.*, 369, and *Bodl. Quart. Record*, IV, 298-9.

there been a Congregation of Artists, an appeal from the Chancellor to that Assembly would have been one of the steps in the system of appeals, is again a point to be noted. But I for one should not have supposed that there was an exact parallelism between the three assemblies, and it does not seem to me necessarily to follow that the Artists could not have claimed an initiative in legislation because they did not claim or possess a separate voice in the hearing of appeals.

More formidable, I think, is the contention that terms in the statutes may be used loosely, and that the Congregation of Regents and the Congregation of Artists, though variously described, may have meant the same thing, because the Artists formed a majority of the Regents. Let me take the four instances which Mr. Salter quotes. First, in March 1450¹ the Black Congregation is spoken of as the Black Congregation of Regent Masters, and just afterwards as the Small Congregation of Regents.² The word 'Artists' is omitted, but it may well have been thought unnecessary, if the terms Black Congregation and Small Congregation could apply to no one else. Secondly, in January 1456, there is the same description of the Black Congregation; the word 'Artists' is again omitted, possibly for the same reason. But in the document of 1456, the *Congregatio Magna* and the *Congregatio Minor* are mentioned as well: we have all three Congregations; and the three are all assigned to different dates.³ Thirdly, in the form in the Proctors' Books⁴ we hear of the Proctor summoning all the Regents (*omnes regentes*) to attend a Black Congregation; and that clearly tells in favour of Mr. Salter's view, unless one assumes that *regentes* here is used "in its narrower sense, meaning regent masters of arts," as Mr. Salter finds it used in the Merton Register in 1492.⁵ But it is worth while to note the dates, 1450, 1456 and 1481, at which these rather indefinite terms are used. Fourthly, in 1441, when the statute bewails the neglect of the old regulation, which had secured to the Faculty of Arts the right to deliberate on all business to come before the Full Congregation, it is said that the status of the Regents suffers by this contempt. Why, asks Mr. Salter, do we have this reference to the status of the Regents, if the status of the Faculty of Arts is meant? The answer surely is that the reference of the whole passage to the Artists, deliberating *seorsum ab aliis facultatibus*, is so emphatic, that it is impossible to doubt what Regents the writer chiefly had in mind.

I feel more difficulty about two other points which Mr. Salter raises. It is natural to ask why we hear so little of the relation of the Congregation of Artists to the Congregation of Regents,⁶ when

¹ Mr. Salter begins his equations (*Bodl. Quarterly Record*, V, 20) with 1411. But I accept of course readily the equation *congregatio regentium artium* = *congregatio nigra*. ² *Ib.* IV, 309. ³ *Ib.* IV, 309-11.

⁴ Mr. Salter dates it 1481, Mr. Gibson about 1480-8.

⁵ *Ib.* V, 21.

⁶ Mr. Salter says we are told nothing: but there seems to be at any rate one passage, inserted in the Chancellor's Register in the second half of the fourteenth century, which suggests a direct relation between the Congregation of Artists and the Congregation of Regents (*Bodl. Quart. Record*, IV, 300).

we hear so much of its relation to the Great Congregation. But if it be a true view that in early days the Regents in Arts were anxious to assert their rights and claims as against the other Regents, it is not unnatural that they should seek to emphasise their independence of the Congregation of Regents, while their claim to an initiative in legislation brought them constantly into touch with the Great Congregation. Again it is natural to ask why the Artists should have wanted to maintain their own Assembly, if they could be sure of securing a majority in the Congregation of Regents. And the only answer I can suggest to this is, that, though in later days their predominance in the Congregation of Regents was such that they found it unnecessary to keep their separate Congregation up, in early days they could not have felt so sure of their predominance, or they would not have been so anxious to assert their distinctive position as it is evident from many passages in the early statutes that they were. Perhaps the history of the Faculty of Arts in Paris throws light on the self-assertion of that Faculty in Oxford. One does not see why the Artists at Oxford should ever have feared the numbers of the Doctors in Theology or Law or Medicine. But there must at first, I think, have been some fear of their influence, unless the jealousy was merely a tradition of independence which survived. I admit this difficulty fully. But it does not seem to me to justify us in doing such violence to the early statutes as the rejection of all the passages which point to a separate Congregation of Artists would involve.

It is not impossible that, between the view of Mr. Gibson and the view of Mr. Salter, the solution of the problem really lies in the question of dates. Mr. Gibson, dwelling on the early statutes, is impressed with the passages in which the separate activities of the Artists are referred to again and again. If one concentrates one's attention on the statutes of the fourteenth century—and what is true of the fourteenth century in this matter is probably true of the thirteenth century too—it seems very difficult to doubt that the Artists had then an energetic Congregation of their own. Mr. Salter, on the other hand, seems to rely for his opinion mainly on statutes of a later date. The points he makes are mostly founded on passages dating from the middle or end of the fifteenth century, a time when the Congregation of Artists had probably sunk into decay, when its meeting-place had vanished, and when the activities of the Congregation of Regents were beginning almost to efface the recollection of the other. Such a change of circumstances might well account for any uncertain phrasing in the later entries on the subject. But to assume that this was the case a hundred or two hundred years earlier seems to me to go further than our knowledge warrants, and indeed to go counter to the information we possess. I should like to think that this solution might win assent from two distinguished scholars, both of whom have a better right to an opinion on the problem than I.

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